St Martin of Tours is one of Christianity’s major saints and his significance reaches far beyond the powerful radiance of his iconic act of charity. While the saint and his cult have been researched comprehensively in Germany and France, his cult in the British Isles proves to be fairly unexplored. Andre Mertens closes this gap for Anglo-Saxon England by editing all the age’s surviving texts on the saint, including a commentary and translations. Moreover, Mertens looks beyond the horizon of the surviving body of literary relics and dedicates an introductory study to an analysis of the saint’s cult in Anglo-Saxon England and his significance for Anglo-Saxon culture.
St Martin’s Dream in the “Fuldaer Sakramentar” (SUB Göttingen, 2 Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Cim., fol. 113 r), including the oldest surviving depiction of the Charity of St Martin (c. 975 AD); printed with kind permission of the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.
Meinen Eltern
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1Entries include Ker’s Catalogue number and Gneuss’s Handlist number (cf. the list of abbreviations).

2The short titles in brackets refer to the Dictionary of Old English (DOE, cf. list of abbreviations), and to the Cameron number as proposed in Frank, R. and Cameron, A.F., eds. (1973), A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, Toronto.
F Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28., s. x/xi, Ker Catalogue no. 15 (item 84), Gneuss Handlist no. 11  
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G Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, s. xi, Ker Catalogue no. 48 (item 56), Gneuss Handlist no. 64  
Ælfric’s Homily for Martinmas (ÆCHom II, 39.1 / B1.2.42)

H British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII, s. xi med., Ker Catalogue no. 222 (item 17), Gneuss Handlist no. 406  
Ælfric’s Homily for Martinmas (ÆCHom II, 39.1 / B1.2.42)

J London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII, s. xi in., Ker Catalogue no. 162 (item 42), Gneuss Handlist no. 339  
Ælfric’s Life of St Martin (ÆLS (Martin) / B1.3.30)

K London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV, s. xi med., Ker Catalogue no. 138 (item 1), Gneuss Handlist no. 310  
Ælfric’s Life of St Martin (ÆLS (Martin) / B1.3.30)

L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, s. xii, Ker Catalogue no. 310 (item 18)  
Ælfric’s Life of St Martin (ÆLS (Martin) / B1.3.30)
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASE</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon England (Journal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASMMF</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)</td>
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<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)</td>
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<td>CH II</td>
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<td>CSASE</td>
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<td>CSEL</td>
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</tr>
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<td>EEMF</td>
<td>Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile</td>
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EETS                  Early English Text Society
— o.s.                  original series
— s.s.                  supplementary series
ES                   English Studies
JEGP                 Journal of English and Germanic Philology
GVM                  Gregorius Turonensis, De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, ed. Krusch, B. (1885), MGH, SRM 1.2
LS                   Ælfric of Eynsham’s Lives of Saints, see Skeat
ME                   Middle English
MGH                  Monumenta Germaniae Historica
— Auct. Antiq.        Auctores Antiquivissimi
— Conc.               Concilia
— Hilfs.              Hilfsmittel
— SRM                 Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
MRTS                 Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
MS                   Medieval Studies
NQ                   Notes & Queries
OE                   Old English

3The numbering of Gneuss and Lapidge’s Bibliographical Handlist follows Gneuss’s Handlist.
<table>
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<td>PDE</td>
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<td><em>Sulpicii Vita Martini</em>, ed. Fontaine (1967)</td>
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**Abbreviations Confined to the Edition**

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<td>Ælfric’s <em>Life of St Martin</em>, see LS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angl.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 1 Cor</td>
<td>St Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 2 Cor</td>
<td>St Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Jh</td>
<td>Gospel according to John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Lc</td>
<td>Gospel according to Luke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Mk</td>
<td>Gospel according to Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Mt</td>
<td>Gospel according to Matthew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— PsGall</td>
<td>Psalms (<em>Psalterium Gallicanum</em>)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Work</td>
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<td>fol./fols.</td>
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<td>— lWS</td>
<td>late West-Saxon</td>
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Acknowledgments

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

Many family members and friends have accompanied me during the years of my work; I want to thank my parents and brothers, as well as Roswitha and Rüdiger Behrensrdorf, Constanze Alpers and Marina Junge.

My greatest help in this project was the support by my wife Christina May. I will be eternally grateful for her encouragement and counsel.
Part I

Introduction
Introduction

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

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

^4^The year of Martin’s birth is a matter of dispute which the first chapter will discuss; the diocese of Tours invited people to celebrate the event in 2016 and created a website at “http://saintmartin2016.com” (2 Jan 2016). The University of Tours organized the “Centenary Conference on St Martin of Tours: ‘La figure martinienne, essor et renaissances de l’antiquité tardive a nos jours’”, Université de Tours (France), 12-14 October 2016.
Secondly, I am presenting a set of texts of which two were hitherto unedited; they were accessible for inspection exclusively at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, UK. The library, whose staff kindly allowed me to study the original manuscripts, does not seem to intend to supply international scholars with high-quality scans in the near future, so the study of the texts in question hitherto required study of the original manuscripts on-site. The Anonymous Homily for Martinmas in MS Junius 86 is edited fully here for the first time. One other text, Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, was presented in an edition published in 1900, which makes a new edition an apparent desideratum, even more so since there have been recent calls for a new edition (see the chapter on Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* below); its 12th-century version in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 343, is edited independently here for the first time (see the chapter on MS L).

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

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

The edition itself is preceded by an account of the editorial policy, and includes a commentary which addresses literary and cultural, as well as linguistic and textual issues and backgrounds.
Chapter 1

St Martin of Tours and His Cult on the Continent

The Historical Martin

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

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

\(^1\)References to the Latin text (see the appendix) include chapter and section numbers.
him that he quit the service and became a follower and pupil of St Hilary (ca. 315-67), Bishop of Poitiers. After years of an ascetic life in devotion to Christ, he became so popular among the people of nearby Tours that they elected him Bishop. His ordination probably took place on 4 July 371. He founded the monastery of Marmoutier outside the city and established a system of parish churches during the years of his episcopacy.

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

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

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

The “long chronology” is based on 316 AD as the year of Martin’s birth. One episode in Severus’ second Dialogue (SDS 7,4) reports that Martin, as Bishop, is present at a banquet with emperor Maximus, an event which Severus also mentions in SVM 20. The situation is set in the context of the trial against a certain Priscillian, whose Christian lore was finally condemned as heresy. The trial took place in Trier in 385/6. When Severus takes up the issue of the inter-

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3In SVM 2,6 Severus writes that Martin was under arms for three years before his baptism. In SVM 3,5-6, Martin hurries to be baptized after a vision of Christ, but stays in service for two more years.
4Stancliffe (1983) favours the short chronology, and discusses the issue extensively, see esp. pp. 119-33.
5Martin was involved in the trial in his function as Bishop. Priscillian was a Spanish aristocrat,
course between Martin and Maximus in a later work on Martin, he calls Martin a seventy-year-old. If this is referring to their intercourse in the context of the Priscillian trial (in 385/6), this would result in 315/6 as the year of Martin’s birth. If, in fact, Severus referred to another meeting between a seventy-year-old Martin and Maximus, the mere mention of a seventy-year-old Martin rules out the possibility of Martin being born in 336, since Martin would have died at the age 61. In addition, 316 as the year of birth would be supported by a work of Gregory of Tours. Gregory knew Severus’ works. We can assume, however, that he drew his information from a variety of sources. Gregory of Tours writes that Martin died in the 81st year of his life, which also results in birth year of 316.

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

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6The Latin has “Martino semel tantum in uita iam septuagenario ...” (SDS 7,4).
7See below the ch. on Gregory’s work, pp. 46f. Vielberg (2006: 117) names writers of early Christianity, such as Fredegar, Sulpicius Alexander, Eusebius, Hieronymous, and Orosius, as Gregory’s possible sources. Stancliffe (1983: 120) argues that Gregory might have taken his calculation only from Severus’ remark in SDS 7,4 “Martino ... septuagenario.”
9Sabaria is the spelling in SVM. Roman inscriptions read Savarie (Masi 1968: 184/Fontaine 431). Today, it is the city of Szombathely, which is the administrative centre of Vas county in western Hungary. It also bears the German name Stein-am-Anger (lit. ‘stone at the meadow’). The original Roman province of Pannonia included parts of today’s Austria and Yugoslavia. As Masi (ibid.) describes, Pannonia’s boundaries were the Danube, Vienna, and northern Italy.
more likely birthplace. Which one of these two Roman settlements with identical names was the birthplace will probably remain a matter of dispute, since we only have Severus’ information “Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit”.10

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

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

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10The majority of scholars name Szombathely simply as the place of Martin’s birth. A discussion on the two places can be found in Lecoy de la March (1881: 66) and Babut (1913: 172).
11“His parents were, according to the judgment of the world, of no mean rank, but were heathens. His father was at first simply a soldier, but afterwards a military tribune.” (transl. Roberts 1894).
12The Latin has “miles primum” and “tribunus militum”. Neither term offers an exact notion of the position of Martin’s father, since at the time there was a variety of positions it could refer to. Definitely, though, he was not a regular foot soldier (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 77 n. 22). Cf. OED s.v. *tribune* 1b, “military tribune” (Latin “tribunus militaris”), i.e. “one of six officers of a legion, each being in command for two months of the year.”
13It translates “and thus, as he had intended in his heart and mind, he set free his mother from the errors of heathenism, though his father continued to cleave to its evils” (transl. Roberts 1894).
14I am following Kasper’s (1997: 8-11) outline of the rise of Christianity in the Roman empire in the fourth century.
Catholic Christianity as the official state religion, and the prohibition of other religions under Theodosius and emperor Gratian (ruled 375-83). It is exactly the century of Martin’s life that saw Christianity’s rise from the persecution of its members to becoming the state religion (Kasper 1997: 11), and regarding the province of Gaul, Martin himself played a significant part in this process.

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

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

15 Hoare (1954: 12) suggests Martin’s father could have been transferred there for military service, or simply resettled.
16 The OED has s.v. catechumene, n. 1. ‘A new convert under instruction before baptism.’ Usually, in Martin’s time, a two-year instruction or preparation would precede the baptism itself. In SVM 3,1 Severus has Jesus say about Martin: “Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contexit”; “Martin, who is still but a catechumen, clothed me with this robe” (Transl. Roberts 1894).
17 Unfortunately, this was a repeatedly employed method to secure sufficient recruiting, so that scholars were not able to date the event in order to clarify Martin’s biography (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 78 n. 31).
was probably quite privileged as a soldier, and also learned remedial knowledge, such as the treatment of open wounds and fractures, a quality that would later add to his prominent reputation as a healer. In addition, the fact that he had a slave as company shows that Martin was of a higher rank than an ordinary soldier. Severus does not mention this to display Martin’s privileges, but to emphasize Martin’s modesty; he served the slave rather than demanding service of him. Like this, Martin served for three years, though always – as Severus hastens to add – staying “completely free from those vices in which that class of men become too frequently involved” (transl. Roberts 1894), which is again a very imprecise but impregnable statement.

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

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

18SVM 3,1: “obuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui misererentur oraret”; “he happened to meet at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man destitute of clothing. He was entreating those that passed by to have compassion upon him” (transl. Roberts 1894). There is no mention of Martin riding on horseback; possibly the knowledge of the scholares implied that, at least for contemporary audiences. In any case, depictions of this scene almost always show Martin on horseback. The oldest depiction of this scene, however, which is in the Göttingen “Fuldaer Sakramentar” (ca. 975), Götinger Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Clm., fol. 113r, does not show him on horseback. Stancliffe (1983: 123 and n. 49) made an attempt to date this event by tracing possible routes of documented campaigns of the time.
in direct speech, Martin argued that he was not allowed to fight such a battle, since he was himself a soldier of Christ. The enraged Julian accused Martin of cowardice. In order to prove his conviction and steadfastness, Martin offered to go into battle and stand unshielded in the front row. Following this epic dispute, Severus explains that the Germanic invaders initiated peace negotiations before it came to battle. As Severus interprets, God conveniently interfered so as to save Martin from witnessing the violent death of others. Thereupon, Martin quit the service.\(^{19}\)

He sought out Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, who soon fostered Martin and offered to appoint him deacon, which Martin turned down out of modesty, whereupon Hilary instructed him to work as an exorcist instead.\(^\text{20}\) Inspired by another dream-vision, Martin set out soon after on a mission to convert his heathen parents. After succeeding in converting his mother, he had his first conflicts with Arianism\(^\text{21}\) in Illyria and suffered some harassment. Hearing that Hilary was forced into exile, he decided to stay near Milan to live an ascetic life as a hermit.\(^\text{22}\) There he himself was driven away by the Arian Bishop Auxentius, and withdrew to the island Gallinara in the gulf of Genoa (northwest Italy). When Martin learned of Hilary’s return from exile to Poitiers – which can be dated to 360 (Vielberg 2006: 174 n. 31) – he returned immediately to Poitiers, and founded a fraternal hermitage in nearby Ligugé.

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

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

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

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

\(^{22}\)Severus presents Martin as someone seeking a lonesome, devout Christian life, but as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 100) points out, Martin’s age, and literally Martin himself mirrors the shift from individual towards fraternal Christian asceticism. “[Martins Werdegang spiegelt] die Wende von der individuellen zur gemeinschaftlichen Askese als christlicher Lebensform”. At this stage, he decides to seclude himself as a hermit, while as Bishop he founds a monastery in order to establish collaborative seclusion.
the city\textsuperscript{23} and elected Bishop (SVM 9). Present Bishops from the surrounding dioceses criticized Martin especially for his shabby appearance, however, and tried to turn the people’s sentiment against him. As Vielberg\textsuperscript{24} points out, Martin was eyed with suspicion by other Gallic bishops. Viewed as an outsider, born in Pannonia and raised in Italy, Martin seems to have presented a threat to the Gallic bishops, who for the greatest part consisted of the Gallic elite. In effect, this Christian elite was nothing else but the Roman pagan elite after their conversion, so they were accustomed to luxurious living. Therefore, it is understandable that they despised the ascetic, shabby, unconventional Martin. But Severus, who had learned his rhetorics, knows how to turn their critique against them. He calls the critics superficial, and in turn, emphasizes Martin’s despisal of luxurious clothing and ostentation.

Severus’ narrative names the Bishop of Angers, called Defensor, whose name translates ‘defender’, of course, but also ‘opponent’ (Fontaine 1967: 653-7), as Martin’s major critic. By chance or divine intervention, that day’s lecture included the reading of a randomly picked psalm, which was “ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem”, which translates as “Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and the avenger (= defensorem).”\textsuperscript{25} Severus reports that the people of Tours understood this accidental pun as prophetic, and, thus, all opposition against Martin’s election was crushed immediately. The election probably took place in 370/71. Tradition remembers the ordination on 4 July 371.\textsuperscript{26}

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{26}See Frank (1997: 32); cf. Stancliffe (1983: 116), who makes clear that the ordination must have been 370, 371 or 372, but it is impossible to ascertain the exact year.
The people’s person the Tourains had elected. As bishop, he was concerned with new tasks and the care of his flock. Since he was deprived of the possibility of life in a hermitage, one of his first actions as Bishop was to found a monastery in Marmoutier, just outside the city limits of Tours (SVM 10). The *vita* narrates his works during his episcopacy in some length. These episodes can be grouped into his fight against heathenism (SVM 11-15), his miraculous healings and exorcisms (SVM 16-19), and his exposition of the devil and false prophets (SVM 21-24). The fight against paganism was obviously his “pioneer activity”. At that time, the Christian centers were the cities, while Martin pioneered in converting the pagans in the countryside – the word *pagan* originally meaning “countrymen” (Farmer 1979: 265) – into Christians, mostly by destruction of their temples or other meeting points, an activity which certainly benefitted from Martin’s experience as a soldier.

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

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

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27The episode of this debate was reported by Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum*, see
death, the place became one of the most important places of pilgrimage for western Christendom.

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

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

**Sulpicius Severus and His Works on St Martin**

**The Author**

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

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

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

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

31 Paulinus was born ca. 355, became Bishop of Nola (near Naples, Italy) around 410, and died in 431 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 101).
became a lawyer and had some success, and married a woman from a senator’s family.

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

There is circumstantial evidence that Severus was still alive in the 420s, but the consensus is generally that 411 was the year of his death. The evidence of his written correspondence (with Paulinus of Nola) ends in 404, though it can safely be assumed that he was alive in 407.

Severus wrote four major works. These are

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

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

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

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

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

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

38See Vielberg (2006: 11); remarks by St Jerome in a commentary on the book of Ezechiel (410 or 412) indicate that Severus survived raids of Germanic tribes in 407.
I shall confine myself to introducing the works on St Martin in the following chapters. The *Chronicle*, written ca. 403, is a history of the world in the form of a breviary. Its major source was the bible, but Severus included information from heathen historians in order to address – and convince – a yet heathen elite readership. The *Chronicle* is notable for scholars especially for its information on Priscillianism and Arianism. Naturally, the final chapters touch upon the saint’s activities and achievements in the matter. In the report of the trial against Priscillian, Martin is put in the limelight as one protagonist who pleaded for mercy. Martin regarded it as sufficient punishment for the heretic Bishop to be expelled from his office and his district by episcopal verdict, but he also regarded it as wrong on principle that a secular ruler should function as judge in an ecclesial trial. As Vielberg recounts (2006: 35), Severus praises Martin’s success in receiving the emperor Maximus’ promise to abstain from severe punishment. Martin’s influence on the emperor was not very considerable, however. Priscillian and his followers were executed.

**The *Vita Martini***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


48 One example is the allusion to the first verse of the prologue of Terence’s (195/190-159 BC) comedy *Andria*, cf. SVM Dedicatio 5 “*cum primum animum ad scribendum appuli*”, which Terence directs at his critics at the beginning of his writing career. Another example is at the beginning of SVM 1; there is an allusion to Sallust’s (86-34 BC) contemplation of fame in the *Catilinae Coniurationis* 1,1 and 3, see Vielberg (2006: 42). He notes that Severus’ dedicatio is
obviously sought his place among writers from the antique tradition of historiography, though at the service of Christianity. No less classical is the emphasis of the work’s value as presenting an exemplary ideal, and the reassurance of the author’s truthfulness (SVM 1,9; 19,5; 27,7). Vielberg sees the *vita*’s role models in Suetonius’ biographies of emperors.⁴⁹

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

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

- **ch. 1** introduction/prologue
- **chs. 2-10** chronological division: before Martin’s episcopacy
  - **chs. 2-4** Martin as soldier
  - **chs. 5-6** Martin as cleric
  - **chs. 7-8** Martin as monk
  - **chs. 9-10** Martin as candidate for episcopacy
- **chs. 11-27** systematical division: Martin as Bishop
  - **chs. 11-19** great miracles
  - **chs. 20-24** devil’s apparitions/miracles
  - **chs. 26-27** outline of Martin’s character

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

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

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

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

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51 Vielberg (2006: 242) writes that the vita’s second part divides into an account of the public life (11-24) – itself divided into the fight against paganism (11-4), healing and exorcism (15-9), and political activities (20-1), and the fight against evil per se (22-4) – and the private life (24-7). Vielberg (2006: 281) has collected exemplary passages for rhetorical figures.
53 I.e. “the kingdom of God consists not of eloquence, but faith.” (transl. Roberts 1894).
54 I.e. in Augustine’s De doctrina Christiana, e.g. 2,36, as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 110 n. 34) points out.
55 I.e. “Let them also bear in mind that salvation was preached to the world, not by orators, but by fishermen, although God could certainly have adopted the other course, had it been advantageous.” (transl. Roberts 1894). For the ideal of the fishermen cf. the New Testament, 2. Timothy 2,3 (Huber-Rebenich (2010: 76 n. 15).
tagonists of his narratives into warriors, a point I will return to in the chapter on Ælfric’s Life of St Martin. Ælfric was not the only one to attempt this. The anonymous author of the Old English poem The Dream of the Rood turns Christ himself into a heroic warrior who defeats death. Another figure who in many ways shares similarities with St Martin and who was also of Germanic origin is St Guthlac. Other Old English texts highlighting Christian narratives in alliterative verse are the Old English Andreas and Elene.

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

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

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

57In Old English literature “Christ becomes the exemplar of loyalty and heroism”, says Vermillion (1980: 105).
himself “Soldier of Christ”. It is after his baptism – therefore critical with regard to the decree mentioned by Pope Siricius – and before an imminent battle58 that Martin requests leave to quit military service. He says: “Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet”, i.e. “I am a soldier for Christ: to fight is not allowed to me” (my translation). In the words of Huber-Rebenich (2010: 113), this is where Severus presents Martin’s change from a miles to a miles Christi. Severus makes intensive use of this new concept. When Martin is a soldier, Severus highlights his monastic ethos, and when Martin finally quit service, he is described to have utilized his military virtues in service of God (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 114), a quality that enables Martin to surpass the other Bishops. Consequently, military imagery shines through when it comes to Martin’s fights against heresy. Examplarily, he stops a heathen procession with his hand (SVM 12) or fights a fire (SVM 14,2), or he is equipped with an armed force of angels (SVM 14,5). His weapon in his fights is always prayer (SVM 16,7), or the gesture of the cross. Considering all this, it is certainly not surprising that Martin would become the patron saint of soldiers.

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

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

58There is a discussion in Standiffe (1983: 119-48) and Barnes (1996 and 2010) about whether Severus could have invented the battle.
his young age. This, along with Martin’s obedience to his father when entering military service, mirrors the twelve-year-old Jesus, who went away from his parents to debate with priests in the temple, and then obediently follows his parents back to Nazareth (BS Lc 2.41f.). This so-called *puer-senex* topos (lit. ‘old boy’, i.e. the boy who has the wisdom of the old) is mirrored by Severus’ remark that Martin “meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit.” (SVM 2,4).59 Other evidential instances of *imitatio-Christi*, as well as episodes mirroring, resembling or directly pointing to parts of the Old and New Testament and early hagiography are collected in the following:60

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63The typical use of direct speech in this episode is also noteworthy. See Huber-Rebenich (2010: 118 n. 45), and Stancliffe (1983: 141-8).
SVM 5,2; 17 Martin is an exorcist, like St Anthony.64

SVM 16 et al. Martin is a healer.

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

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

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

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

64Huber-Rebenich (2010: 118 n. 53) remarks that Severus probably knew Athanasius’ Vita Antonii.
65Vielberg (2006: 263) notes that Severus refrains from reproducing the typical Christian or antique catalogue of virtues, as described by Vielberg (ibid. 255f.).
66With that, Severus created a double chain of exempla, as Vielberg (2006: 251) explains.
67I.e. in SVM 26,1; “But now my book must be brought to an end, and my discourse finished.” (transl. Roberts).
68In 399, two years after Martin’s death, Paulinus of Milan, author of the Vita of St Ambrose, expressed his “indebtedness” to Severus’ work with regard to his own (Vermillion 1980: 68). Others influenced by Severus were Hilary of Arles (St Honoratus), Uranius (St Paulinus of Nola), Possidius (St Augustine), and of course the later Martin biographers: Paulinus of Périgueux, Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours (Vermillion 1980: 69).
issues that question its credibility, in fact it has been questioned by scholars as a whole.⁶⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let me present a brief synopsis. Severus writes that he welcomes the *vita*’s success, but that he also got word that someone (unnamed) raised the question why Martin has become a victim of fire after having been able to fight fire earlier (1-2). Severus expresses his anger about this critical remark, and compares the situation with an episode in the New Testament in which the Jews mock...
Jesus “He saved others; himself he cannot save.”, thus denouncing the unnamed critic (3-4). Severus reports similar examples from the lives of St Paul (5) and St Peter (6) to underline his point. He regrets that he was not able to report all of Martin’s miracles in the *vita* so as to give more testimony to his glory (7-8). He goes on to recall an incident in which Martin accidentally put his bedding of straw on fire, and was unable to escape from the room (9-11). After he had calmed himself, Martin engaged in prayer, and was saved by monks, regretting afterwards that he did not pray in the first place (12-4). Severus claims that Martin himself had revealed this incident to him, and remarks that he is happy to be able to pass on Martin’s exemplary behaviour (15).

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

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

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

75 Aurelius appears in SDT 1,4. He was probably a pupil of Martin like Severus, and obviously became a deacon in some parish church in the vicinity of Primuliacum (Fontaine: 1184).
was certainly an admirer of Martin, and possibly a member of the community of ascetics at Primuliacum, but that is everything we can speculate about her person. In his letter to her, Severus complains to her, stating – ironically – that he should put her to trial for publishing letters on Martin which Severus had sent her (1). He supposes that his secretaries are simply obedient to her (2), therefore, he mockingly regards Bassula as the wrongdoer, and accuses her of even having read his letter to Aurelius (3). As an answer to her request that he should write about the exact circumstances of Martin’s death (4), Severus is willing to describe it briefly as it was reported to him by witnesses (5). He reports that Martin had anticipated his death but still visited Candes to settle a dispute between clerics (6). On his way Martin discovered and observed some birds catching fish, and being repelled by their enormous appetite he was inspired to employ it as a metaphor to educate his disciples about the ways in which the devil devours human souls (7). Martin commanded the birds to fly away, by which – according to Severus – he once more illustrated his power over the beasts (8). In Candes, Martin announced his imminent death (9), which his disciples lamented so greatly that Martin himself became grief-struck, and prayed (10-13). Martin was modestly bedded, and preferred to lie always on his back, facing heaven (14-15). Discovering the devil standing nearby, Martin repelled him, saying that heaven will receive him soon (16). Thus dying, his face shining like that of an angel (17), the event attracted thousands of people to come and see his dead body, which converted many of them (18). There was much lamenting, but also much joy over the man’s life (19-20). The letter ends with Severus’ joy over Martin’s triumph over this world, and his confidence that Martin watches over him (21).

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

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

The Dialogii

Though the narration of Martin’s life is completed with the report of his death in the third epistle, Sulpicius Severus wrote yet another work on St Martin of Tours. The Dialogii78 – or dialogues – are a tripartite work, but differ from the epistles in that the epistles could stand as three single letters. The dialogues present one text in three parts, or books. They also differ from the epistles in that they do not present a chronological sequel to the vita or to the epistles.

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

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

78Fontaine edited the Dialogii in 2006, in the same series (Sources Chrétienes, no. 510); his edition of the dialogues does not feature a commentary similar to that of his earlier edition of the vita and the epistles, but offers notes to the edited text. His edition bears the title Gallus: Dialogues sur les Vertus de Saint Martin; as Fontaine explains (2006: 7), Gallus is the title that Severus originally gave the work; cf. p. 18.
exemplified by Martin. Severus practically recedes into the background in this conversation, which eventually lasts over two days, and which Severus vows to write down for posterity, while Postumianus willingly takes up the task of spreading the story of Martin’s life on his future journeys.²⁹

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

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

²⁹Cf. Vielberg (2006: 52-6) and Huber-Rebenich (2010: 122) for summaries.
³⁰I.e. Origen or Oregenes Adamantius, a Christian theologian, ca. 185 - ca. 254 (NEB s.v. Origen).
(13), and foresaw the coming of the (already born) antichrist. When Severus and his two friends heard of the arrival of the presbyter called Refrigerius, they decided to end the discussion to go to bed and welcome him in the morning.

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

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

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

Since the evening was by now closing in, Severus suggested that they should close the session, and he also suggested that Postumianus should spread the knowledge of St Martin in the Eastern world, and that he should pass through Campania in order to tell Paulinus all the details of this conversation, that he may also spread the life and deeds of Martin. (17) Severus also asked Postumianus to visit the shore of Ptolemais, which is the sea-grave of Pomponius, a friend of Severus, and mourn there for Pomponius, who had not invited Martin and who died in hateful feelings for Severus, which Severus regretted deeply. With this they all departed (18), and so Severus’ report ends.
Whether this conversation ever took place, or it was inspired by actual events, or it is completely a work of fiction remains an unanswered question. The sophisticated rhetorics of the participants suggest authorial intervention. The fact that the one character who speaks for western monkhood is named Gallus (‘the Gaul’) suggests fictitious characters. In any case, Severus’ withdrawal into the background was a rhetorically effective step to enhance his credibility, and, to this end, it was certainly functional to employ the form of a dialogue as a narrative vehicle.

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

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

The Cult of St Martin and Its Development on the Continent

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

81Vielberg (2006: 13 n. 47) points to this episode, in which Martin’s wisdom is compared with that of Plato. In the same episode, Martin’s steadfastness is compared to that of the imprisoned Socrates.
as a target for pilgrims (Vielberg 2006: 143). Ever since the Merovingian dynasty regarded Martin their patron saint after 496, their political success added to the saint’s popularity. Churches were dedicated to Martin, relics, shrines, and sculptures were collected if they were connected to the saint in any way. The cult also comprised all kinds of recorded liturgy and liturgical music for church services on Martinmas, as well as popular folk traditions connected to Martinmas. The next chapter will address the textual culture concerning the saint.

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

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

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

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

84 Brice tried to proof his innocence by a miracle: he took glowing hot pieces of coal and transported them somewhere, but his coat remained unharmed; his attributes are often coals in the lappet of his garment. This, however, did not convince the people of Tours. According to legend his supposed child was miraculously given a voice and testified that Brice was not the father; cf. Vielberg (2006: 246).
became such popular destinations for pilgrims that Brice’s chapel was soon en-
larged by a later Bishop of Tours.

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

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

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

85See NEB s.v. Advent: “Known as St. Martin’s Lent, the custom was extended to other Frankish
churches by the Council of Mâcon in 581.”
86The elegy translates: “Over the body of Martin, venerated in every land, the body in which
renown survives the life departed, there rose a structure meet for poor men’s worship, and un-
worthy of its famous Confessor. Always a sense of shame weighed heavy on the citizens when
they thought of the saint’s great glory, and the small attraction of his shrine. But Perpetuus
former chapel was unworthy of the great saint, and, thus, it is a panegyric on Perpetuus. 87

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

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

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

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

89See Vielberg, p. 227 and n. 243, and for Gregory’s report consult MGH 587: 1,2.
wealth for Tours. We are well informed about the pilgrimage to Tours, at least with regard to the times of Gregory of Tours (540-94, Bishop from 573). Gregory kept himself informed about all miracles that happened through Martin’s intervention; extant written records provide a detailed picture of the pilgrimage in Tours.90

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

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

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

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90Vielberg has recounted them shortly, see esp. pp. 140-153.
91The numbers are from Vielberg, p. 141; cf. Pietri and Pietri (2002: 70).
93Wikipedia lists more than 600 churches of St Martin in France under “http://fr.
Around 500 AD, a church was built in Rome and dedicated to St Martin (and St Sylvester I). It was commissioned by Pope Symmachus (498-514), and was to replace a basilica that had been built by Pope (St) Sylvester I in the fourth century. It is commonly referred to as San Martino ai Monti (‘Saint Martin in the Mountains’), but it is officially known as Santi Silvestro e Martino ai Monti, since it was dedicated to both saints.  

It has been reconstructed twice, but bears many original qualities, and is popular for its interior decoration by Filippo Gagliardi (d. 1659).  

Another church in Rome that has some significance is Saints Martin and Sebastian of the Swiss, or Santi Martino e Sebastiano degli Svizzeri. It is a Catholic oratory situated in the Vatican City which was originally built to provide a chapel for the Swiss Guards, therefore, the soldier-saints Martin and Sebastian presented proper patrons. It was customary for some time that the pope would “ordain the Bishops in the oratory of St Martin” (Planchart 2003: 119-20).  

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

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

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

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

96As Vielberg (2006: 223) explains, anything connected to a saint in any way qualified as a relic, be it only dust from his or her marble tomb slab. The physical contact was the decisive quality. As such, there was categorization as to parts of the saints body (primary relics), or objects which had direct contact with the saint’s body (secondary), which could extend to objects which were in contact with secondary relics, cf. ibid. p. 145.
with the beggar, as described in the popular episode of the *Charity of St Martin* (SVM 3,1f.) For some time there were two parts of the coat in existence, one in Tours and one in Amiens (Masi 1968: 188). One coat became part of the royal treasury of the Merovingians (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 120). After making Martin their patron saint, Merovingian rulers often took the coat into battle. Their success added to Martin’s popularity. The Merovingians called it *cappa*, and the small house – or section of a church building – where they stored it was called *cap(p)ella*, from which the English word *chapel* derived.97 The dynasty was also in possession of the sword of St Martin, about which Masi (1968: 188) writes: “In 1225, a distinguished jurist of Verona, Maggio Maggi, testified that he had seen and touched the sword.” A purple tunic believed to have been worn by Bishop Martin and a diadem also existed.

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

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

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98Vielberg notes that the depiction of this scene of the Charity (of all the scenes in the vita) underlines the episode’s significance in the *vita*, see Vielberg (2006: 295 and n. 9), cf. Labarre (1998: 9-10).
99Vielberg (2006: 289) comments that the conflict between Martin and Arianism was revived in the conflict between Clovis and the Visigoths. (Vielberg 289).
bond between Clovis’ successors and the saint became a very strong one. All of this is part of the rise of the Merovingian dynasty to become the most powerful Germanic dynasty (Kasper 1997: 12), and contributed significantly to the rise of the Catholic faith in western Europe (and correspondingly the decline of the Arian movement) and to the significance of St Martin in western Christianity. It is hardly surprising that Martin eventually became the patron saint of France.

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

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

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

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

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

101 Check Kasper (1997: 18) for the saint’s patronages in Germany.
connection. In France, Martin was the patron of a wide range of leather-related guilds: tanners, leather-dressers, parchment-makers, morocco- and chamois-leather workers, gloves, purse-makers, and so on.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

104This pope actually appears in an Old English Life of St Neot. The saint sends King Alfred (the Great) to Pope Martin, by which Pope Marinus (I) is meant, with whom Alfred was acquainted; p. 131 (ll. 23f.) reads: “Nu, leof bearn, geher me, gyf þu wylt, & þine heorte to mine ræde gecerre. Gewit eallinge fram þinre unritwisnyse, & þine synnen mid almessen ales, & mid tearen adigole, & gebring þine lac to Romeburh, Martinum þan pape, þe nu wealt Engliscre scolę. Se king ælfred dyde þa swa se halge hine bebead, & his beboden georne hlyste, & he him feala foresede mid forewitegunge, swa him sybben anaode.” See the edition: Warner, R.D.-N. (1917), Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV, EETS o.s. 152, London, [repr. 1971]; see St Neot on pp. 129-34.
The reason why they chose the name of Martin is unknown; Pope Martin IV certainly chose the name because he was born in the Touraine, the French province of which Tours was the capital.

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

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

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

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


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

108 The other saint is St Nicolas (6 December).
day of his death (8 November). But all the more, the Caroline tax system helped to add to the significance of Martinmas in the year. On St Martin’s day the tax-collectors would come to collect the tithe, which resulted in great feasting on St Martin’s eve. People would slaughter their animals, especially geese, and feast joyfully on their harvest the day before the tax-collectors would come to collect payment in the form of the tenth part of money and/or victuals and animals. People were able to enjoy their harvest of agriculture and farming for the last time of the year at Martinmas, especially since the 14 of November (the day of St Philipus) would commence a forty-days fasting period (until Christmas). Autumn was not only a rich time with regard to the harvest of vegetables and fruit. By tradition, the first wine of the year was tried on St Martin’s eve. In modern terms, St Martin’s eve was probably the biggest party of the calendar year.

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

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

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

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

110 A painting called *The Wine of Saint Martin’s Day* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525-69) presents a vivid image of this cultural phenomenon. Obviously in the eyes of Bruegel, drinking and worldly joys surpassed the actual veneration of the saint in significance.
of soldiers. They could well identify with him, even though he was never involved in fighting, as Severus claims in the *vita*. Other such groups of people who could identify with him and worshipped the saint were monks, travelers, riders, beggars, etc. The great variety of patronages added up to his popularity, which, in turn, led to more churches being consecrated in his name, thus, his popularity spread wider and wider.

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

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

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

112Vielberg (2006: 293 and n. 5) notes that the scene is an iconic application of the New Testament’s commandment of love, as in BS Mt 22.37-40.
113See SVM 1.3; Vielberg points to this episode (Vielberg 2006: 41-2). See the great collection of quotes on the significance of St Martin in Groß (1997c: 364f.)
Textual Culture

Martiniana

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

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

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

Paulinus of Périgueux’s De Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI

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

114 Vielberg refers to the edition of Petchenig (1888: 161,3), which quotes “versus per Domnissimum meum diaconum sicut praecepisti emisi.” (Vielberg 63 n. 122). The CSEL edition is freely available under “https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_QHgyAQAAMAAJ” (05 Dec 2014), but as Vielberg (2006: 25) notes, there is yet a lack of a commentary, critical analysis or comprehensive monograph on Paulinus. It must be stated, however, that the article by Chase (1932) is very illuminating.
Paulinus created his *magnum opus* between 460 and 470 AD (Vielberg 2006: 64). The work which bears the title *De Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI* is a version of Martin’s life in six books of verse. According to a preceding letter of dedication, it was inspired by Bishop Perpetuus of Tours, who, as one of Martin’s successors in office, was concerned with renewing and enhancing the cult of Martin.115 Paulinus declares his incompetence in its opening chapter, which corresponds to the very typical topos of modesty, and plays down his work as *transcribere*, as if to claim that he merely translated Severus’ prose into verse lines. Vielberg interprets it as euphemistic and as alluding to the late antique tradition of *paraphrase*.116

The work consists of six “books” or chapters, comprising 3,622 hexameters in total (Vielberg 2006: 64). A hexameter is a verse line that consists of six (hexa-) dactyls (one foot with vowel lengths in the order long-short-short117). The structure of the whole work is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, Paulinus did more than to make use of his sources’ strengths. He further enhanced the material with rhetorical figures. Personification is one very significant rhetorical figure in Paulinus’ work.\footnote{Vielberg contextualizes this by arguing that there is a general tendency towards increasing employment of personification in late antique literature, see pp. 199f. and 204. He names the personification of the river Loire in Tours, as “Zeuge der von dem Heiligen gewirkten Wunder (6,71-79)” (‘witness to the saint’s performed miracles’) as examples in Paulinus. In this, Vielberg discovers the influence of the Roman (pagan) author Claudian (ca. 370-404), see ibid. p. 210. For other instances of personification, see Vielberg 212, and ns. 178-85.} In comparison with Severus, Paulinus makes more use of pictures and metaphors. Some episodes are colourfully set into a scene by Paulinus. One such episode is the banquet with emperor Maximus (SVM 20). Severus’ focus is on the presence of significant individuals, whereas Paulinus avoids naming too many people, also because of the frequent metrical difficulties they present, and instead builds up on his effect by describing minutely the colourful details of the banquet itself, the rooms, interior, furniture, etc., supposedly so as to mirror its splendour with Martin’s grandeur of character. Generally speaking, Paulinus is “colouring” his material intensely.\footnote{See Vielberg (2006: 181f.) for the interesting analysis of colours and scenes in Severus and Paulinus. See esp. pp. 197-8 in Vielberg for conclusions. Guessing at the source of inspiration for Paulinus’ use of colour, Vielberg suggests a connection to popular mosaic works the author must have known.} Certain other differences between Severus and Paulinus result from their chronological distance. Martin was a contemporary of Severus, a living and present being, whereas for Paulinus, Martin was a historical being, present only through the miracles he performed at his tomb. Paulinus seems to highlight the significance of the basilica and of Tours, in correspondence to his task given by Bishop Perpetuus. It would be fully in line with this that the saint’s actual death is implied rather than reported in detail. There is reason to believe that Paulinus sought to play down Martin’s (past) bodily presence, and, instead, put Martin’s (present) ubiquity as a divine power for good in the world of men to the foreground (Vielberg 2006: 220). The poet does not forget to mention that he himself has benefitted from Martin’s healing powers.

The following results of Vielberg’s (2006: 225f.) detailed analysis are exemplary of Paulinus’ great artistic achievement. Book VI is concerned with Martin’s post-mortem miracles, and reports eleven of them. The book features a prologue and epilogue. The fourth and eighth story of miracles both report on a miraculous healing involving sacred oil. Stories five and seven both present divine punishment of a crime committed, both of which are connected to Martin’s basilica. The sixth story, right in between, and also exactly in the middle of the...
entire work, reports on a murder and the punishment (the murderer’s final suicide), both events being set at the basilica. Thus the work features a sophisticated axisymmetric structure that highlights the basilica as the focal point of the entire work. Vielberg praises Paulinus for his achievements as a great innovator (Vielberg 2006: 75) who did not only strengthen the role of Tours as a centre for pilgrimage, but also invented the hagiographic epic, all of which makes a comprehensive monograph on Paulinus and his work a true desideratum.

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

Gregory of Tours’ Martiniana

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

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

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

123It is edited in PL 61, cols. 1074Dff., cf. Petschenig’s (1888) introduction to his edition.
come a cleric if he survived. He was elected Bishop of Tours in 573, which was confirmed by Sigibert, the Merovingian ruler, who would be murdered by political foes only two years later. Gregory himself was in danger because of his exposition when he was mediator between the different Merovingian rulers who struggled for autarchy.

He – and, therefore, the city of Tours – enjoyed the climax of their political significance especially when Gregory mediated between the powerful Merovingian enemies Gunthram and Childebert. Gregory was on the verge of becoming victim to an intrigue when a trial was opened against him in 580. He could save himself and his reputation, and died as Bishop on 17 November 594.

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

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

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

The other work by Gregory on St Martin is a chapter incorporated into his *Historia Francorum* (GHF). The history, often referred to as the *decem libri*...
because it consists of ten books, is an integral part of the canon of literature on St Martin, though, more precisely, it is the (final) chapter 48 of Book 1, which makes Martin a subject. The chapter tells of the debate between the people of Tours and the people of Poitiers over the ownership of Martin’s dead body.

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

Venantius Fortunatus’ Verse Epic

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

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

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

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


130The work was edited for the MGH (Auct. antiq. 4,1 and 4,2) by Krusch, and is freely available online via “http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00000790/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&seite=29&pdfseitex=” (4 Nov 2015). There is a modern German translation in Fels (2006).
Thus, Fortunatus’ macro-structure follows Severus; however, the micro-structure was carefully designed by the poet (Vielberg 2006: 98).

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

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

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

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

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131Fels (2006) has a German translation both of the epistle (p. 325: “Brief an Gregor von Tours”) and the elegy (p. 327: “Vorwort an Agnes und Radegunde”)
132See Roberts’ study on Fortunatus’ work, esp. pp. 143-86; cf. the concise study in Chase (1932).
133Chase (1932) introduces and studies “The Metrical Lives of St. Martin of Tours” by Paulinus and Fortunatus and juxtaposes them with Severus.
134Fels (2006) provides a modern German translation (pp. 261-3), and a few notes (p. 458, esp. n. 76).
Alcuin of York’s Martiniana

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

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

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

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137The text is edited in ed. PL 101, cols. 662C-664C.
cryphal by some (Vielberg 2006: 233). Alcuin quotes some passages verbatim from Severus. The author goes on by pointing out that miracles happened at the saint’s grave ever since that time. The sermon ends, as is usual, with a doxology, a hymnal praise of the Christian God. The key message has been interpreted to be that Martin, in all his acts, sought to imitate Christ (Vielberg 2006: 232). Alcuin used all his learned rhetoric to have his effect on his audience, especially through the employment of anaphoras and parallelisms (Vielberg 2006: 231).

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

Alcuin’s Creation of the Martinellus

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

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

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138 There are two existing versions, deriving from two families of manuscripts, see Mullins (2011: 166), who refers to the two main branches as the Turonese and the St. Pére version.
139 See the list of Martinelli in Fontaine’s edition (p. 246), and the chapter on the Anglo-Latin Martinelli below, pp. 65f.
a dossier. However, Alcuin must be credited for finally having performed the act of compiling and establishing the dossier. Alcuin’s Martinellus circulated all over Europe, and whoever sought information on Martin of Tours ever since found all they needed. For Alcuin himself, its benefit was probably in its promotion of the cult of Martin, and possibly the further promotion of his own diocese, which in turn, of course, promoted his own rank and position as Bishop of Tours (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 124).

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

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

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

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

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

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

142 All these examples have been found and were presented by Hamilton (1979: 36-9).
In the Vita Senani Martin appears twice. In the one instance, Senanus (ca. 488-560) and Martin have a conversation – disregarding the fact that they lived in different times – about Martin’s act of transcribing the New Testament. In the other episode, Martin visits Senanus “to say mass and to give him communion” (Hamilton 1979: 37).

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

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

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

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

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

One of Martin’s notable appearances is in an extant French fabliau that features the saint as a side-character. A (typical) fabliau is a short, comic tale which features protagonists from the lower classes of society, and which is often marked by comic obscenity.\footnote{This short definition does not do justice to the rich variety which presents itself in the extant literature. See Cobb (2009) for a comprehensive monograph on the “Old French Fabliau”, and Hines (1993) for “The Fabliau in English”.

Dubin’s (2013) edition features an English translation on facing pages; cf. the edition by Levy (1978), and Short and Pearcy (2000)} The genre, which was very popular in the later Middle Ages, is known to readers of English literature especially through Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales; the Miller’s Tale represents the most popular example of an English fabliau. The Old French text of the fabliau called St Martin’s Four Wishes is extant in:

- Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 354, fols. 167v-169r
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, MS 837, fols. 189r-190r
I shall present a brief synopsis. There once lived a peasant who venerated St Martin by calling his name every day before beginning his work in the fields. Then, one day, St Martin appeared to him in the field, appreciating the peasant’s veneration and granting him four wishes as a reward for his piety. The peasant happily returned home to his wife, who convinced him to grant her one wish for herself. Despite second thoughts, he granted it, whereupon she wished that he may have many penises, so as to be able to satisfy her sexually. The wish granted and the peasant being unnerved by the stupidity of her wish and the abundance of penises on his whole body, wished in turn that she may have as many vaginas as he had penises. That wish also granted, they were both detested by their waste of two wishes, and wished their penises and vaginas to be removed again. Finding themselves without any penis and vagina thereafter, they had to spend their final wish to be restored with one penis and one vagina, eventually being forced to accept that they had neither won nor lost anything.

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

In the time after Alcuin, the city of Tours prospered further from the popularity of its saint. Around 900, Radbod, Bishop of Utrecht (899-917) reports that Tours was spared from a Norman raid through Martin’s intervention.146

The next Bishop of Tours who would collect and write down the miracles performed by Martin in the basilica was Herbernus (890-917).147 Another significant Bishop of Tours was St Odo (d. 942), who left an antiphony about Martin, as well as three rhymed hymns on the Saint (Vielberg 2006: 297-300).

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

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145Cf. the studies in Långfors (1917: 435), Stengel (1871: 28), and Levy (1978).
146Vielberg (2006: 295 and n. 10) refers to the text in “Radbodus, Libellus de Miraculo S. Martini, MGH XV, 1239-1244.”
only in 1860, on 14 December, that the grave of St Martin was rediscovered (Groß 1997b: 167). St Martin of Tours has generally enjoyed great popularity as a saint.
Chapter 2

The Cult in Anglo-Saxon England

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

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

¹Bond (1914: 161) writes “The more romantic the biography, and the better written, the more popular the saint. Hence, among other things, the enormous popularity of S. Martin of Tours.” He also pointed out (p. 92) that the Anglo-Saxon Church specifically favoured pacifism, and, therefore, saints like Martin.
and the evidence gathered from church calendars. The textual culture offers more insight; the richness presented to us by the extant Anglo-Latin Martinelli indicates the significance of his cult; so do the great number of his appearances in Old English non-Martiniana, which could be analysed by help of the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) corpus. The Martiniana in Old English will be the subject of a separate chapter, since they will be presented in the edition.

**Proem: The Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England**

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

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

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


³For the Irish cult of St Martin, see Paulus Grosjean (1937) and Gwynn (1966, an article named “The Cult of St. Martin in Ireland”) and Herbert (2002); a short summary can be found in Hamilton (1979: 36-7), who notes that stories of St Martin circulated throughout Ireland, that the name of Martin was a popular name for clerics, and that the city of Tours often appears in Irish works of literature. The Icelandic textual culture was studied together with Old English texts in Vermillion (1980: esp. ch. 5, pp. 117f.). See also Stokes, W. (1873-5), “A Middle-Irish Homily on S. Martin of Tours”, in *Revue Celtique* 2, 381-402.
and possibly founded by Ninian, further testify to the saint’s early popularity along Britain’s “Celtic fringe.” Six of the eight Martin well dedications in England are at Roman sites, moreover.

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

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

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4There is a succinct synopsis of the Germanic invasion in Britain in Vermillion (1980: 74f.).
5See, for instance, the study by Gardiner-Stallaert (1998) on loyalty; as the “pillar” (p. 217) of Germanic society, the concept of loyalty was modified by the Christian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England; cf. above, p. 19, and concerning this aspect in the Blickling Homilies see Hamilton (1979: 11f.).
6The Dream of the Rood is one of the great narrative poems of classical Old English verse. It is extant in MS Vercelli (see the chapter on MS D below).
among the Anglo-Saxons is St Guthlac, a Germanic warrior who converted to Christianity and became a *miles Dei*, i.e. a ‘soldier of God’.⁷

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

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

**Churches, Calendars and Folk Tradition**

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

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⁷See Vermillion (1982: 80); Old English poems as well as a homily on St Guthlac are extant in the *Exeter Book* and MS Vercelli.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{12}\)There is a ruin of a 12 century priory at Whithorn, possibly on the site of the former St Martin’s.


\(^{15}\)The top three (and by far the most popular dedications) in Bond’s list are the “Blessed Virgin”, All Saints and St Peter. The website "http://www.viasanctimartini.eu/cultural-database/churches" (31 Jul 2016) counts 212 churches dedicated so St Martin in Great Britain.
as well as one church at the end of the Wye bridge, which was destroyed in 1645 and “replaced in 1845 by the present church on the Ross Road.” (ibid.). There was also a St Martin’s church at Marstow, though it is today dedicated to St Matthew. If one analyses Bond’s lists of dedications in the single counties of England, one notices a predominance of dedications to the saint in the southern counties. Possibly, the Normans had some impact on the number of dedications to St Martin in post-Conquest England. On the continent, the Duchy of Normandy had “Martinian churches in the hundreds” (Walsh 2000: 239).

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

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

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

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

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

20Rushforth presents 27 calendars, that is seven more than in the preceding standard work on calendars by Wormald. Rushforth published her work in 2002 as “An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars”. She published a revised version in 2008. Page 17 has a table collecting all the manuscripts that contain the calendars she presents, the earliest being from the beginning of the eighth century, the latest from around 1100. She introduces all the manuscripts briefly in her introduction.
after the actual day of veneration), or a combination of these. On the basis of Rushforth’s data I have counted that Martin appears:

**under 8 May** once (in Oxford MS Bodley 579)

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

**under 3 July** once (in Oxford MS Bodley 579)

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

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

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

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

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

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

**St Menna, Martyr (11 November)** 18 times out of 23.  

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

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

Hardly anything can be said about the existence of folk traditions around Martinmas, though maybe this is not by chance. November was the “blood-month” for heathen Anglo-Saxons, as the OE *Martyrology* reports for the beginning of the month. “Se monóð is nenned on læden Novembres ond on ure geðeode blodmonað, forðon ure yldran, δα hy hædene wæron on δαm

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21Perhaps it would be worth studying whether soldier-saints were unequally more popular in England than other saints.
The passage alludes to heathen practices which have obviously been passed on from generation to generation, also after the Christianization of England had begun. The passage does not specify what exactly the practices were, but obviously the rites were about an annual sacrifice of blood. According to Walsh (2000: 238), this somewhat diminished “the role of the carnivorous feast of Martinmas.” But as Walsh also suggests, “[t]he Martinmas wine associations were apparently somewhat longer lived.” Walsh (2000: 231) concluded that Martinmas was “a micro-season of the agricultural year, roughly the middle two weeks of November, chiefly characterized by the slaughter of beasts for winter provision and the testing of the new wine”. Moreover, in accordance with the continental practice, 11 November was definitely the day when local tax-collectors made their annual collection. “Medieval records for Oxfordshire show Martinmas as payment date for such fees as the “church-scot”, “salt-sylver” and “warde-penny”, due the priest, lord of the manor and sheriff respectively.” After all, there is no reason to believe that Martinmas was not as great a feast in harvest-time as on the continent.

Textual Culture

Anglo-Latin Martinelli and Martiniana

Overview

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

- Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 29

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

23Gneuss’s Handlist of manuscripts is an important tool for Anglo-Saxonists and Anglo-Latinists alike; Gneuss drew the line in the year 1100 though, while Ker’s Catalogue of manuscripts “containing Anglo-Saxon” collects manuscripts up to 1150. In 2014, Gneuss and Lapidge published a bibliographical handlist based on Gneuss’s 2002 handlist.
Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.VI.11

London, British Library, MS Additional 40074

London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D.iv

Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.lat. 489

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

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

Manuscripts in Gneuss containing single Martiniana are:

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

Another manuscript, which Gneuss did not list, is:

- Cambridge, Trinity Hall MS 21

Anglo-Latin Martinelli

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

**Hereford, Cathedral Library, O.VI.11** s. xi ex., Gneuss *Handlist* no. 264, contains “Paschiasius Radbertus, De assumptione B. M. V.; Jerome, Epistolae 39, 31, 54, 22; (‘Martinellus’): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae I and III; Gregory of Tours, Excerpts from De virtutibus S. Martini and Historia Francorum, Vita S. Bricii (from Historia Francorum, II.1); Sulpicius Severus, Dialogi II, Ill, I; Guitmund of Aversa, Confessio de S. Trinitate; Odo of Glanfeuil (Pseudo- Faustus), Vita S. Mauri; Two responsories (added; including W 12877a): s. xi ex., (prov. Hereford, St. Guthlac’s Priory).” The Martiniana contained are: SVM, SEP, SET, GVM, GHF, SDS, SDP, and SDT. The collection of Martiniana excludes Severus’ second epistle (SES) and puts the second dialogue (SDS) before the first (SDP). This odd arrangement possibly corresponds to the scribe’s source, otherwise it does not make any sense. The exclusion could perhaps be explained by the scarcity of significant biographical data on the saint. Still, the manuscript offers quite an extensive dossier on St Martin.
London, BL, MS Additional 40074 s. x/xi, Gneuss Handlist no. 296, contains ‘(Martinellus): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae, Dialogi; Pseudo-Sulpicius, Tituli metrici de S. Martino [...]; Note on the basilica at Tours; Symbolum ‘Clemens Trinitas’: s. x/xi, Canterbury.” The manuscript contains SVM, SE, SD, a Pseudo-Sulpicius and Notes on the Basilica at Tours. The manuscript is an exclusive Martinellus, i.e. the entire codex is exclusively concerned with St Martin; obviously GVM and GHF was not available to the scribe, otherwise it would have presented an extraordinarily comprehensive Martinellus.

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

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

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

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


27The manuscript has been digitized and is available under “http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=848” (17 Nov 2015).
Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat. 489, fols. 61-124 s. xi
Gneuss Handlist no. 915 contains: “(‘Martinellus’): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae, Dialogi; Gregory of Tours, Extracts from Historia Francorum and De virtutibus S. Martini; Vita S. Bricii (from Historia Francorum ii.l): s. xi or earlier.” The manuscript contains almost all Martiniana, the exception being AVM. If one regards the life of St Brice (St Martin’s successor in office) as a text with additional material on Martin, it is another exclusive Martinellus. It is tempting to suppose that this manuscript might have been the extensive source for Ælfric’s Life of St Martin, given its date and the unknown place of production.

The Cotton Corpus Legendary

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

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

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28 Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 131) defined it this way; they also note that a collection consisting mainly of passions (vitae of saints who suffered martyrdom) is referred to as a passional.
29 The liturgical year would usually begin with Advent, but the Ælfric’s Lives of Saints, for instance, begins with Christmas (noticed by Clemoes 1959b: 214 n. 4); the Cotton-Corpus Legendary – or at least the surviving manuscript – begins with 1 January (St Martina).
30 Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 132) outline the history of English legendaries briefly to introduce the Cotton Corpus Legendary.
scripts, that is London, BL, MS Cotton Nero E.i (Parts I + II) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9. The legendary is called so because it is constituted by a manuscript from the Cotton Library (part of the British Library), London and a manuscript from the library at the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The legendary as a whole was written in the middle of the 11th century in a Worcester scriptorium. It must have been separated into two volumes already by the end of the century and it was probably “in early modern times” that the Cotton manuscript was again separated into two volumes (referred to as Part I and Part II).

Here is a comprehensive list of the contents:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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32MS CCCC9 “contains work by known Worcester scribes” and was written “before 1062”. That is the information on the manuscript by the Parker Web library at “https://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=9” (20 Jan 2015). Cf. Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 13 and fn. 15) for more information on the date of production and references to other literature.

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

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

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


**CCC CCCCC 9 1-2 computistica**

3-14 liturgical calendar

15-6 Easter tables for the years 1032-94

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

39 That is according to Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 134). Zettel (1982: 18) writes it was probably compiled in the north of France because of the predominance of French and Flemish saints. Zettel (1982: 18) also states it was definitely after 863, since one of the items in the compilation was written in that year. Cf. Lapidge (2003: 578), Lapidge (2006: 47) and Gretsch (2005: 6).
The Martinellus is contained in CCCC MS 9 and contains SVM, SEP, SET (on MS pp. 275-99), as well as an “account of miracles that occurred at his first translation” (Jackson and Lapidge 1996: 142). This is followed by Gregory of Tours’ *Vita S. Bricii* (MS pp. 299-301); this is, once again, St Brice, who was Martin’s successor as Bishop of Tours. Brice’s *vita* is followed by SDS and SDT (301-19). To this, we must add the sixth chapter of GHF, which is on fol. 95v of MS Cotton Nero E.i Part II, all of which adds up to an extensive Martinellus.

**Other Anglo-Latin Martiniana**

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

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

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

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

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

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40I thank my colleague Dr. Andreas Lemke for bringing this passage to my attention.
tini solemnitate. Quos flossculos undecunque collectos a quibuslibet magistris discere et in corpore unius libelli, mixtim quamvis, sicut tunc suppettebat, redigere, usque adeo protelavit quousque propemodum ad magnitudinem unius psalterii perveniret. Quem enchiridion suum, id est manualem librum, nominari voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissime habebat; in quo non mediocre, sicut tunc aiebat, habebat solatium.41

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

I have found three tropes for Martinmas from Anglo-Saxon England, which I repeat here without comment. A trope is a phrase or verse sung by a choir and part of a mass. In the Winchester Troper, dating back to ca. 1000 AD, extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 473, there is a trope for Martinmas. Frere’s (1894) edition of the Winchester Troper42 edits on pp. 116-7 the following short trope in praise of St Martin:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ut caritatis gratia
sic affluamus spiritu,
quo corde cum suspriis
Christum sequamur intimis.
Deo patri sit gloria.\textsuperscript{43}

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

\textbf{DE SANCTE MARTINI EPISCOPI}

\begin{verbatim}
Fratres unanimes federe nexili,
meicum particeps luminis annui,
quos solis hodie fulminat orbita
Martini revehens festa celebria,
cantemus pariter carmen amabile

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

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

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

pangamus proprio cantica presuli.
Laudemus parili voce, quod approbat,
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{43}Ed. Milfull (1996: 366-7) as item 101. Milfull (ibid.) translates: “1. Martin, confessor of God strong with the force of the spirit, you who were aware of coming death, when you grew weary in your fleshly limbs, 2. you who are rich in the peace of Christ, you who reunited the members of the church, who were divided against each other, together in one peace, in oneness of the spirit, 3. you whom life showed to be praiseworthy, whom cruel death could not harm, whose scorned the tricks of the sly one in the hour of death, 4. this crowd most readily in its faith celebrates the joyful occasion of your birthday with faithful prayers. Be with them all in your gentleness. 5. May tranquility prevail in these times by your agency, may alleviation of life be conferred by you, may the advantages of peace abound, may all scandal be silenced 6. in order that by the grace of charity we may overflow with the spirit so that we follow Christ with sighs felt from the bottom of our heart.”
dampnemus vigili mente, quod improbat.
Martinum precibus gens modo Gallica
dignis sollicitet nostraque Anglia.
Martinus faciat tempora prospera.
Mundi, Christe, salus, O, tibi gratia.
amen.⁴⁴

St Martin in Old English Non-Martiniana

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

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

⁴⁴Milfull translates on p. 446: “1. Brothers united in spirit with a tightly knit bond, who share with me each year that light with which the sun in its course sparkles today as it brings to us again the renowned feast of Martin, 2. let us sing together a delightful and very glorious song on the merits of Martin. Let the clergy sing in harmony together with the people, for it pleases us to sing with great joy, 3. since Martin inspires faithful prayer by granting everything good for us. On his servants who sing fittingly he bestows lovely golden wreaths with gleaming stars. 4. He was a candle-stick shining with light to everyone and he drew them often from the shadows of death. He caused seedlings of virtue to sprout in those in whose breast there had been iniquity. 5. Because we are given this assistance at every point, let us sing our songs to our Bishop. Let us praise with one voice what he approves of, let us condemn with vigilant attention what he disapproves of. 6. Let the French people and our England now urge Martin with fitting prayers. May Martin make our times prosperous. Thanks be to you, O salvation of the world, Christ.”
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Þæs ymb feower niht
þætte Martinus mære geleanor, wer womma leas wealdend sohte, upengla weard.45

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

1. reference to a church or monastery of St Martin, or to the foundation or dedication of such a place

2. reference to Martinmas:

   (a) regulations, as in law codes and charters concerning the payment of church tax or tithe at Martinmas, or references to this practice
   
   (b) monastic and other rules for Martinmas and the subsequent fasting-period
   
   (c) the use of Martinmas to assign a date to an event (esp. utilized in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles)

3. reference to relics of St Martin

4. reference to his person in other contexts

5. narratives/themes/motives inspired by Martiniana

45 It is ed. as “Menologium” in O’Brien O’Keeffe (2001: 9). The entire text is online under “http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/ascp/a14.htm” (08 Aug 2015). Lapidge (1991a: 249) translated: “It was four nights on that glorious Martin died, the blameless man, sought the Almighty Ruler, the Lord of angels”; Cf. Lapidge’s (1991a: 249) information on the Metrical Calendar of York, a Latin verse form of a calendar that contains a line on St Martin, which Lapidge translates: “At its beginning November shines with a multi-faceted jewel: It gleams with the praise of All Saints. Martin of Tours ascends the stars on the ides. Thecla finished her life on the fifteenth kalends […]”, p. 248.
1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Ælfric’s Life of St Maur:** reference to a church of St Martin; stating that St Maur prayed to God in a church of St Martin (Skeat 1966 I: 164).
Ælfric’s Interrogations of Sigewulf: reference to a monastery of St Martin; stating that a certain Albinus lived in a monastery of St Martin, where many learned men dwell (MacLean 1883: 58).

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

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

2(a)

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

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

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

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46 Stevenson edits the Latin and subsequently the Old English text, pp. 740f.
47 Liebermann translated into German: "Des Bauern Rechtspflichten. Bauernrechtspflichten sind verschieden. [...] Er muss an Michaelisfesttag (29. Sept.) 10 Zinspfennig zahlen und an Martinus' Festtag 23 Sextar Gerste und zwei Hennen, zu Ostern ein Jungschaf oder 2 Pfennig. [...] Und von der Zeit an, da man zuerst (im Herbst) pflügt, bis Martinus' Fest muss er in jeder Woche 1 Acker pflügen, und (dazu) das Saatkorn selbst in des Herrn Scheune erholen;"
Anglo-Saxon Laws (Rectitudines): regulating goatherds’ legal obligations, with Martinmas as due date\(^{48}\) (Liebermann 1960 I: 451, no. 15).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wulfstan’s “Sunnandæges spell”: reference to church tax being paid at Martinmas (Ostheeren 1967: 208).

Wulfstan’s “Be cristendome”: reference to church tax being paid at Martinmas (Ostheeren 1967: 311).

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

\(^{48}\) Liebermann translated into German: “Vom Ziegenhirten. Dem Ziegenhirten gebührt die Milch seiner Herde nach Martinus’ Festtag, und vorher sein Theil Molken und ein Zicklein vom Jungvieh des Jahres, wenn er seine Herde wohl besorgt.”
from the 9th to the 11th century as well as over the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

2(b)

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

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

49 (Langefeld 2003: 239).

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

50 (Langefeld 2003: 249).

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

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

50“And every year goatskin leather shall be provided for the footwear of the priests, and everybody shall receive four pairs of shoes. And they shall receive their garments on St Martin’s Day and their surplices at Easter and their footwear in the month of November” (transl. Langefeld).
ma to eallum þysum fulle þenuncge, and eon tuwa on dæg” (Langefeld 2003: 313).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Use of Martinmas to Assign a Date to an Event

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

55Cf. the passage in the other versions, e.g. MS D-version (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 913).
56Cf. the passage in the other versions, e.g. MS D-version (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 915).
57This passage can be found in the Chronicle in MS E, too.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: King William II went to Normandy around Martinmas in 1097 (Irvine 2004: A.D. 1097).

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

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


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

3.

Reference to Relics of St Martin

Exeter List of Relics: reference to St Martin, explaining that he revived three dead persons (Förster: 1943: 76, no. 70).

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

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

58It is unknown where the annotator gathered this information and why he inserted it. Similarly inexplicable information can be found in the “Annals of St. Neots”, which Stevenson (1896) edited in his appendix, one annal (p. 118) reads: “Martinus transitur CCCXII”, i.e. A.D. 412.
59Cf. Förster’s note on p. 87.
60Note here the use of the loan word in this text from the 990s. The first recorded use of the (anglicized) word relics is in the Ancrene Riwle (ca.1225); see OED s.v. relic, n. (1a).
4. Reference to His Person in Other Contexts

**OE Martyrology (St Hilary):** mentions that St Hilary [of Poitiers] was St Martin’s teacher (“Se wæs sancte Martines lærow”) (Kotzor 1981 I: 15).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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⁶¹Lapidge (2003: 14) summarizes: “In 969 a man named Æthelsige, who was suffering from the pain of a terrible hump-back, heard in a dream that there was a saint in Winchester who could cure all infirmity. The man goes to Winchester, and after a long (and largely irrelevant) story involving his genial host at Winchester, a moneyer who apparently had some social standing but who is not named by Lanfran, he goes to the tomb of St Swithun and falls asleep there; he is immediately cured. However, because the tomb was situated near a tower dedicated to St Martin, and because the cure took place on 4 July, the feast of St Martin’s ordination, the monks of the Old Minster assumed that the cure had taken place through the agency of St Martin.”
significance or Hilary’s insignificance. More importantly, we can see that Martin seems to have been very present in Ælfric’s mind; in fact, I discuss below that Ælfric was particularly fond of St Martin (see p. 135).

5.

Narratives/Themes/Motives Inspired by Martiniana

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

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

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

62 For such influences on continental narratives, see Manitius (1889+1890), who lists a few, for example, the prologue to the Vita Karoli Magni, where Einhard copied the structure from Severus’ prologue to the vita (1889: 166).
from military service. Since Sigeberht was baptized in Gaul, as Bede’s account tells us, he must have been acquainted with the episode. Possibly Martin’s example inspired Sigeberht to follow in Martin’s footsteps; even though the outcome for Sigeberht was his violent death, the episode was certainly successful in painting a powerful image of Christian pacifism and incorporating Martin’s example into the Anglo-Saxon world.

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

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

Outlook: Development of the Cult in England

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

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

64 See Book III, ch. XVIII, as ed. by Colgrave and Mynors (1969); they edit the Latin text (pp. 266+268) and present their English translation (pp. 267+269) on facing pages.
65 Walsh (2000) touches upon the Middle English period.
One special example of a Norman church dedicated to St Martin is the so-called Battle Abbey, or Sanctor Martino de Bello (lit. ‘St Martin of the War’). There are two myths concerning its construction. The first myth is that William the Conqueror vowed to build the abbey as a penance, after Pope Alexander II had demanded some form of penance on William’s side after his pernicious conquest of England. The second is that William had vowed to build a church of St Martin as thanks for his successful conquest. Its construction was finished by William II in 1094; the building was lost due to the dissolution of the monasteries under the Tudor King Henry VIII, but the site can be visited today.

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

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

There is a depiction of St. Martin of Tours, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS 2, fol. 245v. According to library’s online presence MS 2 holds: “Psalter, Hours, Breviary Offices, etc. France, mid 15th century”. It is actually known to many medieval scholars as the logo of the Leeds
“International Medieval Congress” (IMC), which represents “the largest conference of its kind in Europe, with annually over 2,000 medievalists from all over the world attending”, as the organizers claim on their online presence. The MS (and IMC logo) shows a colourful depiction of the charity of St Martin in great artistic quality.

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

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

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

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

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

Finally, one phenomenon that vibrates recurrences of St Martin in British culture is the term *St Martin’s Summer*. The natural phenomenon referred to in North America as an “Indian summer”, usually reaching its climax in October, is called St Martin’s summer in Britain whenever the phenomenon reaches into November (Walsh 2000: 236).\(^7\)

\(^7\)Walsh (2000: 236) has found an episode in Shakespeare’s *Henry VI*, Act 1, Scene 2. that refers to St Martin’s summer. Merriam-Webster define it s.v. *Saint Martin’s summer* as an “Indian summer when occurring in November”. 
Chapter 3

Old English Martiniana

Overview

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

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

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

An Anonymous Homily for Martinmas surviving in three manuscripts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴Kotzor’s (1981) edition features an extensive linguistic study of all manuscripts; Kotzor founded much of his study on the Anglian vocabulary (pp. 329f.) on Wenisch, F. (1979), Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordumbriischen Interlinearglosierungen des Lukasevangeliums, Anglistische Forschungen 132, Heidelberg.
do not allow for any evidential confirmation of its origin. The two manuscripts which contain St Martin are especially distinctively West-Saxon. The presence of a number of dialects has prompted scholars to suppose an intended or unintended supradialectal language in the archetype.5

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

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

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

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

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5See the concise summary of the state of dialectological research in Rauer (2013: 5-7).
6See a discussion on the matter in Rauer (2013: 2/15), and (Kotzor 1981 I: 52-4); Kotzor presents his results concisely on pp. 443f. (origin) and pp. 449f. (date).
9Another important linguistic study is by Stossberg, F. (1905), Die Sprache des altenglischen Martyrologiums, Bonn; cf. Kotzor’s discussion of Herzberg (pp. 16f.) and Stossberg (pp. 23f.). One edition of the Martyrology-manuscript British Library, MS Additional 40165 represents another important study on the Martyrology, see Sisam, C. (1953), “An Early Fragment of the Old English Martyrology”, Review of English Studies, N.S. 4, 209-20.
10Rauer had included the results from her study on the martyrology’s sources (Rauer 2003). For the context of Old English prose homilies, see Scragg (2000: 105), and Scragg (1979: 226+256).
the *Martyrology* in early modern times. Folios 44-175 contain the OE *Martyrology*, “beginning imperfectly at 31 December (Columba, virgo)” (Ker), then continuing with gaps (esp. in February, March, July) until 11 November, ending imperfectly right in the introductory sentence of the entry on St Martin. The *Martyrology* in MS A features 229 items in total. Four scribes are “easily distinguishable” (Ker), the first of whom wrote fols. 44-129. Kotzor (1981: 58f.) detected two contemporary correctors. Glastonbury has been proposed as a possible origin based on internal evidence (Rauer 2013: 20), and Kotzor confirmed (or at least he did not falsify) Ker’s dating to 975-1025.

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

**MS B: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196**

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

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

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


Robinson (1988: no. 141) to the time between 1050-72, and through the hands of collector Matthew Parker (1504-75) it came to Cambridge.\footnote{For provenance, see Budny (1997), and for the provenance and the history of the manuscripts in the times of Parker, see Kleist (2007: 463), Page (1981), Page (1993), and Kotzor (1981 I: 83f.), For a physical description, see also Kotzor (1981 I: 76f.), and Ker’s Catalogue. See Hofstetter (1987: 409-10) for a connection to Winchester.}

The \textit{Martyrology} begins imperfectly on 19 March and ends as imperfectly at 21 December, and was possibly written by a single scribe.\footnote{See Ker, and also Kotzor (1981: 75-88) on the paleography.} It contains 207 \textit{Martyrology} items in total.

\section*{The Anonymous Old English Homily for Martinmas}

A homily is a religious discourse which is to be preached in church and is, thus, similar to a sermon, though also differing in some respect. As Tristram (1995: 3 n. 2) explains, “[i]n the strict sense, the \textit{homily} expounds the pericope of the day of the Church year on which it is delivered and the \textit{sermon} teaches important moral and catechetical topics. Thus the \textit{homily} is basically exegesis and the \textit{sermon} catechesis.” In fact, however, the two terms are often employed synonymously in the secondary literature.\footnote{Tristram (1995: 3 n. 2) explains that “scholarship since the 19th century has used the term \textit{‘homily} loosely to cover all kinds of Old English pastoral address.”} The central characteristics of a homily are its link to a narrative, predominantly a biblical episode, and its undertone of edification. Homilies were written to be read out aloud in church services and also for “meditative readings in the monastic Office”,\footnote{See Kelly (2003: xviii), who says that the Benedictine Rule from the sixth century refers to this practice.} and they were probably also used for private study. A homiliary is a collection of homilies, though often an Old English homiliary features texts that can be categorized rather as sermons or saints’ lives.

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

The three homilies in MS Vercelli, MS Blickling and MS Junius 86 derive...
from one homily composed by one (anonymous) author/translator. It is unknown who composed the original homily, as is when and where it was composed. Dalbey (1984: 432) writes about the three versions that “[d]ifferences among them are relatively minor, and, except in two or three instances, are primarily verbal rather than substantive”, which is true for their opening sections. There are a few substantial differences with regard to their endings, however. For all we know, the text which makes use of Severus’ Vita (SVM) and his third epistle (SET) could have been composed in the early days of Christendom in England (after the sixth century), or it could have been inspired by King Alfred of Wessex’ translational programme (end of the ninth century), or it could have been from the time that the surviving manuscripts were produced (second half of the 10th century). It is also unknown whether we are dealing with an Anglo-Saxon author or a translator; it is possible that he or she gathered and reorganized the Latin material (from SVM and SET) to create a new homily in Old English, but it is as possible that he or she translated an existing (now lost or unknown) Latin homily. I shall refer in the following to this anonymous author or translator simply as the homilist. This is an overview of the three manuscripts in chronological order:

C Vercelli Homily for Martinmas Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII, s. x2, Ker Catalogue no. 394 (item 20), Gneuss Handlist no. 941.

D Blickling Homily for Martinmas Princeton, Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71, s. x/xi., Ker Catalogue no. 382 (item 17), Gneuss Handlist no. 905.

E Junius Homily for Martinmas Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, s. xi med., Ker Catalogue no. 336 (item 8), Gneuss Handlist no. 642.

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

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

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20Napier (1904: 1-2) has collected “emended passages” for his inquiry and numbered them from 1 to 32.
D and E form a subgroup because they lack one passage that is in C (Napier passage no. 32) and because they share wrong readings that are correct in C (nos. 4, 7, 14, 26, 31, 36).

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

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

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

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

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

MS C: The Vercelli Book

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

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

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

The manuscript’s greatest mystery, however, lies in its provenance in nor-
thern Italy, in the small city of Vercelli. Kenneth Sisam found out that it must
have been in Italy by the 11th century, which Sisam based on his finding of a
psalm and neums on folio 24v, which are in north Italian script. The “generally
accepted” (Scragg 1992: xxiv) view is that it has been in Vercelli since the early
12th century. Sisam proposed the idea that the manuscript was carried by an
Englishman on his pilgrimage to Rome; the route is likely to have included a
stop at Vercelli.\textsuperscript{26}

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

\textsuperscript{22}The other three are the \textit{Exeter Book} (\textit{Codex Exoniensis} in Exeter Cathedral), the \textit{Beowulf-MS}
(BL, Cotton MS Vitellius MS A.XV), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11.
\textsuperscript{23}Scragg (1992: xix) points out that the term \textit{Vercelli Homilies} is misleading, since it suggests that
the manuscript represents a homiliary.
\textsuperscript{24}Scragg (1992: xx) names homilies 19, 20, and 21 as examples.
\textsuperscript{25}The sign <xb> in the margin on four folios was interpreted as indicating a Canterbury origin.
As Szarmach (1981: xix) points out, it can be interpreted as a pen trial that is also a prayer,
<xb> standing for \textit{criste benedic}.
\textsuperscript{26}For other propositions and further literature on the issue see Szarmach (1981: xx-xxi).
The successful transcription was, however, accompanied by an unfortunate study of the manuscript. In trying to decipher and illuminate some illegible and faded portions of text Maier applied a liquid reagent on the parchment. It is questionable whether the transcript benefitted from this, and these portions of text have ever since been covered by a brownish layer. Sometimes the reagent was applied to the whole page, thus rendering great portions of text more or less illegible. The first folio, for example, is completely illegible on both sides. There is “little hope of recovering any texts from beneath these stains” (Scragg 1992: xxiii). This does not concern the homily on St Martin.

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

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

The language bears marks of a late West-Saxon dialect, though interspersed with plenty of non-West-Saxon forms. The scribe obviously did not strive for “linguistic uniformity” (Scragg 1992: xx) but has left some dialectal marks on the manuscript. Accents in the manuscript indicate vowel length (e.g. godes...
gód), and “sentence emphasis” (e.g. án) (Peterson 1951: vii). The language of the homily on St Martin provides enough linguistic evidence to identify a Mercian origin.31

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

Hom. 10 McCabe (1968)

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

Homs. 9-23 Szarmach (1981)

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

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

33Scragg (1992: xxii): Förster probably used the transcript from Napier which the latter used for the inclusion of notes in his “Contributions to Old English Lexicography” (1906).
Finally, in 1992, the prose homilies were published altogether by Donald Scragg, whose edition for the EETS is the standard edition for the homilies. Nicholson (1991) presented a modern English translation of all the homilies.

**MS D: The Blickling Manuscript**

While the provenance of MS Vercelli is a mystery, the provenance of the so-called Blickling MS (Ker no. 382) in the U.S.A. is recorded well. MS Blickling was probably in Lincoln Cathedral before the 14th century. After 1304 (at the latest), it was used in the Common Council of Lincoln as a “casual notebook” (Kelly 2003: xliiv). It was integrated later into the house library of the Blickling Hall estate (hence the name) in Norfolk, UK. It was there that Benjamin Thorpe consulted (but not edited) the manuscript for his edition of Ælfric of Eynhsam’s *Catholic Homilies*, which he published in 1844-6. In 1850, the estate (including the properties) was bequeathed to the 7th Marquis of Lothian. The Marquiss’ widow obviously made the manuscript available to Richard Morris, who edited the *Blickling Homilies* for the first time. His three volumes for the EETS were published in 1874-80. After the death of the 10th Marquis of Lothian in 1930, the manuscript, among other rare books, found new owners through auctions in the United States. In 1938, the manuscript was bought by John Hinsdale Scheide of Princeton, New Jersey, (Kelly 2003: xxix); today it is kept in the Scheide Library of Princeton University, New Jersey.

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

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34“The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts” appeared in 1992; Scragg discusses the manuscript’s editorial history, see pp. xxi-xxii.
35In its third volume, Morris included a preface, dating 7th November 1879, in which he thanks the 7th Marquis’ widow and the 9th Marquis.
36I followed the more detailed account on the history of the estate and the manuscript by Kelly (2003: esp. pp. xxix-xxx). See also the brief “description” of the manuscript’s online version at “http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/x346d4176” (19 Apr 2014).
37The Scheides were renowned book collectors. The Princeton University’s Scheide Library’s was assembled by William T. Scheide (1847-1907), by his son, John H. Scheide (1875-1942), and finally by his son, William H. Scheide (1914-2014). The library’s official website is at “http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/department/scheide/” (19 Jan 2014).
38Cf. Kelly (2003) for information on the calendar (p. xlii), the Gospels (p. xl) and historical and present bindings (p. xxxiii.); for a detailed list of contents, see Ker’s Catalogue, no. 382.
39No. 13, the *Assumption*, is not in the usual place, however. According to its date in the liturgical year (August 15) it should appear between Sts Peter and Paul (June 29) and St Michael.
The manuscript was written by two scribes, and can be divided into three parts:\footnote{See Morris 1967: viii, and Kelly (2003), who provides a detailed table on p. 197. A substantial work on the Blickling homilies, esp. scribes, and codicology is the article by Scragg, “The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript”, pp. 299-316 in Lapidge, M. and Gneuss, H., eds. (1985), Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, Cambridge et al.}

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

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

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

The two scribes are regarded as contemporary and were possibly writing in the same scriptorium (Kelly 2003: xxxvii), since they seem to take each other’s place from time to time.\footnote{Ker gives some more details on the scribes’ paleography, pp. 454; cf. Kelly 2003: xxxvii f.} They make use of punctus, punctus versus and rarely of punctus elevatus. Some texts (esp. III - V) show an inexplicable richness of punctuation, probably through “extensive repointing” (Kelly 2003: xxxviii). They use Roman and Uncial capital letters: \textit{H} and \textit{M} can appear both as Roman and Uncial.

The manuscript dates back to the end of the 10th century; for a long time, the manuscript was believed to date back exactly to the year of 971. In the tenth homily, for Holy Thursday, the text claims that the world shall come to an end (to which the second scribe added \textit{on þam sixta elddo} (“in the sixth age”)) and that 971 years have already passed. Morris (1874-80: viii) concluded that this would be the date of the manuscript’s production. Förster (1919 “Bewulf-Handschrift”: 43) remarks justifiably, however, that though this might be the year when the text was composed, it might not necessarily be the year that the manuscript was written.\footnote{In 1965, Hans Schabram called Morris’ conclusion a widely circulated “Trugschluss” (“fallacy”) (Schabram 1965: 73). It may prove him right to read in Gaites (1982: 36) “The Blickling MS can be assigned to 971, while the Vercelli collection and MS Bodleian Junius 86 are thought to have been compiled slightly earlier.” Of course it is comprehensible that readers of Morris’ edition trust his enthusiastic assignment to the year 971, but today’s reader can, therefore, only be encouraged to make use of Kelly’s (2003) edition.} It is known that some of the homilies “antedate the MS, in some cases by about a century” (Hamilton 1979: 6).

From the time of the manuscript’s usage as a “register of municipal memoranda” (Kelly 2003: xliv), it features numerous scribblings in the outer and inner
margins. A certain “George Davys” appears in the margin of both sides of fol. 129, that is on the folios of our homily. Davys was one of several officials (i.e. sword-bearers, mace-bearers and bellmen) who made themselves – or rather their names – immortal by putting their names and statuses in the margin of several folios (Kelly 2003: xlv).

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

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

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

43 Hamilton (1979: 2-5) lists representative forms; there is extensive linguistic study in Hardy (1899). See also the list of Anglian words in the MS in Menner (1949: 58).
44 Through the discovery of some Anglian words Campbell could establish a connection to the Old English Bede, see Campbell, J.J. (1951), “The Dialect Vocabulary of the Old English Bede”, in JEGP 50, 349-72, p. 356.
45 There are a number of linguistic commentaries on the Blickling Homilies. There have already been a few by the time of Swaen (1940); Swaen lists a good number of linguistic studies and claims he himself “offer[s] a few additional conjectures and corrections” (Swaen 1940: 264). Hamilton (1979), studied the homily on St Martin exclusively; cf. Kelly’s (2003) introductory chapters.
46 Morris (1967: vi-vii) found, for instance, a passage that resembles one in the Old English epic Beowulf.
English Manuscripts in Facsimile (EEMF) series. There was a new edition of the whole collection of homilies by Richard J. Kelly in 2003. Kelly presented a modernized translation on facing pages and an extensive introduction, textual notes and tables and in fact he printed a black/white photograph of the beginning of the homily on St Martin (fol. 127r) (behind p. lvi). The homily on St Martin has been edited on its own in Hamilton (1979). The Princeton library recently published a freely available scan of the whole manuscript online.47

MS E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86

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

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

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47The permanent link is “http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/x346d4176” (19 Jan 2014).
48See Wilcox (2009: 355), also for the exact proportions; cf. Ker’s Catalogue, no. 336; cf. also Scragg (2009: 56). There is also a physical description in diPaolo Healey (1978: 3).
49Ker notes with regard to scribes that the “writing varies in appearance” and that he can distinguish at least two hands.
50Ker and also Pächt and Alexander (1973: no. 47) date it “xi med.”; Pächt and Alexander include the manuscripts for its “Initials and marginal ornaments”; they note on the manuscript’s provenance that a marginal inscription refers to “Richborough, Kent”, which suits the background of the volume’s southern language; they also state it was “given to Junius by Isaac Vossius”.

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

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

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

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51 For the MS’s contents, see the list of items in Ker’s *Catalogue* and cf. diPaolo Healey (1978) for further information and secondary literature. See also Godden (1979: lix-lx).
52 DiPaolo Healey (1978: 9) notes that it is no. 49 in Napier’s (1883) edition of Wulfstan’s homilies (see Napier and Ostheeren 1967), also homily no. 10 in the Vercelli-MS and no. 9 in the Blickling-MS.
53 See diPaolo Healey (1978: 10+11).
There is reason to believe that the Ælfric homily was an independent booklet before it was bound into Junius 85/86: “It appears, then, that this quire was first copied as a freestanding booklet (or, conceivably, as a quire in a different, now lost, small format book), but may not have circulated in that form for long (or at all) since it was selected soon thereafter for inclusion in the composite manuscript, Junius 85/86.” (Wilcox 2009: 358)

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

Ælfric of Eynsham’s Old English Martiniana

The Author and His Works

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

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

54 For the interest in Ælfric in Early Modern times cf. Magennis (2009: 8).
55 Despite the richness of his surviving body of texts and in research, Michael Lapidge has justifiably pointed out that “[t]here is no satisfactory monograph on Ælfric”. Lapidge (2003: 575, fn. 2) goes on: “those frequently cited include C. L. White, Ælfric: a New Study of his Life and Writings, rev. M. R. Godden (New York, 1974; originally published 1898) and J. Hurt, Ælfric (New York, 1972). One is better served by the introductions to CH I and II, taken together
Ælfric was a common name in Anglo-Saxon England, so it took researchers quite some time to find enough evidence to discern which historical person named Ælfric was the one who named himself as the author of the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of Saints* in the two works’ prefaces. Franz Eduard Dietrich found out who this Ælfric was. The author in question is now commonly referred to as Ælfric of Eynsham. He was born around 955 in or in the vicinity of Winchester and he probably entered the Old Minster as a child. In any case, he himself states that he became a student of Æthelwold, who was Bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984. Ælfric also stated that he had learned Latin from a teacher called Iorvert, about whom nothing else is known. Ælfric was also a student of Dunstan (d. 988), who was later Archbishop of Canterbury (959-88), which involved studies at Glastonbury. These two must have had some major influence on Ælfric, considering how much the monastic reform movement, called the *English Benedictine Reform*, surfaces in his works.

Ælfric’s “name appears in the list of Old Minster monks as ‘Ælfric sacerdos’” (Lapidge 2003: 575). His Winchester training “will no doubt have guaranteed a thorough knowledge of Aldhelm” (Gretsch 2005: 23). We know which texts influenced Ælfric, thanks to Michael Lapidge’s thorough studies of inventories, manuscripts and citations. Lapidge (2002: 127-8) was also able to reconstruct Ælfric’s library at Winchester. Among the works he must have studied there were the major patristic works, such as Gregory’s *Dialogi*, *Homilia in...*
Ælfric was consecrated as a priest in 987 and seconded to Cerne Abbas (Dorset) by Ælfheah, Æthelwold’s successor as Bishop of Winchester (984-1006). The new monastery at Cerne had been founded by an ealdorman named Æthelweard and his son Æthelmaer. It was there at Cerne where Ælfric commenced composing homilies, sermons and saints’ lives in the vernacular, an activity which was probably inspired – if not actively supported – by Æthelweard and/or Æthelmaer, as far as we can deduce from Ælfric’s preface. It was probably there in Cerne Abbas that he wrote the major portion of his writings.

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

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

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

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61See Cubitt (2009) for an essay on “Ælfric’s Lay Patrons”; Æthelweard was a direct descendant of King Æthelwulf I (865-71) of Wessex, brother to King Alfred the Great. He and his son Æthelmaer were “leading figures at the court of Æthelred the Unready” (Cubitt 2009: 165-6).
63Gneuss (1970: 156) reports that Pope made this discovery.
64See, for instance, Alfred’s popular preface to the Pastoral Care, ed. Whitelock (2000).
his homeland (Vermillion 1980: 79). Similar to Alfred, Ælfric saw two methods to counteract this development: 1. promoting translations of Latin works into Old English and 2. providing a Latin grammar and glossaries to support learning of Latin (Vermillion 1980: 80). Set against the background of the Benedictine Reform, the small circle of the movement’s key figures, thus, “produced a literary movement whose chief representative was Ælfric”.65

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

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

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

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

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

67 An extensive list of works by him and a discussion of his authorship in some doubtful cases can be found in the much-quoted and influential article by Clemoes “The Chronology of Ælfric’s Works” (1959b). It features a chronological list of works on pp. 244-5. A good summary of Ælfric’s works can be found in Lapidge (2003: 576), cf. Gneuss (2002a: 8-9). John (1983) bemoans that “the main thrust of Ælfrician studies has been philological”. 
plicity and clarity. He tends to reduce “excessive verbosity, simply (as it were) by drawing a red pencil”.

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

68See Lapidge (2003: 560) and more on the techniques of Ælfric in Lapidge (2003: 560-1).
69The grammar was edited by Zupitza, whose 1880 standard edition has been revised by Gneuss (Zupitza 2003); see the article by Grundy (2000), who studies the Grammar from a wider cultural perspective.
70The Letter has recently been edited by Jones (1998), who presents the Latin text and a Modern English translation on facing pages (pp. 110ff.); cf. Hill (2009: 40) and Clemoes’ chronology of Ælfric’s works (1959b).
71The text was recently edited by Blake (2009), in whose eyes the work presents a “chronology, cosmology and the sequence of Creation, the rudiments of computus and elements of natural science, particularly meteorology” (p. 1).
72See Clemoes (1959b: 244) for the table that shows his results on the “Chronology of Ælfric’s Works” and the concise overview in Hill (2009).
Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies

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

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

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

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


79See the transl. of the Latin preface by Thorpe CH II: 2.
s.v. *ge-dwyld*, i.e. his people’s unorthodoxy, blasphemy and paganism, all of which finally “prompted him to write his own homilies” (Godden 1996: 264).

Topic-wise the *Catholic Homilies* are a broad project; they “present a survey of Christian History from Genesis to the Apocalypse.” The collection covers church feasts both from the liturgical cycle of the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*, i.e. saints’ feast days such as those of John the Evangelist, Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict and Martin. Despite this diversity, the *Catholic Homilies* deserve their title because of the predominance of homiletic texts; similarly, Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* (see next chapter) are marked by a predominance of hagiographic texts. Ælfric remarks in his preface (to *CH I*) that he has presented *tractatus* as well as *passiones vel vitae* (*CH I*: 1). He remarks in the preface to the second series that they are not all taken from the gospels (*CH II*: 2). Probably the availability of sources influenced the selection as much as did Ælfric’s own personal preferences. Ælfric knew collections such as the *Blickling Homilies* and so was perhaps influenced by them, although they were not his source. As Zettel showed, Ælfric had drawn intensely from the Cotton-Corpus Legendary.

Homilies by Ælfric survive in dozens of manuscripts, which I do not list here, instead I refer to the previous editions. I will introduce those manuscripts which are edited below in the following chapters. The first edition of Ælfric’s Homilies was published by Benjamin Thorpe (1844-6 in two vols.) for the Ælfric Society under the title *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, which provides a modern English translation on facing pages that is still valuable for scholars today.

John C. Pope made a valuable contribution to this when he published a *A Supplementary Collection of Ælfric’s homilies* (1967-8 in 2 vols.), valuable especially for its introduction, which scholars have often referred to until this day. He edited “from all the known manuscripts”, which are twenty-eight manuscripts (p. xvii) and presented an introduction to them. Malcolm Godden (1979) drew from the work of Thorpe and Pope and published Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies: the Second Series Text* (1979); in it he lists thirty manuscripts (p. xiii) and provides a short introduction to each manuscript (pp. xxv f.).

Finally, Peter Clemoes published his edition of the *First Series* (1997) and ever since scholars have been provided with two profound standard EETS edi-

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80See Vermillion (1982: 90 and n. 56).
81Cf. below, p. 113 for the terms. These saints were given as examples of saints’ lives in the collection by Godden (1996: 262).
82For the sources of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, see Godden (1979: 263); there is one instance which suggests Ælfric’s ignorance of the *Anonymous Homily*, see the comment below on p. 395.
83See Godden (1979: 263); cf. the discussion of Zettel below, p. 146.
tions of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*. Clemoes drew from thirty-four manuscripts (xvii-xviii) and, like Godden and Pope, introduced them (pp. 1-64).

### Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*

Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* (*LS*) is a collection of texts (predominantly) constituted by hagiographic texts. The most important manuscript of the *Lives of Saints* is London, BL MS Cotton Julius E.VII. (here MS J), which holds ca. 40 items, four of which are not by Ælfric. So it probably does not represent the original compilation of texts, which is also due to the fact that the collection “has an unfortunate history of loss and damage.”

Old Testament translations and miscellaneous instructive pieces are interspersed among the hagiographic items (Alexander 1982: 36). As Ælfric himself explains, the collection comprises saints venerated in monasteries (“þe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað” (Skeat 1966 I: 14)). The collection, therefore, covers major saints, with some English saints added on. However, the selection of feasts and saints raises many questions, Gretsch (2005: 2) called the collection “surprising”. It has been proposed that the *Catholic Homilies* contain saints that were venerated nationwide, whereas the *Lives of Saints* put emphasis on saints commemorated in monasteries, a proposition which cannot be verified, nor falsified; we can safely say, however, that the availability of sources had a major influence on the selection of material. The Cotton Corpus Legendary especially did more to shape the selection of saints and topics than personal preference, or ethical or political agendas. The following is a list

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84 Cf. Lapidge (2003: 576) who writes the *Lives of Saints* are “principally but not exclusively hagiographical in form and content”. Kelly writes they are a “collection of vitae, mixed with some sermons and homilies” (Kelly 2003: xxvii).

85 Lapidge states (2003 577) that MS J “contains four interpolated items which were demonstrably not composed by Ælfric”. The number of forty items relates to Skeat’s edition and, therefore, the number of items often referred to the *Lives of Saints*. E.g. Gretsch (2005: 2 n. 6) counted from Skeat’s edition.

86 Joyce Hill (1996: 236) points to the fact that J “does not represent the collection issued by Ælfric, even though he demands that in his preface”. Ælfric was quite an authority, however, if one considers the scribal changes performed on other Old English compilations in comparison. We shall not forget that scriptorium felt free to change material and adapt it to their own specific needs.

87 That is Joyce’s (1996: 252) conclusive remark in her study on the “Dissemination” of the *Lives of Saints*.


89 Gretsch (2005: 6-7) points to the evidence Lapidge gathered to show that Ælfric had used the legendary, and tries to show the CCL’s influence on Ælfric’s selection in his sanctorale (cf. p. 9f.).

90 See Gretsch (2005: 4), who argued that Ælfric included Forty Soldiers, the prayer of Moses,

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<tr>
<th>Skeat no.</th>
<th>short title</th>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Nativity of Christ</td>
<td>prose</td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>St Eugenia</td>
<td>verse</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>St Basilius</td>
<td>verse</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Sts Julian and Basilissa</td>
<td>verse</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>St Sebastian</td>
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<td>IX</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>St Peter</td>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>Forty Soldiers</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>Ash-Wednesday</td>
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<td>XIII</td>
<td>Moses</td>
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<td>XIV</td>
<td>St George</td>
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<td>XV</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>verse</td>
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<td>XVI</td>
<td>Memory of Saints</td>
<td>verse (prose intro)</td>
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<td>XVII</td>
<td>On Auguries</td>
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<td>XVIII</td>
<td>From the <em>Book of Kings</em></td>
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<td>XIX</td>
<td>St Alban</td>
<td>verse</td>
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<td>XX</td>
<td>St Æthelthryth</td>
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<td>XXI</td>
<td>St Swithhun</td>
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<td>XXII</td>
<td>St Apollinaris</td>
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<td>XXIII</td>
<td>Seven Sleepers</td>
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<td>XXIV</td>
<td>Sts Abdon and Sennes</td>
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<td>XXV</td>
<td>Maccabees</td>
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<td>XXVI</td>
<td>St Oswald</td>
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<td>XXVII</td>
<td>Exaltation of the Holy Cross</td>
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<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>St Maurice</td>
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<td>XXIX</td>
<td>St Denis</td>
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<td>XXX</td>
<td>St Eustace</td>
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Kings, Achitophel and Absalom, the Maccabees, St Maurice and St Martin “because of the parallels to contemporary political conditions which they provided and for their potential for serving as a vehicle for the political and ethical instruction of a lay audience.” In addition, as Gretsch (2005: 56-7) explains, the renewed Viking attacks in the 990s might have prompted the production of texts to renew and strengthen the Christian faith in England; Gretsch regrets that this aspect of Ælfric’s possible motivation for the *Lives of Saints* has not been explored yet. Ælfric’s connection to politics has been illuminated by Clayton (2000) with regard to his relationship with king Æthelred.
XXXI St Martin verse
XXXII St Edmund verse (prose intro)
XXXIII St Eufrasia prose
XXXIV St Cecilia verse
XXXV Sts Chrysanthus and Daria verse
XXXVI Thomas verse

It would also be conceivable that Ælfric sought to provide the monastery with a proper source for the feasts of the sanctorale, whereas the Catholic Homilies pertained more to the feasts of the temporale. The two terms denote the difference between feasts in the liturgical year. Feasts such as saint’s feasts or Christmas have fixed (or unmovable) dates in the calendar, whereas the dates of Easter and all the feasts whose dates relate to Easter (Pentecost, Ascension Day, etc.) are different in every calendar year and have to be calculated for every year. Such calculations are called *computus*. In the calendar year, Easter can be as early as 22 March, or as late as 25 April. This means that sometimes Easter would be celebrated before, say, the feast of St Mary of Egypt (1 April) and sometimes after that feast. Therefore, it would have made sense to produce two volumes, one for the temporale cycle and one for the sanctorale cycle. Then, however, a doubling of material, such as that regarding St Martin, would not make any sense. Ælfric simply might have intended a multivolume project of an English legendary.

After all, we can only make conclusions from what Ælfric put forward in his Latin and Old English prefaces. He states that items in the collection are to be read in services for monks and laymen. The twofold target audience of clerics and lay people is obvious from the preface, since the work is dedicated to Ælfric’s noble lay patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmar. The *Lives of Saints* “could have been used privately by a devout laity”, especially by the two patrons. It is imaginable that Æthelweard and Æthelmar’s tastes also affected the collation of material. The inclusion of St Thomas has been

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91 The list refers to the reprint of Skeat as a two-volume edition in 1966 and omits the “item alia”.
93 See Lapidge (2003: 577), who proposes that Ælfric might have had something like the Cotton Corpus Legendary in mind, “which was copied at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century” (ibid.).
94 Lapidge proposed that their usage was possibly extended to the monks’ Night Offices (Lapidge 2003: 68).
95 The dedication to the two noblemen is referred to in Alexander (1982: 36), Lapidge (2003: 68) and (Kelly 2003: xxvii). See also Whatley’s (2002) article on “Ælfric, Vernacular Hagiography and the Lay Reader”.
regarded as proof that Ælfric wanted “to comply with the predilections of his patrons.” (Gretsch 2005: 4), though, for instance, the predominance of heroic saints might as well have strung a chord with Ælfric’s own predilections. One definitely has to bear in mind, however, the demands and expectations of Ælfric’s intended lay audience (Lees 1994: 108); Ælfric seems to have considered these while composing, judging from the exegesis and simplicity in expression and the provision of background information. To conclude, there is probably a multifaceted motivation behind the production of the Lives of Saints. Perhaps all motivations proposed hitherto contributed to their production; considering the massive investment of resources and devoted labour that the production of such volumes demanded, it would not be surprising to find multifaceted motivation and purposes for the collection.

As opposed to that, the date of their composition is quite evident. Their composition began soon after the completion of the CH; perhaps Ælfric began his work directly after finishing the series of homilies; this could have been as early as 992, but the composition of the Lives of Saints is usually dated to the years between 994-8, mainly on the basis of its dedication to the ealdorman Æthelweard, who died – as far as can be established – in 998.97

In the following centuries, the Lives of Saints was circulated widely in England, also after the Norman Conquest, though not as widely as the CH (Wilcox 2009: 347). Parts of the Lives of Saints survive in eighteen manuscripts, most importantly the manuscript in London, BL, Cotton Julius E.VII (MS J) holds a collection of texts which is probably very close to the original collection as created by Ælfric. W.W. Skeat published the first volume of an EETS edition of Ælfric’s Lives of Saints in 1880, as series nos. 76, 82, 94, 114 (original series; last vol. publ. 1900). He presented an “Account” of the eighteen manuscripts from which he collated material to add up to the base text (LS II, pp. vii f.), which is MS J. In 1966, Skeat’s edition was reprinted in two volumes and, to this day, his edition presents the standard edition of the Lives of Saints, although there have been calls for a new edition. Alexander (1977: 3) called loudly for a new edition of the Lives of Saints, arguing that Skeat did not collate all MS, that MS...

97See the argument in Lapidge (1996: 117) and Lapidge’s concise summary when he writes “The dedication enables us to establish the terminus ante quem for the composition of the Lives of Saints: the existence of Ealdorman Æthelweard is last attested in 998 and it may be presumed that he died in that year. On the other hand, it is clear from the preface of the Lives of Saints that the collection was assembled after the publication of the first two series of Catholic Homilies; of these, the First Series was dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric (990-4), with the Second Series being completed roughly a year later. The implication is that the collection was made after 992 but before 998.” (Lapidge 2003: 577). Szarmach writes the Lives of Saints were written “more or less immediately after CH II” (Szarmach 2003: 42); he also notes that for all we know Ælfric could have written the two Martiniana at the same time.
J was not the best choice for a base text, that Skeat failed to recover erased or written-over readings and accused Skeat of a general mistreatment of corrections. However, an editorial project that presents the entire collection does not seem to be in sight, which is probably due to the great quantity the text presents. Parts of the Lives of Saints have been re-edited, though, for example, Needham’s (1966) edition of three English saints or Corona’s “St Basil” (2006) or Upchurch’s “Virgin Spouses” (i.e. Basilissa, Cecilia and Daria) (2007).

Ælfric’s Verse

Ælfric of Eynsham composed homilies in prose and verse. The two Martins presented in the edition below classify as verse texts. In this chapter, I will describe this particular verse form which has hitherto been categorized by the term ‘Rhythmical Prose’, a term that itself can only be categorized as highly misleading. Not only is that term problematic in theory by forcing the prose label on the verse texts but it has also prompted editors to present Ælfric’s verse as prose, i.e. in a prose layout with random line breaks. The prose layout fails to present the texts’ inherent verse structure to the reader.

Similarly to classical Old English verse, Ælfric’s verse line consists of two half-lines constituted by two stressed syllables which are bound by alliteration to the two stressed syllables in the following half-line, thus producing an alliterative “long-line“. This structure does not surface in the manuscript; actually, lineation as verse is neither original, nor historical, as Doane (1998: 48) points out. Anglo-Saxon scribes have minutely made use of every inch of the text block on the expensive parchment and have, therefore, not employed a verse layout for a verse text. Nevertheless, it is a common practice by editors of Old English verse texts that their editions highlight the inherent verse structure by featuring a caesura to mark the end of a half-line and a line break to mark the end of the long-line. Such a layout is just as adequate for Ælfric’s verse, which I am going to show in the following and in the edited text.

Right from the beginning of the editorial history of Ælfric’s homilies, the

98 Alexander repeated his call in 1982, coming to the conclusion that a “new edition is imperative” (1982: 49). There, Alexander postulated comprising demands that a new edition of the Lives of Saints, or MS J respectively, should meet.

99 As Skeat explains in his preface (1966 vol. II), he had a big staff at his disposal, including two secretaries who translated the texts for him.

100 Classical Old English verse here refers to the Old English texts for which Eduard Sievers established a system describing accurately the Old English metre of prototypical texts such as Beowulf, the Elegies, Maldon, Brunanburh. See Sievers, E. (1885), “Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses”, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 12, 209-314 (see also pp. 451-544); and Sievers, E. (1883), Altgermanische Metrik, Halle.
inherent verse structure and the similarity to Old English classical verse attracted scholarly attention. As early as 1895, Jakob Schipper analyzed Ælfric’s verse by matching it with the system that Eduard Sievers proposed to describe classical Old English verse. His results were that about 11% of the lines lack alliteration and about one-third match with the types from Sievers’ system. A large-scale analysis of all verse texts in Ælfric’s Lives of Saints was undertaken in 1975 by Gerold Deffner, whose results were largely ignored in the field, a misfortune which I ascribe to the fact that Deffner has presented his results in German. Deffner committed his entire doctoral thesis to the statistical analysis of the Lives’ long-lines as presented in the edition by Skeat. His results were the following:

1. about 90% of the long-lines have four stresses (p. 431)
2. about 11% of the lines do not alliterate (p. 414)
3. there is an average of about seven syllables per half-line, in contrast to Beowulf, where the average is slightly less than five (p. 424)
4. the higher number of syllables per line is most frequently due to hypotactic constructions of sentences including pan-syllabic conjunctions (e.g. forðan þe) (p. 424)
5. conjunctions and longer prepositions can bear stresses, whereas nouns can be unstressed (p. 418)

Sievers’ system still represents the prevailing system to describe the metre of Old English poetry, though it is disputable. Cf. Pope and Fulk (2001: 130) “Though today most metrists doubt the theoretical adequacy of Sievers’ analysis, few dispute its descriptive accuracy. As a result, even scholars whose methods of scansion differ widely from Sievers’ usually regard his basic metrical types as a touchstone and the efficacy of alternative systems is generally gauged by their ability to account for the regularities uncovered by Sievers. Accordingly, the analysis of verse forms presented in the following pages is that of Sievers, modified slightly in the light of subsequent findings.” Cf. Pope (1967-8: 115) “Most of the four-syllable lines [in Ælfric’s verse] resemble type A in the Sievers classification and start abruptly without anacrusis.” Bredehoft (2008: 80) says “Traditionally, the single greatest obstacle to identifying Ælfric’s rhythmical compositions as verse has been a scholarly inability to identify any clear metrical system that might describe them.”

The fact that Deffner’s study has not had any impact in the field is best underlined by Szarmach’s (2003: 45) remark that “Pope’s call for a thorough study of the alliterative style has not received any comprehensive response”. Deffner’s 1975 study is exactly this response.

Corona (2008: 170f.), who makes some other interesting observations on Ælfric’s highly complex structure. Cf. also Corona’s introduction to her (2006) edition of Ælfric’s Life of St Basil.
6. alliterative binding of consecutive long-lines occurs in Ælfric’s verse more frequently than in classical Old English verse (p. 417)

7. the number of syllables per long-line is at least nine and adds up to a maximum of 19 (p. 60)

8. the most frequent pattern of alliteration in Ælfric’s verse is xaax (where a represents the recurring sound and x represents any other initial sound), seldom aaax and axax, which in classical verse is exactly the other way around (p. 431)

Thanks to Deffner, we know that Ælfric adhered to a metrical form, even though he was slightly inconsistent, about 10% with regard to the number of stresses per line and 11% with regard to alliteration within a line. There does not seem to be any particular reason for this other than Ælfric allowed himself some artistic freedom as a writer; it is imaginable that he considered the effect of his narrative more crucial than the effect of his form, or, in other words, he perhaps preferred content over form whenever he thought he had to decide between the two. More significantly, his form differs from the classical verse with regard to the number of unaccented syllables. I believe it is this difference which creates the prosaic feel which many scholars have perceived; it must be noted here, though, that especially in the opening lines of his verse texts, Ælfric achieved great mastery in the classical form (cf. the opening lines of St Edmund below, p. 164). It is in the second series of the Catholic Homilies that Ælfric turns from writing prose to writing verse. To be precise, the CH’s first series (ed. Clemoes) contains prose homilies, the second (ed. Godden) contains prose homilies as well as verse homilies. In Cuthbert (no. 10 in Godden), Ælfric employs the form for the first time; the Lives of Saints (ed. Skeat) features predominantly verse homilies. I suggest employing the terms “verse homilies” to refer to those homilies in which this style is prevalent and “prose homilies” to refer to texts in which verse lines are non-existent or merely occasional.

I believe it is unreasonable to employ the term “Rhythical Prose” to define Ælfric’s verse. The term has caused confusion among scholars and students alike. All the more, its usage is inconsistent. Prevalently the term is “Rhythical Prose”, but “Rhythmic Prose” is almost as common.

The problem we are facing concerns basic categorization. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) has s.v. ‘prose, n. and adj.’, A.1.a. “Language in the form in which it is typically written (or spoken), usually characterized as having no
A deliberate metrical structure (in contrast with verse or poetry). A metrical structure is exactly what marks Ælfric’s form of discourse as described above. This precludes the classification as prose. Still, many scholars would not be content with the term verse. Scholars very often argue that Ælfric’s style is different from Beowulf’s and since Beowulf is poetry, they conclude that Ælfric’s form must be prose. Verse, in turn, is defined s.v. ‘verse, n.’ 1. a. (a) as “A succession of words arranged according to natural or recognized rules of prosody and forming a complete metrical line; one of the lines of a poem or piece of versification.” This describes Ælfric’s form perfectly, putting emphasis on the existence of a line. As a result, with the help of the OED alone, one must define Ælfric’s form of discourse as verse, though one must still make a distinction from poetry: the OED defines s.v. ‘poetry, n.’, 2. a. “Composition in verse or some comparable patterned arrangement of language in which the expression of feelings and ideas is given intensity by the use of distinctive style and rhythm; the art of such a composition.” The “expression of feelings and ideas” is clearly not on Ælfric’s mind in the Lives of Saints, so his verse homilies are best categorized as verse narratives or verse epics. The classification as “epic” is all the more sensible if we consider that the biblical epic is a popular genre in Old English literature, for example, the epics Judith, Elene, or Andreas. In any case, I find it sensible and correct to employ the term ‘verse’ for the form, which, in turn, makes Ælfric a writer of verse; it is questionable, though, whether he should be called a poet.

Ælfric’s product differs in several aspects from poetry. Old English poetry is generally characterized by a formal structure of two-stressed half-lines (i.e. a four-stressed long-line respectively), but also by the employment of certain rhetorical figures, such as certain types of metaphor, esp. kenningar and variation and a certain poetic diction. Ælfric’s verse features the formal structure of classical Old English verse, but what can we make of the fact that he did not make use of a similar imagery and diction? For Alexandra Olsen (2001), a

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105 The terms “prose-rhythm” and “prose-poetry” as defined by the OED are not helpful, so I refrain from discussing them here.

106 Deffner (1975), who has come to the same conclusion, points out that poetry and prose are not mutually exclusive, but prose and verse are. Therefore, the term ‘Rhythmnical Prose’ should be dismissed, see p. 424.

107 Sherman Kuhn (1973, see references) raised exactly this question with his article “Was Ælfric a Poet?” and concluded that he was. Kuhn shed new light on the idea, but his attempt to recategorize Ælfric did not bear much fruit.

108 Compare Lapidge (2003: 579), who states “the putative ‘half-lines’ frequently have intolerable numbers of unstressed syllables between the two principal stresses (sometimes as many as five to nine syllables). Also, Ælfric’s prose is (understandably) characterized by prosaic rather than poetic vocabulary”. Olsen (2001: 8) says that unlike the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies,
clue lies in the *Canons of Edgar* by Wulfstan, where he writes “we lærað þæt ænig preost ne beo ealascop”. According to Olsen this is “suggesting that the written oral lay and vernacular traditions were completely discrete” (p. 1) and she further argues that “as late as the eleventh century, Old English poetry was so important to Anglo-Saxon clerics that Wulfstan had to pronounce warnings against it” (ibid.). The idea is that though priests would effectively play on the laity’s listening habits to preach to them in the vernacular, they would, at the same time, try to maintain a distance to vernacular (pagan) storytelling. Therefore, Ṣelfric does not employ the typical kenningar, metaphors and motifs. The evident contact and association between Ṣelfric and Wulfstan supports this idea. In any case, there is a notable absence of such devices. It seems that Ṣelfric sought very deliberately to avoid them.

The comparison of Ṣelfric’s verse to classical Old English verse is very popular. Many scholars, while noticing the – seeming – incompatibility of Ṣelfric’s form and the classical verse, have looked elsewhere to find possible models. Einenkel (1882) and Trautmann (1884) supposed an influence by one German poet named Otfrid of Weissenburg (d. 875). Other German philologists followed this idea, which has never been popular among English-speaking scholars and, thus, today is practically obsolete. Schipper’s analysis followed in 1895 and checked on the validity of Sievers’ system for Ṣelfric’s form, thus turning to the classical Old English verse. Because of his results, he concluded that it represents a degeneration of Old English verse (Schipper 1895: 41-3). After Karl Luick (1905) raised the question whether Ṣelfric was actually writing prose or poetry, Gordon H. Gerould (1925: 365) put forward that Ṣelfric “was writing prose of a studied sort rather than clumsy and formless verse”. He suggested that the style’s origin lies in Latin prose, which was vigorously refuted, however. Otto Funke (1962) returned to Ṣelfric’s native homiletic
tradition as a source, which he saw exemplified by the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies. Malcolm Godden (1978) emphasized similarities to the Alfredian prose. This form of prose, however, clearly lacks the half-line structure; Mechthild Gretsch (2005) proposed Bede’s metrical version of the Life of Cuthbert as a possible model. Undeniably, Ælfric was greatly influenced by Bede’s writings. Further study and comparison of the two forms would certainly be valuable, considering the fact that Ælfric’s version in CH II marks the first homily where he employs his verse form. The idea is that Ælfric might have seen Bede’s metrical Cuthbert for the first time when writing his second series and it inspired him immediately to transfer into the vernacular what Bede had done in his Latin verse.

It was perhaps the abundance of possible models that made Sherman Kuhn turn away from searching for the origin, instead making Ælfric the inventor of his own form. For him, Ælfric was not only a collator of material and translator of biblical texts, but Kuhn also regards him an innovator who invented the (Early) Middle English verse. For him, the idea of Ælfric as an innovator is closely connected with the idea that he was in fact a poet. Though Kuhn’s article had some impact, it did not effect a reconsideration of the prose label.
Another appreciable rethinking was undertaken by Thomas Bredehoft. After Kuhn regarded Ælfric’s verse the precedent of Early Middle English verse, Bredehoft regards the whole issue a coherent “evolution” that connects Old English classical verse with Ælfric and with Laȝamon and which involves a “relaxation of rules in late OE verse”. Bredehoft does not stand alone; Brehe (1994: 79) also hinted to a link to Middle English verse and especially to the Harley Lyrics and the texts of the Alliterative Revival.

Despite these scholars’ efforts, ‘Rhythmic Prose’ as a term still dominates the secondary literature that seeks to briefly explain Ælfric’s form. I would like to contribute two more aspects to the ongoing discussion.

Scholars of medieval German literature employ the term *Schwellvers* (lit. ‘swollen verse’) for a particular kind of verse. The term has been translated as “hypermetric verse” or “expanded lines” to denote an alliterative verse line whose chief characteristic is a richness in syllables. *Schwellvers* – sometimes also called *Streckvers* (lit. ‘stretched verse’) – produces an even and falling rhythm which enhances a slow, festive tempo and which often features more than four accent-bearing syllables per line. The work that features this kind of verse line most prominently is – of all – the Old Saxon verse epic Heliand. This is particularly interesting because this Old Saxon text is preserved in an English manuscript, BL, MS Cotton Caligula A.vii. The manuscript might well have

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121In Bredehoft’s monograph of 2005 he establishes a new theory of Early Middle English verse; note also his 2008 article in the bibliography below.


123See Johannes Hoop (1968), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 27, s.v. *Schwellvers* (p. 517), for the entry by E. Marold: Schwellvers “ist eine Bezeichnung für längere, silbenreiche Stabreimverse mit bis zu 11 Silben im Halbvers, die v.a. in der als. und as. Dichtung vorkommen.” In this definition, Marold notes that this kind of verse is prevalent especially in Old English and Old Saxon poetry. Sievers has added to his studies of the Old English metre a separate (rather disregarded) article on the *Schvellvers*, see Sievers, E. (1887), “Zur Rhythmisik des germanischen Alliterationsverses. III. Der angelsächsische Schwellvers”, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 12, 454-482, following the article on the *Schwellvers* by Luick, who applied Sievers’ system to the Old English epic Judith, written in *Schwellvers*, see Luick, K. (1886), “Über den Versbau des angelsächsischen Gedichtes Judith”, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 11, 470-492.

124See ibid.: “Charakteristisch ist ein gleichmäßiger, fallender Rhythmus, wodurch ein feierlich-langsamtes Tempo entsteht.”


126See Gneuss HL no. 308: “*Heliand* (in Old Saxon); Charm* (s. xi): s. x5 S England.” Another
been known to Ælfric. It might also be added that the two languages were so closely kindred that Ælfric would not have faced any problem in reading it; let alone the fact that the manuscript was preserved in England speaks for its readability and certainly for some kind of appreciation by its English keepers. This kind of verse also appears in at least one other non-Ælfrician verse text, i.e. the *Dream of the Rood* in MS Vercelli, see ll. 8-10, 20-3. It is, therefore, imaginalbe that Ælfric aimed for this kind of verse when composing his verse texts.

Secondly, I would like to add Ælfric’s own definition of verse and prose to the discussion. We are in the fortunate situation that we indeed have the author’s own definition, though, so far, it seems to have been neglected in the debate. Ælfric defines and explains basic linguistic terms in his *Grammar*, which includes the terms prose and verse. In his chapter on “Triginta Divisiones Grammaticae Artis”, he distinguishes 30 “divisions” in the art of grammar and writes:

(XXVII) *Sumðæra is PROSA*, þæt is forðriht lêden búton lêoðcræfte gelençged and gelôgod. (XXVIII) *Sume sind gehâtene METRA on grêcisc*, ðæt is on lêden MENSVRAE and on enlisc gemetu. ðâ gemetu gebyrjað tô lêdenum lêoðcræfte. *se cræft is swâ âmneten*, þæt ðær ne môt bêon furðon ân stæf ofer getel, ac bêoð ealle þâ fers gemnytte be ânum getele, gif hit âht bêon sceal.127

We can learn two things from this passage. Firstly, Ælfric was clearly aware of the distinction and the definition of the two categories. This is underlined by a subordinate remark in the *Grammar*’s Latin preface, where Ælfric writes “cum prosa absoluta sit a lege metri”, i.e. “even though prose is not subject to the laws of metre”.128 Secondly, his rules of metre regulate the counting of staves, not syllables. This emphasis on staves, which adorn stressed syllables, could possibly explain the abundance of unaccented syllables in his lines and, therefore, the prosaic feel. He distinguishes this craft very clearly from prose.

In this respect, it must be noted that the OE *fers*, also translates as “scriptural verse/passage, section of a psalm or other biblical passage” (DOE s.v. *fers, vers* manuscript which preserves parts of the text is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 25, Cim. III, 4, 2.

127 See Zupitza (1880: 295-6): “One of these is *prosa*, that is forthright Latin that is not extended and arranged by song-craft. Some are called *metra* in Greek, that is *mensurae* in Latin and in English *measure*; that measure pertains to song-craft in Latin. The craft measures so that there must not be a further stave (alliterating letter) in one unit, but all lines (verses) must be leveled by one number, if it is to be properly performed.” (my translation). BT translate (s.v.) *lêoðcræfte* with “art of poetry”; I regard “song-craft” a more appropriate, closer translation.

128 Transl. (and ed.) Wilcox (2009: 130); ed. in Zupitza (1880) on p. 2.
Its meaning can be very close to “sentence”, when it applies to a passage that is divided by punctuation, as Ælfric himself explains in his *Grammar*.

\[ (XIII) \text{Sume sind POSITVRAE, þà sind on ððre wîson gehâtene DISTINCTIONES, þæt sind tôdâl, hû man tôdîlô þà fers on rædinge. se forma prica on þâm ferses is gehâtén MEDIA DISTINCTIO, þæt is on middan tôdâl. se ôðer hâtte SVBDISTINCTIO, þæt is under-tôdâl. se þrîdda hâtte DISTINCTIO oððe PERIODOS, sê belýcð þæt fers. DISTINCTIO is tôdâl and PERIODOS is clîysing oððe geendung þæs ferses. (Zupitza 1880: 291) } \]

In Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, the author employs the term *fers* in one occasion; ll. 278f. in the *Life* read:

\[
[... ] rædde him ætforan \ [SVM 9,6-7] þæt wæs þis fers
\]

Of unsprecendra muþe . \hspace{1cm} and sucendra
\[
þu fulfremedest þin lof \hspace{1cm} drihten for þinum feondum .
\]

\[
þæt þu towurpe \hspace{1cm} feond and defensor .
\]

\[
Sona swa þis fers \hspace{1cm} wæs ætforan him geraed [...]
\]

Ælfric employs the term *gemetu* (‘measure’) to denote a verse line rather than *fers* (‘verse’), which, in turn, he employs as “sentence”, or “bible-verse”.

To conclude, I hope to have shown that “Rhythmic Prose” is an unfortunate term to define Ælfric’s form of verse. Moreover, I hope to have established a proper theoretical foundation for my editorial decision to present the two Ælfrician *Martins* in a half-line verse layout.

**Ælfric’s Catholic Homily for Martinmas**

Ælfric’s *Catholic Homily* for Martinmas naturally shares certain characteristics with the Anonymous Homily because they both represent a homily, a text first and foremost designed for preaching. Both present a concise biography of the saint. However, within these parameters, the two homilies could not be more different. The preceding chapter may hopefully have shed light on Ælfric’s style and diction; the Anonymous Homily is a prose text – one in which the reader can find the occasional employment of alliterative pairs, but inarguably a

\[ 129 \text{ Pope (1967-8: 113) and Godden (1979: lxxxi-lxxxii) agree that the first paragraph of Ælfric Homily is in prose, the rest is alliterative; I found that it can be identified as verse nevertheless. The introduction to the *Life* is definitely alliterative (Szarmach 2003: 45). Cf. Ælfric’s *Life of St Edmund*, which has a prose introduction.} \]
Ælfric presents his homily in lines of alliterative verse. Apart from the matter of style, Ælfric seems to take greater care with his audience, which manifests itself, for instance, in the omission of a number of names of places, such as Amiens, or historical persons, such as emperors Julian and Constantine, or specific historical background, such as the emperor’s order concerning the forced military service. This was also observed by Bethurum (1932: 519), who interpreted that Ælfric “omitted all that did not contribute to effective storytelling”. Whether this was in order to enhance storytelling, or a didactic reduction to ensure the focus was kept on the protagonist’s moral example is unclear; perhaps, as Masi (1968: 30) pointed out, “Ælfric has chosen details which serve the more human side of the narrative”.

Ælfric’s care for his audience also manifests itself in the treatment of some of the source material’s critical issues. Martin’s past as soldier has been addressed in the chapter on the historical figure above; Ælfric’s intention in both his homilies on Martin seems to have been to downplay that fact, for example, by not mentioning Martin’s status as an elite-soldier (SVM 2,2 and cf. below p. 132). He also avoids mentioning Martin’s shabby appearance and the difficulties it generated for the election to Bishop. In the Life, he at least refers to Martin’s wacum gyrlum (‘mean raiment’), cf. SVM 9,4 (Vermillion 1980: 175).

It has often been stated that a certain warrior ethic characterized Anglo-Saxon society, therefore, the concepts of honour and shame represented an “essential preoccupation”\(^\text{130}\) for Anglo-Saxon society. Loyalty, especially that between lord and warrior, also represented an important social issue. Therefore, Martin’s attempt to withdraw from military service on the eve of a battle must have presented a critical issue in the eyes of Ælfric. Ælfric copes with the situation by placing “the emphasis on Martin’s boldness, honesty and bravery” when opposing the emperor (Vermillion 1980: 94).

In MS F and MS G (see next two chapters), the homily on Martin is followed by a short text titled “excusatio dictantis”, translated in Thorpe’s edition as “The inditer’s apology”. It is believed to be Ælfric who tells his reader that he had to omit much significant material for the sake of brevity.\(^\text{131}\) Why he had the impulse to write such an interspersed statement and why he or his scribes inserted it in this place are two questions to which there are no answers. The nature of the work’s outset to provide homilies would have sufficed to clarify the limitations of the project. Possibly, it could hint at a feeling of sadness on

\(^{130}\)See Magennis (2006: 32); his article is illuminating especially because he is concerned with “Ælfric and Heroic Literature”.

\(^{131}\)Szarmach (2003: 40) summarizes: “In this note Ælfric announces that he realizes that he has omitted many Gospel passages but, even with his impulse to keep the book length under control, he will offer items on apostles, martyrs, confessors and holy women.”
Ælfric’s side about the fact that he had to ignore much of the extensive material on St Martin which was available to him. Possibly, Ælfric sought to compensate this by presenting an extensive *Life of St Martin* in the *Lives of Saints*.

There is no way of knowing whether this text and its claims are related in any way to the preceding text on Martin. In my view, the author’s main concern is to explain the omission of a homily on St Thomas. Therefore, it is not part of this edition; nevertheless, I will present the text here, as edited by Godden (1979):

**EXCUSATIO DICTANTIS:**

Fela fægere godspel we forlætad on ðisum gedihete. ða mæg aven-dan se ðe wile; Ne durre we ðas bóc na miccle swiðor gelengan. ði læs ðe heo ungemetegod sy. and mannun ædryt þurh hire micel

nyssse astyrige; We willað swa ðeah gyt. ane feawa cwýdas on ðissere bec geendebyrdian. gemænelice be apostolum. and martirum. and deterum. and halgum fæmnum. þam hælende to lofe; Thomas ðrowunge we forlætad unawritene. for ðan ðe heo wæs gefýrn awend. of ledene on englisce on leowisico. ac swa ðeah se wisa Augustinus sæde on sumore his trahtunge. þæt an ðing ware un-geleaffic on ðære race geset. þæt is be ðam byrle þe ðone apos-tol earplætte. and be ðam hunde ðe his hand eft inn abær; Be ðam cwæð augustinus. þis rædað mid micelre geecnordingysse ða ðe wrace luñad. ac ðæs is alyfed be ðisum to twynienne. þæt se apostol wolde gewrecan. swa welhrawlice his teonæn; For ðyyse twynunge nolde we hreppan his ðrowunge; Heo is swa ðeah eall full geleaffic. buton ðam anum þe augustinus widsæð;

132Thorpe translates: “MANY excellent gospels we omit in this composition: he may translate them who will. We dare not lengthen this book much more, lest it be out of moderation and excite men’s aversion through its magnitude. We will, nevertheless, yet set forth in this book a few discourses indiscriminately concerning apostles and martyrs, confessors and holy females, to the praise of Jesus. The passion of Thomas we leave unwritten, because it has long since been turned from Latin into English in song-wise; but the wise Augustine, however, has said in some treatise of his, that one thing incredible was set in that narrative, that is of the cupbearer who struck the apostle on the ear and of the dog which brought his hand in again. Of this Augustine said, “This those read with great diligence who love vengeance; but it is allowed us to doubt in this, that the apostle would so cruelly avenge his injury.” For this doubt we would not touch his passion. It is, nevertheless, all quite credible, except that only which Augustine gainsays.”
MS F: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28

Ælfric’s Homily for Martinmas survives in three manuscripts. MS F (Ker no. 15; Gneuss no. 11) is the oldest of the three manuscripts, in fact old enough to be “very close to the author” (Szarmach 2003: 39). According to Godden (1979: xliii), MS F is “either a product of Ælfric’s own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript.” Possibly, it was produced at Cerne around 1000 AD, which could imply that it was produced under Ælfric’s own supervision. By the 12th century, it appears in a catalogue of Durham Cathedral Priory (Ker). Pope (1967-8: 35) dates it to 993-5 AD.

It contains the first and second series of Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies (see Ker for a list of all 92 items) and other Ælfrician works: De temporibus anni, Prayers, De Paenitentia and an incomplete Pastoral Letter.

It was written “mainly” (Ker) by one scribe; only a few short passages are by another hand.

MS G: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198

MS G (Ker no 48; Gneuss no. 64) contains an “orderly set of homilies” (Clemoes 1997: 11), most of which are by Ælfric (see the 66 items in Ker), a version of the Phoenix Story (titled De sancto iohanne) and an Office of St Guthlac (part; s. xi ex.).

Perhaps it was a Worcester scriptorium which produced the manuscript in the first half of the 11th century. In any way, its contents grew over the century; there were a number of additions until the end of the century, the last being the office for the feast of St Guthlac.

133See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 34-5), Godden (1979: xliii) and Clemoes (1997: 24-5).
134Blake (2009: 15f.) introduces the manuscript for his edition of De temporibus anni.
135See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 20-2), Godden (1979: xxviii-xxxi) and Clemoes (1997: 10-3).
137Though Bishop (1971: 20) places its origin in Worcester, the Corpus Christi Library’s web presence states more carefully: “The book is copiously glossed in Latin throughout and chiefly by the same curious tremulous hand which has annotated MS 12 and MS 178. This must mean that in cent. xii the three books MS 12, MS 178 and MS 198 were in the same monastery. That the monastery in question was Worcester admits of no doubt. See on MS 12. The same hand appears in manuscripts at Oxford which are clearly from Worcester”, see “https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=198” (17 Nov 2014).
There are “four principal scribes” (Ker) and a great number of scribes who wrote the additions. The manuscript is actually quite popular among scholars because of a famous annotator. The annotator often referred to as the “Tremulous Hand” is “considered to be a Worcester glossator of the thirteenth century”, who, as Szarmach aptly expressed it, “struggles to understand the text and the scribal practice in front of him” (Szarmach 2003: 40). In the Catholic Homily for Martinmas, the tremulous hand added a brownish de obitu eius in a blank space in MS G, which the original scribe left out, but which can be found in MS F. Less eye-catching is a corrector whose script seems close enough to the manuscript’s scribe to date him to the 11th century.

**MS H: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D.XVII**

MS H (Ker no. 222; Gneuss no. 406)\(^{138}\) contains 45 items by Ælfric, from **CH** (25 items) as well as from **LS** (20 items), many of which are “now lost or fragmentary” (Gneuss); the manuscript was damaged in a fire in 1731.\(^{139}\)

The second major item is a **Passio S. Pantaleonis**, which survives exclusively in this manuscript. It was produced in the middle of the 11th century, but its exact origin is unknown. Ker was able to distinguish three scribes; Clemoes (1997: 63 and n. 1) discusses the possibility of a fourth hand and notes that Latin glosses were added in the 12th century. Godden (1979) collated material from this manuscript under the siglum fk and also pleads for a fourth hand (p. lviii).

**Ælfric’s Life of St Martin**

Ælfric’s **Life of St Martin** stands out among the texts presented in this edition and among the **Lives of Saints**. It is by far the longest of the Old English Martiniana. The saint himself takes a very special position in Ælfric’s works; he is the only saint who appears in both Ælfric’s **Catholic Homilies** and his **Lives of Saints**. In fact, its uniqueness already presents itself in its title.

In the **Lives of Saints**’ key manuscript, London BL MS Julius E.VII, the Life begins with “INCIPIT VITA SANC'TI MARTINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS . ANGLICAEE” which translates literally as “Here begins the Life of St Martin, of the Bishop and of the Confessor, in English”. Nowhere else in the collection can we find such a remark. Why would Ælfric (or the scribe respectively) point to the fact that the **Life** is in English? Possibly, this information relates to a remark in the introductory note that follows it.

\(^{138}\)See also the introductions in the editions of **CH** I and II by Godden (1979: lvii-lix) and Clemoes (1997: 61-3).

\(^{139}\)See the list of the manuscript’s items, including the lost items, in Clemoes (1997: 61f.).
In the introductory note (ll. 1-10), Ælfric explains that a certain writer called Sulpicius wrote about the saint’s life and deeds from first-hand experience. He goes on to state that “the English”, i.e. his own English text, is taken from this account, though confined to Martin’s own miracles, which was probably to express that Ælfric had to ignore much of the material available to him. The introductory note itself raises a number of questions, but, first of all, it is remarkable to see that an Anglo-Saxon author points at his source; this is quite unique, especially in a homiletic text designed for preaching. This could of course suggest that this particular text was meant for private study rather than preaching; but then how can one explain the fact that the life is metrical? Does that suggest oral delivery? Possibly, the introductory note represents a recommendation to his readers.

It has been noted that Ælfric refers to Severus as a source, but that he does not mention Gregory’s works (GHF/GVM). Analyzing Ælfric’s sources for the Homily and the Life, Biggs reads from the passage that Ælfric sought to express that he preferred Severus’ text over a version of Gregory modified by Alcuin. The note is unclear enough to conceal its exact purpose. Maybe Rosser (2000: 137 n. 15) is right in stating: “This passage also shows Ælfric’s concern for the authenticity and integrity of the story.”

It is noteworthy that the introductory note is metrical. Compare Ælfric’s Life of St Edmund in the Lives of Saints, where Ælfric wrote an introductory note in prose and the Life itself is in verse. Perhaps he intended to present his work on St Martin as one mould. This would be borne out by the fact that the text closes with a metrical prayer in Latin (see the chapter below, p. 133).

One of the interesting things about the Life is how Ælfric readjusted and modified his source material in order to create his own narrative. He provided a new consistent order. Like the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric reorganized the material to form a narrative that comprises the saint’s birth, life and miracles and death. But Ælfric went a step further and collected material from all available sources. Whereas the Anonymous Homilist was able to draw a concise pic-

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140 The edition below has “SVLPICIVS HATTE SVM WRITERE . DE WOLDE AWRI|tan þa wundra and mihta þe martinus se mea mihtiglice gefremode on þisre worulde . and he wrat þa be him þa ðing þe he ofaxode . oððe æt him sylfum . oððe æt oþrum mannum . forðan þe manegum wæron his wundra cuþ . þe god worhte þurh hine . and we þæt englisc nimað of þære ylcan gesetnysse . ac we ne writað na mare . buton his agene wundra .” which translates: “Sulpicius was the name of one writer who wanted to write [down] the miracles and mighty works which the great Martin mightily performed in this world and he wrote about him then the things which he had learned, either from himself, or from other men, because to many were his miracles known, which God performed through him and we take the English from that same composition; but we will not write of more than his own miracles.”

tured of the saint with the help of SVM and SET, Ælfric included the accounts of Gregory, Alcuin and Severus’ *Dialogues* as well and merged all accounts into one comprising biography.

Gaites concluded that the 55 sections of Ælfric’s *Life* are arranged as follows:

A. 1-3: (Introduction) Upbringing and Military Service

B. 4-6: Formation and Early Miracles

C. 7-50: Bishopric of Tours and Miracles

D. 51-55: Death and Sepulture

Ælfric also works on the material to enhance narrative cohesion in more than a few instances. Gaites (1982: 28) rightly points out that Ælfric took different miracles from the *Vita*, the *Dialogii* and the *Epistles* and groups “incidents of a similar nature”142, for example, sections 10-13 about the destruction of heathen temples, and sections 14-20 about miraculous healings. In SVM 10,1-2, where Severus reports of Martin’s election to Bishop, the report is somewhat interrupted by musings on Martin’s character, which Severus also describes again at the end of the *Vita*, in SVM 26,2. Ælfric does not hesitate to gather the information from both accounts to combine them in one short account of Martin’s character (see ll. 288f.). Severus – though well-organized and effectful through his crafted prose style – seems almost jumpy in comparison with Ælfric’s chronological narrative.

Furthermore, Ælfric did not hesitate to correct Severus. In one account, Ælfric is “equipping Martin with a donkey [ll. 970f.] in a scene where Sulpicius confusingly has Martin walking and later riding.” (Vermillion 1980: 101) A different occasion where Ælfric intervenes is in order to explain matters to his audience that did not need explanation for Severus’ audience: for one, Ælfric added a definition of exorcist in ll. 141-2. These instances show Ælfric as a teacher. In fact, Gaites (1982: 24) interprets the whole outset to be principally didactic. Ælfric sought “to tell the story in a way that would meet his didactic aims as a preacher”, by adaptation as well as supplementation from other sources, abridgment, omission and reordering of the source material; Gaites analyses a number of such procedures in her study.

Ælfric differs a lot from Severus; he is a different author and he writes for a different audience. Severus made use of rhetorical tricks and adornments he

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142 Gaites’ (1982) article is concerned with “Ælfric’s Longer Life of St Martin and Its Latin Sources: A Study in Narrative Technique” and represents a significant contribution to the topic of St Martin in England.
knew and mastered to boast and to satisfy his elite Christian readership. Ælfric, on the other hand, is a totally different character, who, as an author, steps into the background and prefers a plain and simple style, save for the adornment of verse lines with powerful alliterative stresses,¹⁴³ both in the *Homily* as well as in the *Life* (Szarmach 2003: 51). Ælfric did make use of his rhetorical toolbox, but, contrary to Severus, he managed to employ techniques more sparingly, possibly in order to enhance their effect in those rare instances, such as when he makes use of direct speech in the scene of Martin’s death (Gaites 1982: 26). Ælfric refrains from long, artistic sentences to enhance clarity and, therefore, prefers parataxis over hypotaxis.

All of this was probably to the tastes of his English audience, also when he omits the names of places. In opposition to the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric omits the place name of Martin’s youth, Pavia, in the *Homily*. In the *Life*, however, he presents the name (l. 13).¹⁴⁴ The idea has been proposed by Vermillion (1980: 103) that Ælfric omitted “names of places and individuals which contribute little to the story and would probably have had little meaning to his audience”, which as a didactic reduction would suit Ælfric’s goals as a teacher. In one episode in SEP 10, Severus describes how Martin fights a fire. The fire had been started through a dysfunctional hypocaust, a Roman underfloor heating system unknown to Anglo-Saxons. Obviously Ælfric changed the passage so as to avoid confusion among his audience and disturb the effectful flow of his narrative (see ll. 847f. (Gaites 1982: 35)). It has also been noted that “Martin’s conversion of the heathen and his suppression of heresy” (Rosser 2000: 134-5) seems to have been of particular importance to Ælfric.¹⁴⁵

The most striking adaptation resulting from cultural disparities is the intercultural translation of the names of heathen gods in section 24, ll. 708f., which is based on SVM 22,1-2.

Mid þusend searocraeftum wolde se swicola deofol
þone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican.

*and* hine gesewenlicne on manegum scinhwum
þam halgan æteowde. on þæra hæþenra goda hiwe.

¹⁴³This was also emphasized by Gaites (1982: esp. 24-8), who writes, for example, “He is equally skilled in the arts of rhetoric, but practices them only to express his meaning in the most effective way, never for sheer delight in obvious rhetorical adornment.” (28).
¹⁴⁴See Gerould (1925: 209) and Gaites (1982: 32): Gerould points to the selectiveness concerning the inclusion of place names; Gaites argues that Ælfric “retains only those which his audience will be likely to recognise.”
¹⁴⁵Cf. the article by Magennis (2000), who studied conversion as a theme in Old English saints’ lives; see also Bankert (2002) on conversion in Ælfric’s *Lives* of St Agnes and St Gallicanus.
hwylon on ioues hiwe .  þe is gehaten þór .
hwylon on mercuries .  þe men hatað őfon .
hwylon on ueneris  þære fulan gyden .
þe men hatað fricg .  and on manegum ôþrum hiwum
hine bræd se deofol  on þæs bisceopes gesihpe . 146

The passage shows Ælfric’s capacity to explain special phenomena unknown to his audience in order to ascertain bringing home the message. The translation itself seems odd at first sight. There are certain parallels in Greek/Roman and Germanic mythology, but Ælfric’s connections are surprising for the modern reader. Mercury (Greek Hermes) is regarded as the herald and messenger of the gods, whereas the juxtaposed Odin was the major god in Germanic mythology, being parallel to Jove (or Jupiter, Greek Zeus). Venus would not correspond to Frigg, who as wife to Odin was the major god in Germanic mythology, being parallel to Juno (Greek Hera). This odd attribution by Ælfric is explicable, however, through the existence of Latin-OE glosses of a text by the classical Latin author Tacitus; the glosses correspond to Ælfric.147

Ælfric adapted Martin’s character to suit the tastes of his audience, too. It has been suggested above that the Anglo-Saxon audience had a taste for a rather heroic image of Christ, as exemplified by such poems as The Dream of the Rood. Therefore, it is not surprising to observe that Ælfric staged Martin as a heroic protagonist.148 Severus’ Martin is humble and un-heroic almost to the degree of being naive, for example, when in SVM 19, he is miraculously healed after falling down a ladder. In Severus, the reason for Martin’s fall is simply his own clumsiness, while in Ælfric (ll. 602f.), the ladder is defective.149 In SVM 3,
Severus’ Martin is the subject of his fellow soldiers’ laughter because of his shabby appearance after he has cut his cloak; Martin is *deformis*, i.e. ‘unsightly’. In Ælfric’s *Life*, however, Martin’s comrades laugh at the sight of the cut cloak (ll. 47f.). In SVM 2,5, Severus’ Martin reverses the roles between himself and his slave, by serving the slave rather than being served by him, whereas in In the *Life* (ll. 31f.), Ælfric downplays the reversion of roles and displays Martin and his slave as equals. One could identify more such adaptations; I will confine myself to one more that was found by Olsen (2004: 469), concerning SDT 4 and *Life* ll. 1144f. In this episode, Martin seeks contact to one Avitianus to convince him of merciful behavior towards prisoners. Ælfric confines himself to stating that Martin achieved his goal and ignores the trouble and humiliation Martin had to experience to even attract Avitianus’ attention. Olsen concludes (ibid. 470) that Ælfric does not share Severus’ “keen sense of Martin’s humility” and does everything else but highlight Martin’s “neglect of social propriety”.

Thus, Ælfric has staged Martin as a hero. On the other hand, Ælfric had to make sure to handle well the problematic issue of Martin’s past as a soldier. It has been proposed by Dalbey that the Anonymous Homilist and Ælfric downplayed Martin’s military activity in different ways. Dalbey (1984: 424 n. 9) writes that the OE word *þegen* – which BT translate (s.v. *þegen*) as ‘servant’ or ‘retainer’ – is used by the Anonymous Homilist to play down the fact that he was a soldier, which would correspond to OE *cempa*. As opposed to the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric makes use of the word *cempa*, which can only be understood as ‘soldier’, or more closely as ‘fighter’ (comp. modern German *Kämpfer*). The way in which he employs it in the *Life* is quite ingenious, however. At first, he does not use the word directly to refer to Martin and only speaks of his *campdome*. This changes after the scene in which Martin’s asks for the emperor’s leave to quit service. Martin calls himself *godes cempan*, i.e. ‘god’s soldier’. After this, Ælfric often refers to Martin as *godes cempan*, thus
shifting the whole image in favour of Martin.

Dalbey, who has contributed an important study on the topic, summarizes the overall portrayal in the Anonymous Homily and Ælfric’s *Life* as follows:

Ælfric shows Martin as the militant Christian soldier whose prime duty is to overthrow the forces of the devil and establish Christianity in the world; the anonymous writers characterize Martin as a shepherd who shelters the flock of the faithful and by his example leads them. (Dalbey 1984: 425)

Dalbey explains this by pointing out that the homilist wrote his version in the time of the monastic reforms, whereas Ælfric wrote in the time of the new Danish (i.e. heathen) invasions, implying that he sought to instrumentalize Martin to enhance the fighting spirit of the Anglo-Saxons. She finds another example for this in the episode in which Martin revives a dead man. The Anonymous Homilist seems to focus on the emotional substance of the episode. Ælfric, on the other hand, seems to focus on Martin’s victory, even omitting “any reference to the other monks” (Dalbey 1984: 426-7) who are with him. Dalbey argues, it is Ælfric’s aim to keep monks from taking “material weapons of war” and, thus, also defends his “divisions of society (laboratores, oratores, bellatores)”, arguing that clerics are supposed to take up spiritual weapons exclusively (Dalbey 1984: 434). She also points out that Martin appears to be a people’s person in the anonymous homilists, whereas Ælfric portrays him as the leader of soldiers (“his soldiers are his monks” (Dalbey 1984: 427)).

On the whole, Martin appears to be a “God on earth” (Dalbey 1984: 430) rather than an extraordinary human. “The anonymous authors recount two major categories of miracles – those of healing and those of conversion. [...] Ælfric, unlike the anonymous homilists, emphasizes the saint’s activities rather than his feelings.” (432). She is right in pointing out that Ælfric recounts all the deeds “unadorned” (433), which is quite a euphemism, considering that from the sheer number of miracles reported, the narrative reads like a grocery list at times. However, on the whole, Ælfric surpassed his own *Homily* on Martin with the *Life* in many ways.

There are two more aspects that make Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin* unique; there is the question of the *Life’s* length and – possibly connected to it – the question of the Latin verse prayer at the end of the *Life*.

The *Life* numbers 1503 lines of verse, including the Latin epitaph. This length goes beyond the scope of a homily as part of a church service. Whereas most of the other lives could be “easily adapted to homiletic use”, the *Life* is simply far too long (Vermillion 1980: 97). In comparison with the Catholic Homilies, the items in the *Lives of Saints* are quite variable in length, but the
Life is still outstanding. I tried to display this in the following diagram, which shows the number of pages of the single items in Skeat’s edition.154

What does this tell us? Possibly, the Life is so long because the saint was particularly favoured, either by Ælfric, or by his intended audience of laymen and/or monks, or by Ælfric’s patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær, or possibly by all parties. It is well imaginable that Ælfric favoured Martin, which I am not the first to suggest. Olsen (2004: 461) wrote:

If Ælfric had been asked to choose his favourite saint, Martin of Tours may well have been a final candidate. Not only is Martin the one saint that finds a place both in Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies

154This is the diagram’s data, including the number of ll. for those pieces which are written in verse. I disregarded the item alia and the non-Ælfrician Life of St Mary of Egypt: Nativity of Christ: 14 (prose); St Eugenia: 26 (428 ll.); St Basilus: 42 (670 ll.); Sts Julian and Basilissa: 26 (434 ll.); St Sebastian: 32 (474 ll.); St Maur: 22 (367 ll.); St Agnes: 24 (429 ll.); St Agatha: 16 (236 ll.); St Lucy: 8 (152 ll.); Chair of St Peter: 20 (293 ll.); Forty Soldiers: 22 (364 ll.); Ash-Wednesday: 22 (294 ll.); Prayer of Moses: 24 (328 ll.); St George: 14 (184 ll.); St Mark: 6 (226 ll.); Memory of the Saints: 28 (384 ll.); On Auguries: 20 (271 ll., incl. 48 ll. of prose intro); From the Book of Kings: 30 (481 ll.); St Alban: 10 (154 ll.); St. Æthelthryth: 8 (135 ll.); St Swithun: 30 (498 ll.); St Apollinaris: 16 (253 ll.); Seven Sleepers: 54 (prose); Sts Abdon and Sennes: 4 The Maccabees: 54 (862 ll.); St Oswald: 20 (288 ll.); Holy Cross: 14 (219 ll.); St Maurice: 10 (178 ll.); St Denis: 22 (340 ll.); St Eustace: 28 (prose); ST MARTIN: 96 (1503 ll.); St Edmound: 20 (276 incl. 12 prose lines); St Euphrosyne: 22; (prose); St Cecilia: 22 (363 ll.); Sts Chrysanthus and Daria: 20 (361 ll.); St Thomas: 28 (424 incl. 12 Latin prose lines).
and *Lives of Saints*, but his life and death are also treated in a thorough and comprehensive manner in the latter work.

The idea that Ælfric particularly favoured Martin is best underlined by the Latin verse prayer behind the *Life*, a short text underrated for its potential to provide an answer to the question of the *Life*’s length. In MS J, the *Life* is directly followed by a few lines of verse in Latin. The edition has:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 1</th>
<th>Line 2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Olim haec trastuli . sicuti ualui .</td>
<td>sed modo praecibus . constrictus plenius .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O martine sanctae . meritis praeclare .</td>
<td>iuua me miserum . meritis modicum .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caream quo neuis . mihimet nocoou .</td>
<td>castiusque uiuam . Nactus iam ueniam .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No scholar has translated these six lines, which I put down to the fact that it is extraordinarily dense and ambiguous and riddled by medieval Latin forms and, therefore, difficult to translate. Szarmach (2003: 41 n. 21), who argued that Ælfric was the composer, translated the first two lines as “I translated this before, as best as I could, but now, pressed by requests, more fully.” I translated, as best as I could:

Once I translated this, as best as I could, but now, constricted by many biddings, more fully. 
Oh, St Martin, celebrated for your merits, 
help me wretched, poor in merits. 
I shall dispense what you disclaim, I who am harming myself, I shall live chaster, already if I am forgiven.

We do not know for certain, of course, that Ælfric composed these lines. If he did, they would be his only lines of Latin verse that we know of. But in this epilogue or prayer the poet clearly defines himself as the author, or lit. translator (*trastuli*, i.e. ‘I have translated’) of the *Life*, asking for the saint’s approval of the work and his blessing. Since no one ever doubted Ælfric’s authorship of the *Life*, there is no reason to doubt his authorship of the epilogue. Its tone of humbleness would certainly match the voice of Ælfric as it can be grasped from

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155The double appearance and significance of Martin for Ælfric was also noted by Szarmach (2003: 45).

156Lapidge (2003: 553 n. 3) wrote: “The only Latin poetry known to have been composed by Ælfric is six lines of rhythmical verse (in the form 6pp + 6pp, to use Norberg’s system of notation), beginning ‘Olim haec trastuli sicuti ualui’.”
the prefaces. From the first two lines, it is tangible that Ælfric was asked or even requested by several individuals or groups of people to write a more extensive Life. It is a pity that he is not more precise about this. Still, the epilogue gives testimony to the demand for an extensive Life.\footnote{Szarmach (2003: 41 n. 21) held the same position, stating “it seems very transparent that the sentiments are Ælfric's.”}

The prayer is only extant in MS J and not in K and L. Clemoes (1959b: 220) has drawn attention to the fact that the main hand wrote the Latin in insular script. The English is usually in insular script, while the Latin, like in Ælfric's preface, is set off with Caroline script. Maybe the scribe simply did not care or notice, or decided against it for the passage's brevity. Certainly, this was not to denigrate the prayer to a saint.

How else is the Life's length explicable? It is well imaginable that Ælfric could have seen Martin as a proper instrument for his own political agenda. Martin's fights against heresy must have appealed to Ælfric (Rosser 2000: 136). Ælfric's critique of his fellow clerics' unorthodoxy and their adherence to pagan practices comes to mind. Severus' \textit{vita} contains exemplary passages for Ælfric in this respect. One example is the passage in which Martin removes the altar of a falsely consecrated martyr. Ælfric's age was marked by an ever-growing number of saints, also because of the lack of regulations for the procedure of consecration.\footnote{See, for instance, Davis (2009: 325) on Ælfric's critique of fellow clerics.} This probably disturbed Ælfric; at least he was rather skeptical towards saintly people, since for him the “age of miracles” and, therefore, of living saints, was over.\footnote{See Magennis (2011: 98), who points at Ælfric in \textit{CH} I, “These wonders were needful at the beginning of Christianity, for by these signs was the heathen folk inclined to faith. The man who plants trees or herbs, waters them so long until they have taken root; when they are growing he ceases from watering: so also the Almighty God so long showed his miracles to the heathen folk, until they were believing; when faith had sprung up over all the world, then miracles ceased.”, transl. Thorpe, p. 305. Cf. Gretsch (2005: 60) and Godden essay “Ælfric's Saints Lives and the Problem of Miracles” (2000b).} The episode in Martin's \textit{vita} was at least exemplary in teaching skepticism towards the veneration of new Anglo-Saxon saints.

\footnote{Vermillion (1980: 102) interprets the epilogue as Ælfric “prays to Martin and demonstrates simply and eloquently his personal belief in the efficacy prayer to St Martin.”}

\footnote{Lapidge (1991a) explains that it was as late as in the 13th century that Pope Gregory IX issued decrees dealing with the matter. By then, the early Middle Ages had produced a large number of saints.}

\footnote{See Magennis (2011: 98), who points at Ælfric in \textit{CH} I, “These wonders were needful at the beginning of Christianity, for by these signs was the heathen folk inclined to faith. The man who plants trees or herbs, waters them so long until they have taken root; when they are growing he ceases from watering: so also the Almighty God so long showed his miracles to the heathen folk, until they were believing; when faith had sprung up over all the world, then miracles ceased.”, transl. Thorpe, p. 305. Cf. Gretsch (2005: 60) and Godden essay “Ælfric's Saints Lives and the Problem of Miracles” (2000b).}
It is also well imaginable that Ælfric saw the Life’s potential to appeal to a wide audience, specifically monks. It has been stated that the Lives of Saints offered not only preaching material, but also material for intensive study by monks. Ælfric himself was a monk and, as abbot, took care of a small community of monks. Martin certainly served well as an idol for monks. Martin is well known for his modesty, a character trait that Ælfric certainly appreciated. Even on his death-bed, for instance, Martin preferred a bedding of straw over any comfortable bedding. The idea is that Ælfric sought to offer a lot of material to his monks and to all other monks who would study his text on St Martin. Perhaps Ælfric had the idea that Martin not only represented a glorious example, but the very embodiment of the whole conception of the English Benedictine Reform. It has been put forward that Ælfric “presents an ideal picture of monastic order and productivity under Martin’s rule” to his own monks (Vermillion 1980: 102). This would be supported by the idea that the Life was intended as reading material for the monastic night office.  

For laymen, on the other hand, the saint offered a fascinating narrative and displayed exemplary behaviour, too. As a matter of fact, the Lives of Saints were instigated by laymen, i.e. the two noble kinsmen Æthelweard and Æthelmer. Certainly, they had some influence on the selection of material. Possibly, the length of the Life could have been at their wish because they favoured the saint, too. After all, Martin was a soldier as well as a saint and possibly represented an ideal to live up to, or at least a saintly figure to identify with. In Szarmach’s words, “Martin is a major saint for the tonsured and the untensed” (Szarmach 2003: 43).

It is well imaginable that the combination of interests and tastes of different audiences as well as the author’s own has contributed to the Life’s extraordinary length. Certainly, the richness in available source material was another factor. Ælfric could not have produced such a longish account on St Martin had he not found an extensive Martinellus available to him.

Ælfric’s Life of St Martin survives in two manuscripts, MS J and London, BL Cotton Caligula A.XIV (here as MS K). Both feature numbered sections in Roman numerals from 2 to 55, which could have been inspired by the numbered sections in the Latin source in MS CCCC 9 (Severus’ Dialogii in the

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162Kelly (2003: xxviii) explains that in the age of Ælfric, homiliaries exclusively designed for the monastic Night Office came into being, also offering the opportunity for private devotional reading.

163A wide circle of addressees is also suggested by Kelly (2003 xxviii), who writes: “What Ælfric is doing to an ever-increasing extent is rendering ‘monastic’ material into the vernacular [...] providing monastic material while still generally addressing the people as a whole.”

164The numeral for I is missing in J; in K the entire passage is lost.
Cotton Corpus Legendary), which might have been the source for Ælfric (Szarmach 2003: 41). A third manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 (here as MS L) contains a 12th-century shortened copy of the Life. In total, MS L omits 32 of the 55 sections. This is an overview of the sections of the Life as preserved in the three manuscripts:

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<th>MS K</th>
<th>MS L</th>
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MS J: London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII

MS J (Ker no. 162; Gneuss no. 339) is famous for holding Ælfric’s Lives of Saints, but it does not contain Ælfrician works exclusively. In total, it features 42 items, written in one hand. It is hybrid in the sense that there are a number of non-hagiographical items interspersed. These are:165

The Nativity (Skeat I) on the birth of Christ

Ash Wednesday (Skeat XII) “recognized in the manuscript as suitable for preaching in anticipation on the previous Sunday” (Hill 1996: 237)

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165I followed the list by Joyce (1996: 237), who follows Zettel’s (1979: 42) classification of “non-hagiographical”.

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The Prayer of Moses (Skeat XIII) “also rubricated for Mid-Lent Sunday” (Hill 1996: 237)

The Memory of the Saints (Skeat XVI) Clemoes (1959b: 222) suggests this was intended by Ælfric to stand as the first item

On Auguries (Skeat XVII) listed by the scribe as “De Auguriis”, rubricated “Sermo in laetania maiore”

Book of Kings (Skeat XVIII) from the Old Testament

Maccabees (Skeat XXV) from the Old Testament

It is not known why they are in the manuscript and why they are in this order. In spite of this, the manuscript’s completeness surpasses comparable collections. Apart from the Lives of Saints, there are two other Ælfrician items behind the Lives, which are not edited in Skeat. This is a version of Alcuin’s Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin (ff. 230r-238r) and an incomplete De falsis diis (ff. 238r-240v).

The one scribe wrote carefully in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, at the beginning of the 11th century. Perhaps copying took him a long time, since the character of the hand changes during the course of the manuscript (Ker). A corrector made corrections in the first half of the 11th century (Ker).

MS K: London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV

MS K (Ker no. 138; Gneuss no. 310) was written in the middle of the 11th century, probably by one scribe. Ker describes only the contents of folios 93f., since the first 92 folios are entirely Latin. They contain hymns, including musical notation and illumination. The first 36 folios of this part of the manuscript are also called the “Cotton Troper.” There is a blank folio with the pencil number 92.

Fols. 93r-111v contain Ælfric’s Life of St Martin, beg. “for his ingange...” (ll. 672f. in the edition).

166 Scragg (1996: 218) has made suggestions about the order of these items and has presented his results in a “chronology of writing”.
167 Skeat notes in his introduction to the edition (p. ix) that MS J originally also contained an imperfect version of Of the Twelve Abuses at its end.
168 See Lapidge (2003: 581f.) and Needham (1966: 6-7) for more information; Torkar (1971) found out that the scribe copied from two source manuscripts.
169 Ker is not sure whether the Life of St Mildred is in a different hand or not.
170 See the dissertation by Teviotdale (1991), devoted entirely to the study of the Troper; Gneuss no. 309.
Fols. 111v-121v contain the passion St Thomas the Apostle from Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* (with a latin prologue on fol. 111v-112r).

Fols. 121v-124v contain an anonymous *Life of St Mildred*.

Fols. 125r-130v contain another part of Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, beg. “and þa bærmen...” (l. 375).

One folio of the *Life* is missing between fols. 130 and 93 (therefore, ll. 631-73 are missing in the edition). Skeat presents lexical variants of the first two items in his apparatus in the edition of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*. Swanton (1975) has edited *Mildred* from this manuscript (base text). Wilcox (2006) has presented a study of the drawing in MS K on fol. 111v.

**MS L: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343**

Anglo-Saxon homilists had supplied England with a respectable quantity of great homiletic material. It is not surprising that there was an extensive use of their Old English material right into the 12th century, that is after the Norman Conquest.171 This usage was not reduced to a redaction and preservation of the manuscript and preaching and reading from them. Up to the 12th century, new copies of the Old English texts were produced in English scriptoria. One such copy is the 12th-century manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 (Ker no. 310, not in Gneuss, since it is later than 1100).172 It contains a great number of homilies, sometimes referred to as the Bodley Homilies,173 which were written by Ælfric, Wulfstan and anonymous authors; the volume features a small number of Latin texts (sermons and sequences) as well. Ker lists 90 items in total; among the numerous items there is a copy of Ælfric’s *Life*.174 A good number of the texts is by Ælfric and thirty-one of them were taken from the *CH I* alone (Clemoes 1997: 2).

This *Life*’s text in MS L is a verbatim, but significantly shortened copy. The copyist omitted several chapters, especially from the *Life*’s middle sections. Another considerable difference to the original text is the language. The text

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171The use and reuse of Old English manuscripts in the 12th century has been studied at length in Swan and Treharne (2000). For MS Bodley 343, see especially pp. 57-61 in the article by Irvine. Szarmach (2003: 40) points to the glosses of the Tremulous Hand in MS G to show that even in the 13th century MS G “was not a dead text.” On the “Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period” see Treharne (2006b).

172See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 14-8), Godden (1979: xxxvii-xl) and Clemoes (1997: 1-5).

173E.g. in Pächt and Alexander (1973), where the MS is item no. 182.

174See the detailed list of items by sections/quires and the comments in Clemoes (1997: 1-5).
is mainly by one scribe, who wrote in the second half of the 12th century. The evident language change alone is fascinating to observe when MS L is juxtaposed to MS J.

The question why the text was shortened has already been addressed by scholars, who in unison came to the conclusion that the Life was “drastically abbreviated to a manageable preaching length, consistent with the other items in the manuscript”. This leaves nothing to add, especially when considering Wilcox (2009: 351):

“Other manuscripts have broadly similar dimensions and quality, ranging from the earliest surviving copy, the late 10th-century first series of Catholic Homilies produced under Ælfric’s own guidance at Cerne Abbas, London MS BL Royal 7 C xii, with leaves measuring 310 x 205 mm and a writing block of 237 x 145 mm, to the augmented late sequence in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, produced in the West Midlands in the second half of the twelfth century, with leaves measuring 308 x 200 mm and a writing block of 235-258 x 145-165 mm.”

The manuscript was written by two scribes; the first wrote fols. vi-xxxix, the second wrote fols. 1-170. MS L represents a huge collection of homilies, sermons and saints lives. Ker notes that 48 of the 90 items were taken from Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies. The list of saints included seem to consist of “first-grade saints venerated by monks and laity alike” (Rosser 2000: 135).

The table above, p. 138, shows which sections of the version in J and K were omitted by the copyist of L. The fact that the copyist of L shortened Ælfric’s Life suggests that Ælfric’s Homily for Martinmas (already in preaching length) was not available to him (Rosser 2000: 136). The middle sections from the Life were especially omitted. Sections 1-7 were all copied except for section 4; half of the sections 8-18 were omitted; only four sections were copied from sections 19-47; sections 48-55 were all copied. It is obvious that the copyist concentrated on collecting information on Martin’s birth, conversion, miracles and death.

But there is more to conclude. Rosser (2000: 138) did some important work on the issue and summarized the omitted section 4 with “Hilary’s influence on

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175Ker dates “s. xii2”, Pächt and Alexander (1973: no. 182) date s. xii3/4, cf. Clemoes (1997: 5) for the scribes of the fly-leaves.
176See Joyce (1996: 249). On the manuscript’s function of the and its use as a preaching text, see Irvine (1993: li-liii) and Rosser (2000: 136 and n. 12)
177See Irvine (2000: 55) and especially Irvine’s (1993: xviii) account of the manuscript.
178Irvine (1993: xxii f.) presents a more detailed list of contents.
Martin, Martin’s fight against Arian heretics and finally the saint’s foundation of a monastery near Poitiers.” The omission of this passage, which presents a brief halt in the narrative, suggests that the copyist sought to concentrate on plot, preferring action and deed over background information. Moreover, the omission of Hilary could indicate that he wanted to save his audience from any side character irrelevant to the narrative as such. Another reason for disregarding Hilary might have been that while Martin’s acquaintance with St Hilary certainly impressed Severus’ audience, it probably did not impress the copyist as much, since by the 12th century St Hilary had lost popularity and significance.

Section 8 was omitted, which tells of the veneration of a false martyr. Section 9 was included, in which Martin stops a heathen procession with a movement of his hand. In the omitted section 10, Martin destroys a heathen tree-shrine; both sections 11 and 12, the spectacular destruction of entire heathen temples, were included. The copyist omitted Martin’s conversion of heathens in section 13. With section 21, he omitted a chapter that also the anonymous homilist and Ælfric (in the CH-Martin) omitted (Rosser 2000: 139). Rosser concluded from all of this that the copyist/abbreviator of L “did not share [Ælfric’s] interest in ecclesiastical behaviour and monastic regula”. However, he does include Martin’s “suppression of heathen practices” (ibid.). The inclusion of the four sections between sections 19 and 47 suggest that the copyist preferred to include the more entertaining, spectacular and more impressive episodes. Similarly, Rosser (2000: 140) concluded that the “abbreviator includes representative examples of Martin’s incredible powers”, whereas he omitted “sections that describe similar events” for the sake of brevity. Rosser rightly observed that the inclusion of a section is more likely if it is both short and of a “representative nature”, for example, sections 34 and 40.

As a consequence, the leaps and gaps have produced a narrative that at times is “hard to follow”; This is true in at least one instance. The text in L jumps from SVM 8,3 straight to SVM 12,1 (l. 178 in L). This omits Martin’s election and ordination as Bishop, so it must have surprised the audience to hear how all of a sudden he “förde [...] on his biscoprice” (ll. 179-80). Rosser concludes that “the audience was expected to be sufficiently familiar with the legend not to be troubled by the omissions” (Rosser 2000: 141). There is no chance of knowing whether the audience was troubled, nor can we make reasonable enquiries about the contemporary popularity or criticism of a text other than determining how many copies were made.

The present edition is the first edition of Ælfric’s Life of St Martin from MS L. There are two editions which present homilies from MS L. Belfour (1909) as well as Irvine (1993) selected a small number of homilies for their editions;
Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin* is not among them. Skeat has collated lexical variants from MS L in his edition of the *Life*.

## Concluding Remarks and Overviews

I have introduced the Latin Martiniana and the Old English Martiniana which derived from it. This final chapter presents overviews of the material presented and draws some conclusions regarding the text and source relationships. In the present edition, I have indicated for each Old English passage which Latin passage it translates or refers to. The following table uses this data to show which Latin texts the Old English writers made use of.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OE Text</th>
<th>SVM</th>
<th>SEP</th>
<th>SES</th>
<th>SET</th>
<th>SDP</th>
<th>SDS</th>
<th>SDT</th>
<th>AVM</th>
<th>GHF</th>
<th>GVM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martyrology</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anon. Homily</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ælfric’s Homily</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ælfric’s <em>Life</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious from the table that no Old English homilist made use of Severus’ second *Epistle* (SES) and Severus’ first *Dialogue* (SDP). It is also obvious that only Ælfric made use of Gregory’s texts, whereas the Anonymous Homilist was content with the material presented in Severus’ *vita* and his third *epistula*. The next is an overview of the contents of the different AS “Martinelli”; reference to the manuscripts is with the help of Gneuss’s *Handlist* number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gneuss no.</th>
<th>SVM</th>
<th>SEP</th>
<th>SES</th>
<th>SET</th>
<th>SDP</th>
<th>SDS</th>
<th>SDT</th>
<th>AVM</th>
<th>GHF</th>
<th>GVM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HL 689</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 296</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 782</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 774.1</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 915</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 344</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 36</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 264</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HL 378.5</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the Old English Martyrologist would have been content with the material from nos. 36, 264, 296, 378.5 and 915. But, of course, we can exclude from the list of possible sources all those manuscripts which were written later than the supposed Old English texts’ dates of compositions. Therefore, I present the dates of the Old English and Latin manuscripts. These are the

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179 The Fontes-Project has proven a helpful tool for analyzing text and source relationships; the “Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project”, can be found at [http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/](http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/) (12 Nov 2014). The project does not make a distinction between the different parts of the *Dialogii*, i.e. SDP, SDS and SDT, so I have added these references.
edited texts and their manuscripts in chronological order:\textsuperscript{180}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St Martin in the OE Martyrology</th>
<th>composed</th>
<th>ca. 900-950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. x.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 975-1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 1050-1100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anonymous *Homily for Martinmas* composed ca. 900-950

| C Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII | | ca. 950-1000 |
| D Princeton, University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71 | | ca. 975-1025 |
| E Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86 | | ca. 950 |

Ælfric’s *Catholic Homily for Martinmas* composed ca. 990-995

| F Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28. | | ca. 990-1025 \textsuperscript{181} |
| G Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 | | ca. 1000-1050 |
| H British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII | | ca. 1050 |

Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin* composed ca. 995-1000

| J London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII | | ca. 1000-1025 |
| K London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV | | ca. 1050 |
| L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 | | ca. 1150-1200 |

These are the dates of the manuscripts (again from Gneuss) written or owned in England and containing Martinelli, in their chronological order.

| HL 689 Oxford, Trinity College, MS 4 | | ca. 975-1025 \textsuperscript{182} |
| HL 296 London, BL, MS Additional 40074 | | ca. 975-1025 |
| HL 782 Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 29 | | ca. 975-1025 |
| HL 774.1 London, Collection of R. A. Linenthal Esq., MS s.n. | | ca. 1000-1050 |
| HL 915 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.lat. 489 | | ca. 1000-1050 |
| HL 344 London, BL, MS Cotton Nero E.i (CCL)\textsuperscript{183} | | ca. 1050-1075 |
| HL 36 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9 (CCL) | | ca. 1050-1075 |
| HL 264 Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.VI.11 | | ca. 1075-1100 |
| HL 378.5 London, BL, MS Tiberius D.iv | | ca. 1075-1125 |

\textsuperscript{180}I took Gneuss’s dates for the manuscripts, but transferred his dating system (e.g. “s. x\textsuperscript{1}”, or “s. xi med.”, etc.) to numerals.

\textsuperscript{181}Gneuss’s date for the MS is “s. x/xi”, which usually stands for a time frame between 975 and 1025; I adapted the earlier year here because the production of the MS cannot have been earlier than the text’s composition, whose dating results from internal evidence.

\textsuperscript{182}Gneuss is uncertain about the exact date and writes “x/xi?”; but he adds “prov. Canterbury [St Augustine’s] prob. s. xi ex.”.

\textsuperscript{183}HL 344 and 36 are “companion volumes” (Gneuss) with regard to the office legendary (“Cotton Corpus Legendary”) they contain. HL 344 covers the legendary from January to September, while HL 36 covers October to December.
The tables show that none of the surviving Martinelli manuscripts could have been the direct source for the Old English Martyrologist, nor for the Anonymous Homilist. HL nos. 689, 296 and 782 could well have been the source for Ælfric’s Martiniana if we consider the date of their production. But then again, as we can see from the tables, none of these offered all the material of which Ælfric made use. We can only notice the possibility that Ælfric might have drawn single sections or passages from the three manuscripts in question, always assuming they were at his disposal in the first place. As a result, none of the surviving Anglo-Latin Martinellus manuscripts provided the Latin source text for the surviving Old English Martiniana.

Though we cannot ascribe Anglo-Latin Manuscripts to the Old English texts, we can deduce facts about the Latin sources themselves. Frederick Biggs focused on the two Ælfrician Martins to treat the question of sources in greater detail, by focusing on the notable differences of Ælfric’s Homily and his Life. He explains in his study:

I would like to argue that Ælfric probably did not consult Sulpicius’s Dialogues when he wrote the Depositio and that, when he used this work in writing his second Life of Martin, it led him to reject the Laudationes [by Alcuin] as authoritative. In doing so, Ælfric shows an awareness of the relative value of historical sources, ultimately preferring Sulpicius’s firsthand account to Alcuin’s redaction. (Biggs 1996: 289)

Biggs and Patrick Zettel come to the conclusion that the “Cotton Corpus Legendary” was the “chief quarry for hagiographic matter both in the Homilies and in the Lives.” Biggs argues some of the manuscripts (those later than Ælfric) give the impression that they have accumulated material over time, which he exemplifies with the Dialogii. CCCC 9, for example, contains two of the three books of the Dialogii and Bodley 354 contains all three. For him, there is reason to believe that the manuscripts known to Ælfric did not contain the Dialogues, but that later the material fell into his lap and so he used them for the composition of the Life. To underline this, Biggs gathered “internal

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184Patrick Zettel’s (1979) study of Ælfric’s sources in his PhD dissertation presents a major contribution on the topic; unfortunately, it has not been published. It is concerned primarily with Ælfric’s sources for the composition of his Catholic Homilies. Biggs (1996) takes up Zettel’s results and presents them in his own study, so I must refer to Biggs here.

185I had to quote Zettel from Biggs (290), who refers to Zettel, p. 22.

186Biggs (1996: 290) writes: “Manuscripts known in Anglo-Saxon England that contain the Vita, Dialogues and Epistles include London, BL Additional 40074; Cambridge, Trinity Hall 21; Vatican, Reg. Lat. 489; and Hereford Cathedral Library O.6.xi. Moreover all three works
Biggs’ study is interesting for its juxtaposition of Ælfric’s Homily and the Life, but it disregards the Latin prayer at the end of the Life, in which Ælfric states that he was asked to write a longer version of the homily. To read the Latin prayer this way is more substantial in my view than to argue that more material fell into Ælfric’s hands after he had composed the homily. Still, Biggs made some important observations and adds a lot to the study of Ælfric’s two texts. Biggs noted that Ælfric reorganized the material in order to create a consistent, chronological narrative. Zettel’s conclusion is that Ælfric made are included in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, which Zettel has identified as Ælfric’s “chief quarry for hagiographic matter both in the Homilies and in the Lives.” However, the exact contents of this collection at the moment when Ælfric would have known it are still open to dispute. The earliest version – contained in London, BL Cotton Nero E.i parts 1 and 2 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 – includes, among other texts about the saint, the two books of the Dialogues that concern Martin, but the manuscript was written some fifty years after Ælfric’s death. Two 12th-century versions of the collection – Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 354 and Hereford, Cathedral Library P7.vi – include all three books of the Dialogues and differ in some other respects in the material that they include about Martin, one of which will be discussed later. These differences create the impression that the contents of the collection, at least as far as Martin is concerned, grew over time and so it is at least possible that Ælfric’s version of the legendary did not contain the Dialogues.” Cf. Biggs (302): “To Förster [1913] and Gerould [1925], the question of Ælfric’s sources appeared relatively simple: Sulpicius and Gregory of Tours provided all the necessary information. Zettel discovered that the situation is more complicated in that Alcuin’s redaction clearly underlies much of the Depositio [i.e. ÆCH], which for him helped to confirm the status of the Cotton-Corpus legendary as Ælfric’s primary source for hagiographic material. One purpose of this essay has been to suggest that we may not yet have reached a full understanding of the situation, because a particular manuscript such as Pembroke College 25 may provide a Latin source even closer to Ælfric’s version than the printed edition in the Patrologia Latina. The main object, however, of a source study such as this one is not solely to find the exact text that an author used, but rather to use the available information to discover what authors themselves thought of their sources. In the case of Ælfric’s two Lives of Martin, this larger question is particularly interesting because – if the argument of this essay is correct – Ælfric himself comes to discriminate between his sources: he eventually favors Sulpicius’s works to Alcuin’s redaction and in doing so he shows good historical judgment even while working in a genre as notoriously unhistorical as hagiography.”

To give an example of the latter: “This issue will become more important when considering the structure of the second life; the point here is that when Ælfric finds information in the Dialogues that clarifies an event, he follows it even if he does not wish to provide a longer account of an incident.” (Biggs 1996: 293). To give an example for the first: Biggs explains Ælfric’s statement in the prologue to the Life “of þære ylcan gesetnysse” in a way that Ælfric preferred Severus’ material over Alcuin’s version, which includes Alcuin’s redactions; always assuming Ælfric had this material at his disposal only after the composition of the Catholic Homilies. See Biggs (1996: 295).
use of a legendary similar to that of the Cotton Corpus Legendary. It is tempting to suppose that Ælfric had an extensive legendary before him (like the Cotton CorpusLegendary) which offered all the material for him to compose his Old English version and that this material was at his disposal in the shape of a single manuscript. But for all we know, it is possible that Ælfric drew his material from a great number of different manuscripts.

A comparison of the Anonymous Homily for Martinmas and Ælfric’s two Martiniana is no less fruitful than a comparative study of the latter two. There are a few remarkable differences, for instance, in their approach to the collation and translation of the Latin material. Both the homilist and Ælfric followed the “normal hagiographical form: Birth, Parents, Exemplary Youth, Vocation, Miracles, Death.” As shown, SVM and SET offered sufficient material for the Anonymous Homilist, whereas Ælfric gathered more material to create a homily and the extensive Life. Both the homilist and Ælfric adapt the material to their own tastes or to their audience’s respectively. Both, for instance, disregard Martin’s shabby appearance (SVM 9). The Anonymous Homilist excludes Martin’s election to Bishop from his narrative (Vermillion 1980: 86). Generally, as pointed out by Vermillion (1980: 87), the saint is more heroic in the Old English accounts, though he is also less rebellious with regard to authorities. “Martin is now the exemplar of God’s thane within the culture and context of Anglo-Saxon England.” All Old English accounts share an emphasis of Martin’s “boldness and loyalty” (Vermillion 1980: 107), so that the “basic image” of Martin as miles dei is intact (Vermillion 1980: 108). In addition, the Anonymous Homilist “avoids” Martin’s “clash” with Julian and only mentions Martin’s “service with Hilary” (Szarmach 1978: 258). The “anti-episcopal” (Szarmach 1978: 259) tone in SVM has not been taken over by the Anonymous Homilist, nor by Ælfric. The critique of Bishops that Severus obviously found necessary to mention can be found neither in the Anonymous Homily, nor in Ælfric. Instead Martin was to be presented as an impeccable “Christian model” (ibid.). However, all accounts retained – as Szarmach (1978: 259) points out – “stories concerning Martin’s campaigns against heathendom”. This seems to have been of interest for homilists and audiences alike.

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189 I have to refer to Szarmach (2003: 43) here, who refers to Zettel.
189 See Vermillion (1980: 84), who says that saints lives have become formalized between Severus and the Old English translations (and the Icelandic which he analyzes) in the 10th century, so that the translators had to collate their material from Severus’ different works on Martin to create one text that would correspond to this demanded form.
189 See Vermillion ibid. Cf. also Vermillion (1980: 106) for this issue.
All accounts tend to omit certain details that would confuse their audience rather than add anything of interest to the narrative. The Roman emperors’ commandment, for instance, that sons of soldiers must enter service (SVM 2.5), was ignored by all accounts except for the Life. The Anonymous Homilist makes use of the typical homiletic marker “men þa leofestan” as an opening formula to focus the audience’s attention, whereas Ælfric makes use of the formula only rarely, for example, in the Maccabees (Lives of Saints no. XXV). The Blickling translator follows the Latin closely, even when the Latin has *duodeviginti* he translates “twæm læs þe twentig”. Where SVM has *rege*, which, in fact, stands for the emperor, the Anonymous Homilist translates *cyning*, whereas Ælfric correctly translates *casere*.

Some of these differences and similarities might be explained by the distinctive audience of both the Homilist and Ælfric. Gaites (1982: 36) notes that the Blickling homily was intended for oral delivery, which she concludes from the formula “men tha leofestan”, whereas Ælfric’s Life could have been read and studied, as he proclaims in the preface.

A notable difference between the Anonymous Homilist and Ælfric is presented by their mode of abbreviating and collating the Latin material to create their Old English version. The homilist shortens Severus’ account by omitting passages, whereas Ælfric condenses the material. He seems to translate not word for word or sense for sense. Rather it seems that he read a passage and then recounted the narrative in his own sentences, which is perhaps also due to the fact that he sought to render the passage in verse lines, which makes a word for word translation impossible anyway. As a result, the homilist’s version is more paratactic than Ælfric’s.

Both the homilist and Ælfric have left us with great narratives in Old English. The Anonymous Homily for Martinmas surpasses many other homilies from the Vercelli Book, for example, homily XXIII on St Guthlac. *Guthlac* is “no attempt to present any kind of full-scale *vita*, linear or non-linear.” (Szarmach 1978: 261).

Ælfric, in turn, seems to have surpassed the Anonymous Homilist. His two Martiniana are an even greater literary achievement in the respect that Ælfric put a lot of effort into versifying the texts to enhance their oral delivery. There is no use in comparing the homilist’s and Ælfric’s achievement; if Ælfric is deemed the greater writer, then one has to bear in mind what Szarmach (1978:

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192 See Gaites 1982: 37; this might actually be a hint to the origin of the homilist’s Latin source, cf. the commentary, p. 393 below.
193 SVM’s *rege* (from *rex*) is not pejorative, according to Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 24).
194 Gaites (1982: 38) has also noticed that the homilist prefers parataxis over hypotaxis.
pointed out when stating that Ælfric (and Wulfstan) “are the more accomplished writers [...] because such earlier authors [like the Anonymous Homilist] have shown the way.”

In the end, we are left with a considerable number of great Old English Martiniana, whose evolution reached a final climax in the long account by Ælfric of Eynsham; all Old English Martiniana are worth studying and, therefore, worth editing.
Part II

Editions of the Old English
Martiniana
Editorial Policy

The present edition is designed so as to satisfy the demands of two different kinds of scholars. First and foremost, I hope to have provided Anglo-Saxonists with an edition that presents the Old English texts in the highest possible transparency with regard to their manuscript material. In attaching a lot of importance to transparency, I am following Susan Irvine’s (2000: 255) well-expressed demand that “[s]cholars must have the opportunity to disagree with editorial changes on the basis of full information”. In fact, this represents the guiding principle of this edition. While bearing in mind Liuzza’s (2006: 256) statement that different audiences demand different editions, I am, nevertheless, hoping to also satisfy the demands of other scholars and readers who have never encountered Old English texts (and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts respectively), such as theologians, Martin-scholars, or any reader who may approach the edited texts because of their value for literary and cultural studies.

To present the manuscripts’ texts in the highest possible transparency to scholars of Old English and yet to make them accessible to other scholars constitutes my editorial policy generally and specifically my decisions concerning emendations and modernizations. In doing so, I generally preferred a rather conservative over a liberal approach,1 in that I refrained from any unnecessary

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1I refer to the debate around conservative and liberal editorial politics, the two terms representing the two directly opposed attitudes which editors of Old English might have towards their material. An important read is Caie (1999), whose article is particularly valuable for his balanced attitude towards the topic, which is perhaps best epitomized in his statement: “Without sitting on the fence, I believe that the answer must be between the two extremes of the ultra-conservative who produces a near-diplomatic edition and the reckless emender who creates a new work according to what he thinks the author should have written.” (90), and: “In the end an editor is damned if he does and damned if he does not emend. All that he or she can depend on is a good ear, a sound knowledge of the corpus of literature in the period, a solid philological background and, most important, common sense. The editor’s job is to create an accurate and readable text and to make it accessible to the target audience.” (95) Cf. Ikegami (2005: 89f.) for a good summary of the five main approaches towards the manuscript material, and Lapidge (1991) for his liberal and self-confident approach. To be exact, he proposes the liberal approach
emendation and included only such modernizations which proved instrumental in simplifying the approach for non-experts. This whole procedure I will explain in detail in this section.

All original manuscripts were consulted to recheck spelling, punctuation, scribal peculiarities, damages, etc. The only exceptions are MS “Blickling” in Princeton, University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71 and the manuscripts in the Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge. Both the Princeton University Library and the Corpus Christi Library provide high-resolution scans which allowed for a sufficient study of the material.2

Since we turn to an age which did not know a universal standard concerning orthography, grammar, etc., that is perhaps with the exception of the Winchester school,3 I considered it useless to make corrections in the texts on the basis of such a standard. All possible emendations would be conjectural emendations if considering the evidence that can be gathered from the small corpus of surviving Old English texts, even if the corpus in question is huge in comparison with other vernaculars of the period.4 The critical moment in

2The Blickling MS is freely available at “http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/x346d4176” (24 Jan 2014). The CCCC library gives access to the scans in high-resolution only to its subscribed users. However, scholars can obtain a short-term license, see “http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home” (24 Jan 2014).

3Anglo-Saxonists have discussed the existence of “Standard Old English”, to no satisfying or universal end, however. Nevertheless, it is highly interesting what some scholars have found out about the “Winchester school” around Æthelwold, Dunstan and Ælfric. In the context of the “Benedictine Reform”, there were notable ambitions regarding creating a standardized grammar, or at least some standard scribal procedure, out of which literary context the rich Old English literature in the West-Saxon dialect emerged. The central work in this field is Helmut Gneuss’s “The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold’s school at Winchester” (1972), cf. also Gretsch (2003), Jones (2009) and Hofstetter (1987).

4The article by Kane (1969) on “Conjectural Emendation” is very illuminating in this respect. Also worth reading is Stanley (1985), though I disagree with his statement that “[o]n the whole emendation is truly essential only when a manuscript reading does not make sense” (269). I disagree because I do not see any good reason for any emendation. The only instance in which I regard an intervention necessary is when the editor is concerned to present the text in a student’s edition. Otherwise I would always trust the readers to find their own interpretation, “on the
following this practice is when the editor encounters “clear” mistakes. Many editors proclaim that they have only emended in such instances. Often, however, these editors do not define exactly what they consider a clear mistake. Needless to say, that the scholarly debate on that matter has not produced applicable procedures. If editing the text as it stands in the manuscript, on the one hand, and changing the text on the basis of some conceivable principle, on the other hand, are considered the diametrically opposed procedures, two other moderate procedures would be to emend and mark this somehow,\textsuperscript{5} or not to emend and discuss the phenomenon. Generally, I preferred the latter. I emended in the edited text only in very rare cases and, of course, such deviations are always marked by italics and commented on in the apparatus below the text.

One silent deviation was the contraction of words separated by seemingly accidental blank spaces. It is a typical peculiarity of Anglo-Saxon manuscript’s texts that words appear as disconnected, though often systematically according to their syllables. One frequent example from MS J is gebaten (‘was called’). It appears often as ge haten in the texts, without any apparent reason, therefore, I connected it without further notice. Compounds such as gold bord, a compound consisting of two substantives, are given as goldbor, since I generally sought to refrain from adding letters and signs that are not in the MS and, thus, distanced myself from the common practice of inserting hyphens in such instances. Correspondingly, the reader finds ofaxode (‘inquired’, lit. ‘asked of’) in LM, l. 5, which in Skeat is of-axode. Words divided by line-breakings were treated similarly without any indication.\textsuperscript{6}

Abbreviations in the manuscripts have been expanded, but never silently. They are consistently marked with italics, a common practice of editors in the field.\textsuperscript{7} I shall briefly describe the typical scribal practices with regard to abbreviation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The usual abbreviation for and and its variants (e.g. ond or ant) is the tironian nota. It is realized by a short horizontal stroke on the median line and a downstroke that often descends the baseline and often curves to the left. It is similar to the modern numeral <7>. In fact, many modern editions and especially web-editions of Old English texts employ

\textsuperscript{5}It is one of Gneuss’s (1994: 17) basic rules that whenever the editor deviates from text of the manuscript they must draw the reader’s attention to this deviation. Gneuss’s article was published in the context of the plan for the Dictionary of Old English, therefore, his rules had some impact in the field.

\textsuperscript{6}Claus-Dieter Wetzell (1981) has studied line-breakings in Old English manuscripts extensively. See his pp. 42f. for some of his conclusions.

\textsuperscript{7}With this practice, I followed Skeat’s edition of Ælfric’s LS, to give but one example. It is also a common practice in the EETS series of editions.
the numeral for simplicity. The edited texts represent the tironian nota as an italicized, expanded form, which is commonly and or ond. In each MS case I was able to find an unabbreviated form that served as a model for the rest of the text. Another typical abbreviation in the manuscripts is a crossed thorn $\text{þ}$, which stands for þæt (‘that’). In the present edition, I have expanded the form and marked the expanded letters with italics; the word rarely appears written out (and correspondingly without italics in the edition). Finally, a common abbreviation for a nasal (mostly m, only rarely n) is a tilde above the preceding letter. This occurs predominantly in words with an m in a final position, which might be due to the fact that -um is a frequent suffix in Old English (the typical ending for dative plural forms). A frequent example is OE eallum (‘to all’), which appears as eall˜u. This kind of abbreviation occurs rarely in a non-final position; one instance would be gelamp, from MS C, l. 1504 and cempa from MS J, l. 8.

Regarding the replacement and retainment of obsolete letters, I followed the usual practice. The runic $\text{S}$ (‘wynn’) has been replaced by w and $\text{Z}$ (‘yogh’) by g. The letters which remain are thorn $\text{þ}$ (today otherwise represented by th), eth $\text{ð}$ (also th today) and ash $\text{æ}$ (today a, e, or ae). I have not made a distinction or remark in the few instances where the manuscripts show a round $\text{s}$ or a long $\text{s}$ instead of the ordinary (descending) $\text{s}$ of the Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

Accents have been retained, even if their exact purpose is unclear. Among editors of OE texts, a “much fought-over battlefield” is punctuation, which,

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9In our text, the form is and in the Vercelli-Martin (see an unabbreviated form in l. 1504), Junius-Martin (see the note on the manuscript’s language before the edited text) and LM (unabbreviated form in l. 178). The form ond appears in Blickling (unabbreviated form in l. 1504) and in the Martyrology-Martin (no unabbreviated form in the entry on St Martin, see Herzfeld’s edition). For the phenomenon of darkening of a to o before a nasal cf. GrSB § 79. Another variant is in MS L. Though the MS contains darkened forms like lond (l. 12) it has ant spelled out five times (e.g. l. 97).

10This is probably a practice resulting from scribal economy, since the omission of the letter m saves the scribe three strokes.

11This common practice has also been recommended by Gneuss (1994).

12There is no comprehensive study of OE accents. Gneuss (1994: 18) finds their “value doubtful” and, therefore, does not regard it necessary to present them, but I still prefer to pass them on to the readers to allow them their own observations on the matter. See more on the debate concerning the representation of accents in Alexander (1982: 52) for whom word accents are worth retaining despite their lack of system. Because of the sheer number of accents in the OE texts, I refrained from listing them here.

13This apt statement by Bruce Mitchell (2005a: 151) is by one scholar who argues vehemently for the retainment of original punctuation in modern editions, cf. esp. Mitchell (1980). Dumville (1994) argues for modernized capitalization and punctuation (pp. 46) and bemoans that the
if modernized, often generates a modernized capitalization. The laws and purposes of punctuation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is still a matter of discussion. It was predominantly syntactical, but sometimes also metrical and probably derived from Latin models. Many editors have taken the lack of an identifiable or consistently performed system as a reason to force their own (modern) punctuation on the text. These editors often argued that modern punctuation would provide help for the inexperienced reader for whom the language is a serious obstacle. The reasons for me to adhere to the original punctuation concerns interpretation. The editors who force their own punctuation on the text also force their own interpretation on the reader. It would be tedious to insert a modern punctuation and explain the original to provide “full information”. Original punctuation allows readers to develop their own understanding of the section, sentence, or phrase. All the more, readers will be able to study the scribe’s system of punctuation themselves.

The majority of our manuscripts employ only the punctus, which is a simple dot, mostly on the base line, which I have represented as such in the edition. A typical phenomenon is that the punctus is in an intermediate position between two words, i.e. it is preceded and followed by a small blank space. In reproducing this in the edition, I followed Skeat’s practice for the LS again. Few of our manuscripts employ a punctus versus, which looks very much like a semicolon, and some employ a punctus elevatus, which resembles an inverted semicolon. I have represented both with a semicolon, which again is a common practice among editors of Old English texts. For the punctus interrogativus, which serves the purpose of a modern question mark, I have put a question mark (occurs only in the Life). In the manuscript, it resembles a punctus versus with a long stroke to the right. The very rare colon is represented by a colon. Any insertions are marked by square brackets <[ ]>. Most of these insertions are the reference to the Latin source text, which is presented in the apparatus on the facing page. The Latin text sections by Severus are quoted from Fontaine’s edition (cf. the list of abbreviations on p. xiii). In a few instances, I inserted a punctus in brackets in the Old English to enhance readability.

tendency towards diplomatic editions is inconvenient for historians. If editors, as he concludes, ignore the demands of historians, lawyers, Latinists and neighboring vernaculars, their editions are “likely to fail”, p. 52.

13Cf. Mitchell (1980: 385) who supposes that the purposes of punctuation could have been grammatical, syntactical, rhetorical or rhythmical; there will probably never be an ultimate answer to this question. Compare Ikegami (2005: 93) who says that “[t]he original punctuation tells us how a scribe read, or wanted read, a certain passage.” For an extensive history on the matter of punctuation, see Parkes (1993).

14In accordance with Alexander (1982: 53), I suggest that the editor of Old English texts follows the system of signs in Godden’s edition of Ælfric’s CH, see p. xcvi of his editorial policy.
In accordance with my general policy, I have also represented capitals exactly like they are in the MS. Based on the scribal practices of the material presented I have taken the common practice one step further though: in a number of instances, the beginning of a section is indicated by a capital (or uppercase) letter, sometimes a disproportionately large letter, sometimes in a differently coloured ink, but some of our texts know a third kind of capitalization, that is an enlarged lowercase letter. One enlarged lowercase h appears in Vercelli, l. 1504. This can also frequently be observed for þ and ð, which is due to the fact that many sentences in the narratives begin with þa (‘then’, ‘when’), or ða respectively. These capitals and enlarged lowercase letters are reproduced in the edition. A vertical bar 〈|〉 in the edited text marks the beginning of the manuscript’s next page. The foliation or pagination is given in the right margin next to the line.

There are comments below the text as well as a general commentary behind the edition. In the edited texts, the upper part of the apparatus collects variants and contains information on the manuscript material, that is, information on the physicality, including damages, scribal corrections and the like, as well as variants from collated manuscripts (which is relevant for Ælfric’s CH and LS).15 The apparatus contains only “significant”16 variants; above all, these are lexical variants, though I also included variation with regard to phrasing, word order, spelling (i.e. phonological/dialectal and morphological differences) and accents. I disregarded, however, any spelling variation with regard to the graphemes þ and ð in order to restrict the entries to a sensible number. For the edition of the Anonymous Homily, I treat MS E as a base text (cf. p. 161). Since MSS C, D, are significantly different in their spelling, wording and even phrasing (cf. below p. 161), they are printed in a three-column table in the appendix (pp. 402f.). Therefore, variants may best be studied there and, thus, the apparatus below the edited text of the Anonymous Homily covers variants from C and D only if they affect meaning.

The lower part of the apparatus is a linguistic and literary commentary. It contains comments on linguistic peculiarities concerning diction, syntax, etc., as well as on motifs, literary or bible references, annotations to persons, places, etc. Another commentary following the edited texts (pp. 391f.) collects comments which are concerned with intertextual issues, or which concern the Latin

15This apparatus is a negative apparatus. Negative apparatuses list only deviations in the collated manuscripts, whereas a positive apparatus lists all forms. For an explanation and discussion of the different types of apparatuses, see Gneuss (1994: 23). Some interesting thoughts on the topic can be found in Scragg (1994).
16See Gneuss (1994: 21) for the demands that an apparatus should fulfill and Gneuss (1998: 134) for more on the problem of “significant” variants.
text and, therefore, concern two or more of the edited texts.\textsuperscript{17}

Another issue I have to explain here is my choice of a base text. In all cases, I edit one MS as a base text and deploy the upper part of the critical apparatus to represent the other manuscripts through lemmata. The Martyrology’s entry for St Martin actually survives only in one manuscript. MS A contains only the first line from the text, so the edition presents the text from MS B and the line from A in the apparatus. The Anonymous Homily survives in three manuscripts. I will present the text from MS E in the edition, since the text is defective both in C and D. MS C lacks two leaves, which interrupts the text twice. The text in MS D ends imperfectly, so the end of the Homily is missing in D. Therefore, the edited text is based on MS E, which contains the full text, with the exception of only one passage which is added from C since the D and E omit this passage. Another major reason for presenting the text from E is that the full text has never been printed before. MS E serves well as a base text for the critical edition, but since the three versions are so different from each other and complement each other perfectly, I decided to present all three texts juxtaposed on one page in the appendix (see pp. 402f.).

Like Godden, I have chosen MS F as a base text for the edition of Ælfric’s Homily, because the MS can be regarded as very close to Ælfric’s original, or “archetype”, as the author’s original version of the text is often called. The archetype is always the desired version of the text, since, by definition, it is free of the changes of scribes/copiers and, thus, would represent the author’s intentions most directly. Godden writes about MS F that it “is either a product of Ælfric’s own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript” (Godden 1969: xliii). Variants from the other two manuscripts are collected in the apparatus. The text of Ælfric’s Life is taken from MS J, the oldest of the three manuscripts and probably the one which is closest to Ælfric’s archetype\textsuperscript{18} and qualifies to serve as a base text. K is not only later, but also fragmentary. Lines 631-71 in the edited text are missing in K, and rather than jumping from an edition of K to J and then back to K, I chose to present J as a base text and represent the few deviations in K in the apparatus.\textsuperscript{19} MS L is not represented

\textsuperscript{17}The comments on the Latin texts benefited from the extensive commentary of the Latin text’s standard edition by Fontaine and the edition by Huber-Rebenich (2010). I am highly indebted to earlier editions of the OE texts as well.

\textsuperscript{18}Szarmach (2003: 41) writes it is the “consensus omnium” that J is the “closest extant manuscript to Ælfric’s ur-text of LS”, albeit not his autograph.

\textsuperscript{19}The oldest MS is not necessarily the best, but it is a common procedure and quite reasonable to try and choose a version close to the author’s archetype. For the rejection of the fragmentary MS K, I may fall back on Lapidge (2003: 582), who made the same decision in his edition of Ælfric’s Life of St Swithun: “Given that G and O are mere fragments of the text, any editor must necessarily adopt [J] as the base text.” Lapidge edits the Life of St Swithun and takes J
in the edition of Ælfric’s Life. It is a late 12th-century copy of LM which omits whole passages, presumably in order to reduce it to an appropriate length for a sermon as part of a church service. I have edited the text from L on its own in the Appendix (pp. 432f.) for two reasons. Firstly, the text is so different from its two precursors that it represents an Early Middle English translation rather than another survivor of the Old English text. Its language and omissions can hardly be studied through the small number of lemmata that could possibly be part of the apparatus below the Old English text. Secondly, the full text in MS L is in print here for the first time. Other texts from the MS have been edited twice, but both editions of homilies in the MS omitted the Life of St Martin.20

On facing pages, the reader will find a modern English translation of the Old English text; the apparatus below the translation holds the text of the Latin source as quoted from Fontaine’s editions and other sources (cf. the list of abbreviations before the Introduction above). The translation adheres closely to the Old English text. In the verse texts, the translation demanded for some freedom with regard to word order so as to clarify the subject-object relation, therefore, a translation of half-lines proved inconvenient.

I have chosen a rather unorthodox, but practicable and justifiable method of presenting the two Ælfrician Martins by choosing a verse layout. In doing so, I am following the lead of the first (and hitherto only) edition of Ælfric’s Life of St Martin by W. W. Skeat (1900, republ. 1966). I take his procedure a step further, however, by presenting the text in a half-line layout where Skeat presented a long-line. In practice, I would add a caesura in the form of a blank space in between the two half-lines that make up the long-line. This practice is hitherto prevalent in editions of classical OE verse texts such as Beowulf. In the words of Thomas Bredehoft, I have to ‘realize I run against the tide’ when I apply this practice to an Ælfrician text; what is more: some scholars regard it unorthodox.21 I have, nevertheless, chosen the verse layout for the following three reasons:

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as base text, the other two he also represents in his critical apparatus, “G” being Gloucester, Cathedral Library 35 and “O” being London, BL Cotton Otho B.x. As Alexander (1977: 3) points out, it might not be the best choice for an edition of the whole collection, though.


21 See Bredehoft (2008), p. 78. In his 2008 article as well as in his 2005 monograph (see References below), he is as bold as to attempt a reconsideration of our understanding of the late OE verse, arguing that an evolution from classical to late OE to the Early Middle English verse is discernible. I am using his terms with regard to his distinction between an earlier, classical OE verse as opposed to a late OE verse.
1. The classification as prose is a misconception. The form employed can only be classified as verse. In the chapter on Ælfric’s verse above (see pp. 115f.), I have outlined its characteristics, and I have discussed the term Rhythmical Prose, to the end that the employment of the term to denote Ælfric’s form is a wide-spread misconception among scholars in the field.

2. A prose layout prevents insight into the inherent verse structure by concealing the metrical line, or, in turn, only a verse layout enables the reader to perceive and inspect Ælfric’s metre. To illustrate my point, I present a passage from Ælfric’s Life in different layouts. MS J, fol. 179v reads:22

Hwæt ða færlice wearð þæs fyrlenan leodscipes
onræs into gallas . and Iulianus þe casere gegadero
de his here . and began to gifenne . ælcum his cem
pum cynelice sylene . swa swa hit ge wunelic wæs .
Þa wende martinus þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt
þam casere þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman
moste . him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to
þære gife . and syððan ne campode mid þam casere
forð. [...] 23

Skeat’s edition highlighted the inherent verse structure by introducing deliberate line-breaking (p. 226, ll. 94-102):

Hwæt ða færlice wearð þæs fyrlenan leodscipes
onræs into gallas . and Iulianus þe casere
gegaderoðe his here . and began to gifenne .
ælcum his cem ðum cynelice sylene .
swa swa hit ge-wunelic wæs . Þa wende martinus
þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman moste .
him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife .
and syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð .

22The line breaks correspond to those of the MS. I have rendered the text with substitutions of the tironian note with and, and with the common replacements for letters such as <⟩, <⟩, and <⟩. Abbreviations have been silently expanded here (compare the edition).

23Skeat’s translation is: ‘Well then, there suddenly took place an invasion of Gaul by a foreign nation. And Julian the emperor gathered his army, and began to give to each of his soldiers a royal donation, even as was usual. Then Martin thought that he might well request from the emperor leave to depart from military service. It seemed not profitable to him to receive the donation, and afterwards not to go forth with the emperor to battle.’, see p. 227.
I have added a caesura in the following version:

Hwæt ða færlice wareð þæs fyrlenan leodscipes
onræs into gallias . and Iulianus þe casere
gegaderode his here . and began to gifenne .
ælceum his cępum cynelice sylene .
swa swa hit ge-wunelic wæs . Pa wende martinus
þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman moste .
him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife .
and syððan ne campode mid þam casere ford .

Skeat’s version represents a sensible adjustment of the material. My version goes a step further by breaking the text down into its compositional components. What is apparent in all versions, but clearer in the last version, is that Ælfric employs different patterns for his composition. Perhaps the most unmissable of these is the patterning of sounds. The text alliterates, as classical OE verse typically does. Half-lines share recurring sounds that coincide with stressed syllables. Note for instance the line “ælceum his cępum / cynelice sylene,” in which /k/ (represented by the letter c) is the recurring sound. On a metrical level each of the half-lines contain two stressed syllables. The resulting form of discourse enhances the texts’ aural appeal. On a syntactical level, the half-lines represent single syntactical units. The phrasing “and Iulianus se casere / gegaderode his here / and began to gifenne” coincides with the half-line structure. In this case, a noun phrase is followed by two verb phrases. The manuscript’s punctuation – quite consistently – marks the end of long-lines.

I would like to present another Ælfrician text in which the structure is even more apparent. The following is an excerpt from Ælfric’s Life of St Edmund (Skeat no. 32) as edited in Mitchell and Robinson’s Guide to Old English (2007). Mitchell, strongest opponent of the verse layout, describes Ælfric’s half-line structure in an introductory remark to the text with a few exemplifying lines that are displayed as verse, including accents on stressed syllables and underlining of alliterating letters. His prose layout in the edited text on the facing page, however, demonstrates that the alliterative structure formerly described is completely invisible.24 Here is the edition’s introductory layout:

24Mitchell and Robinson (2007: 208) explain: “But alliterative prose is sufficiently similar to verse that modern editors usually print it in verse lines like poetry. We decline to follow that practice here [...] but it may be well to print a few sentences lineated as verse in order to make clear the form that Ælfric is using”; and “Here alliterating sounds are underlined and the four syllables bearing primary stress in each line are marked with an acute accent.”
Éadmund se Éadiga Éastengla cýning wæs snótor and würdful and würdode sýmble mid æþelum þéawum þone ælmihtigan Gód. He wæs éadmód and geþungen and swa ànræd þurhwúnode þæt he nólde abúgan to býsmorfullum léahtrum ne on náþre héalfe he ne ahylde his þéawas ac wæs sýmble gemýndig þære sóþan láre. 'Þu eart to héafodmen gesét? Ne ahéfe þu ðé ac béo betwux mánnum swa swa an mán of hím.'

Involuntarily, Mitchell and Robinson have demonstrated that this mode of presentation prevents any insight into the text’s verse structure, which they admit is inherent to it. Next, I shall present passage from Beowulf as a final example. The first is the transcription from the manuscript (British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, fol. 129r) and the second is from Klaeber’s (2008: 3) edition:

HWÆT WE GARDE
na in þear daȝum . þeod cýninga þrým ȝe frunon hu ða æþelingas ellen fremedon. [...] 

Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in ȝeārdagum, þeódcyninga þrym gefrūnon, hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon.

Pope (1967-8: 135) also sees the problems students would face without the verse setting. Pope decides ultimately for verse lineation, since he is concerned that “[a] reader is likely to miss the pairing of phrases somewhere and start floundering. If he misses Ælfric’s basic rhythm he does not respond to the word-order and puts the emphasis in the wrong place.” So Pope employs a verse layout with long lines like Skeat.
To the best of my knowledge, there is only one edition in existence that adds a caesura to the verse line is Cassidy and Ringler’s (1971) student’s edition of St Oswald. They explain: “Following the lead of Skeat, and latterly of Pope, we have arranged the text as verse, in the belief that so helpful a guide to Ælfric’s phrasing and to his rhetorical and rhythmical intentions ought to be exploited as fully as possible.” (239)

3. Ælfric’s weaknesses as a writer of verse are no argument. I believe the prose layout has become popular because editors have tended to choose on the safe side. Skeat and Pope decided on verse lineation, but uttered uncertainty about the classification as such. Skeat’s standard edition of the Lives presents verse lines, despite Skeat’s own irresolution in the preface to his edition.25 Pope’s introduction to his edition of Ælfrician Homilies had a special impact on the field. There is a much-quoted statement concerning his own editorial procedure:

The term ‘rhythmical prose’ as applied to Ælfric’s compositions must be understood to refer to a loosely metrical form resembling in basic structural principles the alliterative verse of the Old English poets, but differing markedly in the character and range of its rhythms as in strictness of alliterative practice, and altogether distinct in diction, rhetoric, and tone. It is better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry.26

This last sentence is frequently referred to by editors who decide on the prose setting.27 Pope expressed his uncertainty about whether it would actually be discrediting for the author if the editor presents the text similarly to a classical OE verse text like Beowulf. This would seem to be to the disadvantage of Ælfric; before Pope had labelled Ælfric’s verse as “pedestrian”, Gerould (1925: 365) had

25See pp. xlvii-lii, where he expresses his concerns that readers might be dissatisfied with his decision to print some of the texts in long-lines.
26See Pope (1967-8: 105). His whole chapter on Ælfric’s style is worth reading and still has great weight in the debate. Pope edited his set of supplementary homilies as verse, i.e. for the reason that their form is “too insistently regular”, p. 135.
27Take, for instance, Michael Lapidge (2003): “For the purposes of the present edition, I agree with John Pope, that the prose of the Lives of Saints is ‘better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry’ “, p. 579 and ibid. “I have therefore printed the ‘Life of St Swithun’ as continuous prose. Another editor might well take a different view.” Similarly, many others refer to that sentence by Pope, even though at the end of his chapter Pope gives very good reasons to set it as verse anyway, reasons which most scholars have obviously disregarded.
labelled it “clumsy and formless”. The comparison of Ælfric to the *Beowulf* poet is undoubtedly to Ælfric’s disadvantage.\(^{28}\)

Pope’s statement had more impact on later editors than the fact that he decided on a verse layout. As a result, several editors decided on a prose layout in order not to discredit Ælfric as a writer. I do not regard this a proper argument and I do not regard Pope’s and Gerould criticism valid. In my view, Bruce Mitchell’s fear is as subjective as it is unfounded when he states:

[B]oth W. W. Skeat [...] and J. C. Pope print the alliterative prose in metrical lines – a decision I regret because of my naive fear that other beginners will share my experience of believing for quite a long time that Ælfric wrote bad poetry rather than good prose[.]

(Mitchell 1980: 389)

However, anyone who is afraid that Ælfric’s reputation might be at stake should consider Kuhn’s (1973: 646) question: “If Ælfric’s poetry is, in fact, debased and pedestrian, can one really improve it by calling it prose [...]?”

* * * * *

The reader will find key information on the edited text in three short sections directly preceding the Old English texts, that is, a list of the manuscripts in which the text or parts of it survives, an *Editorial Note* and a short introduction to the language of the base text manuscript (cf. the introductions to all manuscripts above (pp. 90f.), which will address some specific linguistic features the text in the respective manuscript presents. Since all edited texts were written in late West-Saxon dialect, and since MS J has been best researched, readers will find most information on the Old English language in the late West-Saxon dialect there.

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\(^{28}\)Cf. e.g., Gerould (1925: 354), who compared the two and concluded: “The tune is another tune.” In defence of Ælfric, Donoghue (2004: 96) highlights the existence of cadences, sound play and rhetorical “pyrotechniques” in Ælfric’s verse.
St Martin in the 
Old English Martyrology

Manuscripts

A: London, British Museum, Cotton Julius A. x.: p. 175 (s. x/xi, Ker Catalogue no. 161, Gneuss Handlist no. 338).

B: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196: pp. 98-99 (s. xi², Ker Catalogue no. 47, Gneuss Handlist no. 62).²⁹

Editorial Note

Like Herzfeld, Kotzor and Rauer, I edit from MS B, since A has only one line from the beginning of the text. The two MSS read:

A: ON þone .xī<Props> dag þæs monðes bið .

B: ON þone endlyftan dæg þæs monðes byð

This first line from the text on St Martin is the bottom line on page 175 (the manuscript has a page numbering) and it is the final line of this manuscript. MS B is also paginated, not foliated.

The manuscript’s punctuation consists only of a punctus on the middle line (cf. Kotzor, p. 83). Kotzor (80-1) analyzed accents in MS B and noticed that accents occur predominantly in one-syllabic words, and predominantly on long vowels and diphthongs in polysyllabic words. Note here, for instance, sé and án in l. 12.

²⁹For the other manuscripts which hold other parts of the OE Martyrology, see Herzfeld p. xif. and Kotzor p. 43f.
Language

The manuscript’s language has been thoroughly studied by Kotzor (I: 315-442).

Phonology: The text’s phonology shows mainly West-Saxon forms. The reader will notice the preponderance of y, which results from various phonological developments. It is a typical IWS feature, see GrSB §§ 22, 31, 91, 104, 107; cf. GrC §§ 316-8. In expanding the tironian nota (and/ond) I followed Kotzor (I: 82), who while considering the rules concerning a/o before nasals (cf. GrSB § 79) gathered the necessary evidence to settle the case for and, which is the dominating form in the manuscript. o before nasal can be observed in our text in ongit (l. 8), or ongean (l. 4). WS breaking before l+cons. can be observed for example in cealdum (l. 5), or gesealde (l. 6) and before r+cons. in tocearf (l. 5), or hearfende (l. 5) and before /s/ +cons. in aweahbe (l. 9), cf. GrC §§ 143-5. The text shows WS palatal diphthongization, for example ceastre (l. 3), and ongean (l. 4). myclum (l. 12) with y is typical for WS, already in eWS, see GrSB §22, Anm. 2. A WS change towards lWS can be observed in sylfne (l. 7), where eWS would show selfne) (GrSB §§ 124, 339; GrC § 325).

Inflectional Morphology: The pronouns show many y-forms, as is typical for IWS (GrSB § 334, Anm. 1; GrC § 704), e.g. hym (l. 4), hyne (l. 6) or hys (l. 5). There is one Anglian form in the weak verbs: ade in gegyrede is an Anglian form of Class II weak verbs, cf. GrSB § 413(6); GrC § 757, see l. 7.
TEXT
[n.s.] ON þone endlyftan dag þæs monðes byð sancti martines gewyten-
nys þæs halgan byscopes þæs lychama resteð on þære magðe þe ys nemned
gallea . and on þære ceastre toronice þa we nemnað turnum .

[SVM 3,1-3] sancti martynes ærvyste wundor wæs . þet hym com ongean
an þearfende man nacod on cealdu m. þa tocearf he hys scycecl on twa
and þa hyne ylcan nyht ærywde ure dryhten hyne hym on
þam ylcan gegyrlan þe he þam þearfendum men ær gesealde and cwæð . ongit
nu þysne gegyrlan . [SDS 4,3] and sanctus martinus aweahte þry men of deaðe
þurh crystes fultum . [SVM 18,3] and he gecyste þone man þe wæs egeslice
hroef and he wæs sôna hal . [SDT 14,1-2] and an scyp wæs sincende on s´æ
for anum myclum storme . þa genemde þære ylcan nyht ætywde ure dryht
en hyne hym on Bp .9 9

1 ON] The initial O is enlarged and in blue ink.

1 endlyftan] ‘the ordinal number
eleventh’, see DOE s.v. endlyftan; on OE
numerals see GrSB § 326, and on the
numeral <11> see von Mengden (2010:
82); concerning the phonology of this
form cf. GrSB § 97, Anm. 2; § 138, 2; §
188, Anm. 1; § 198, Anm. 1.
1–2 gewytenynys] This spelling is only
recorded in the Martyrology (four times,
according to DOEWC), cf. BT s.v.
gewitennes (‘departure’/’death’).
2 nemned ] Past pret. of nemnan, ‘to
name’ (BT); another (infrequent) p.pret.
form is nemde.
3 gallea ] This spelling is not recorded
anywhere else (DOEWC), see BT s.v.
Gallias, glossed ‘The Gauls, the Franks’,
 i.e. the people of Gaul, whereas the
geographical region is modern English
Gaul, which is in OE literature extant only
as Gallia rice (BT); this is the only instance
of the term denoting the region; possibly
the scribe overlooked a rice in the original,
and failed to write gallea rice. The DOE
knows only gallisc, ‘of or pertaining to
Gaul, Gallic, Gaulish’.

3 turnum] Both toronice and turnum
refer to Tours, the place of Martin’s
bishops and his burial place; the text
provides both the Latin/French name and
the OE, possibly because of the city’s
significance as a destination for pilgrims;
 cf. the introduction on Tours, pp. 32f., and
the comment below, p. 395.
4 martynes] The odd spelling with y is
recorded three times (DOEWC), i.e. twice
here and once in ÆLM below, l. 1096. Cf.
the note on the MS’s y-spellings before the
edited text.
5 scycecl] Appears five times (DOEWC),
BT s.v. sciccel gloss ‘cloak, mantle’.
5 on twa] In the sense ‘into two halves’;
æ-twain is not recorded until 1377 (OED
s.v. a-twain); von Mengden (2010: 196)
classifies the phrase as a “lexicalized
idiom”.
9 SDS 4,3] This could also relate to the
single episodes which tell of individual
revivifications (e.g. SVM 7).
13 stylde] ‘to become still or calm’ (BT
s.v. stillan), recorded more frequently in
the pret. (prefixed) form gestilde.
[n.s.] On the eleventh day of the month is St Martin’s death, the holy bishop’s, whose body rests in the country which is called Gaul, and in the city of Tours, which we call *tournum*.

[SVM 3,1-3] St Martin’s first miracle was that he came across a poor naked man in the cold winter. Then he cut his cloak atwain and then gave the one half to the poor man, and with half a cloak he clothed himself again. And then in the same night our Lord showed himself to him in the same coat which he had earlier given to the poor man and said: “Recognize this coat now.” [SDS 4,3] And St Martin revived three men from death through Christ’s help, [SVM 18,3] and he kissed the man who was awfully leprous, and he was soon healed.

[SDT 14,1-2] And a ship was sinking on the sea because of a big storm; then one of the sailors called the name of St Martin and asked him for help. Then the storm abated soon, and the sea was calm again, and they returned unharmed to a harbour.

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8–9 SDS 4,3 ] Quod uerum esse, uel ex his quae conperta nobis sunt nec latere potuerunt, possumus aestimare, siquidem ante episcopatum duos mortuos uitae restituerit, quod liber tuus ple- nius est locutus, in episcopatu uero, quod praetermissae te miror, unum tantummodo suscitarit. Cuius rei ego testis sum, si tamen nihil de idoneo teste dubitatis. Id ipsum autem uobis, qualiter gestum sit, explicabo.

9–10 SVM 18,3 ] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis introiret, leprosum facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus [...] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis introiret, leprosum facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus [...] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis introiret, leprosum facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus [...] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis introiret, leprosum facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus [...].
The Anonymous
Homily for Martinmas

Manuscripts

C: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII, fols. 95r - 101r, s. x², Ker Catalogue no. 394 (item 20), Gneuss Handlist no. 941, ed. Scragg.


E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, fols. 62r - 81r, s. xi med., Ker Catalogue no. 336, Gneuss Handlist no. 642 (base text of this edition).

Editorial Note

The margins of the folios following fol. 72r are damaged, therefore, the text is defective; additions have been made in these instances in accordance with MS D. The text after fol. 80r is legible thanks to the retouching of a later hand/corrector.

The homily has previously been edited from MS C in Scragg (1992), Peterson (1951), and Szarmach (1981), and from MS D in Morris (1874-80, repr. 1967), Hamilton (1979), and Kelly (2003). References to these editions give page and line numbers. This is the first edition of the homily’s text in MS E.
Language

There is no study of the manuscript’s language, but di Paolo Healey (1978) studied the language of the Vision of St Paul in the manuscript, and her linguistic data is valid for the other items as well. The text shows mainly WS forms. It is clear from this that the tironian nota – unfortunately there is not a single spelled out and or ond to settle the case – stands for and. Where WS and Kt. show a, Angl. would show o (GrSB § 79), for example, man (l. 4), mannes (l. 27), andwardnesse (l. 3), andward (l. 102), hand (l. 126), to name a few. However, some extraordinary forms of o before nasals do appear in our text, for example ondlyfan (l. 34).

Phonology: The text shows e through i-Umlaut of æ (GrW § 55), e.g. secgan (l. 1), where Nh. would be seegan (GrC § 766), and WS æ where Angl. and Kt. would show e (GrW § 188), e.g. dedum (l. 4), and WS ea from WG au where Angl. (through Angl. smoothing) would show e (GrSB § 119), e.g. fleab (l. 15), and eac (l. 82), as well as WS y where non-WS would show i (GrSB § 22 Anm. 2 / GrC § 318), e.g. cyricean (l. 15). Where after palatal diphthongization WS would show ea, the text once has æ in ger (l. 20); perhaps it is smoothed (IWS smoothing (GrC § 312)), which would, however, rather produce ger (cf. GrC § 185). i rounded to y is typical for IWS (GrSB § 116), e.g. bwyycum (l. 1), though it also appears unrounded in hwilcum (l. 69). yldran (l. 7) is typical for IWS (GrC § 301). eo from WG e before l+cons., or r+cons. is typical for IWS, as in sceolde (l. 9), or mildbéortnesse (l. 99). Late WS eo in sceolde (which is never Nh. or Mc.) appears next to eWS scolde. (GrSB § 92 Anm. 6). Another typical IWS form is sylan (l. 58) (GrSB § 124). The mutation of morgen to mergen is typical for IWS (and Nh.) (GrC § 192 n. 6), though here it appears as margendege / meregendege (ll. 36 / 38). Gmc. a before /x/ is broken in WS and Kt. to ea (GrSB § 86), e.g. meahte (l. 170). Moreover, syncopation of an unaccented vowel before r or l is typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), as in bismrodan, l. 55, or engla (l. 64, Lat. angelus), Hamilton: 3 (5b), or deflum (l. 144). y (or i) following a palatal is also typical for IWS, cf. Hamilton: 3, as in gescyldode, l. 166.

Inflectional Morphology: The pronouns show WS forms generally, and specifically the typical WS form bie (l. 28, GrSB 130.3). The suffix in lufode is WS rather than Angl. or Kt. (Sauer and Waxensberger (2012: 9 (4))). The past form of slépan is always weak (slepte) in Angl., whereas our text shows a strong declension once (GrSB § 395 2. Anm. 2) in slép (’he slept’, l. 60).

30Gneuss and Lapidge (2014) do not list a single study on the manuscript’s language in their bibliographical handlist.
Vocabulary: The occurrence of óferhýdig (l. 74) points to a non-WS origin.\textsuperscript{31} However, where Angl. would prefer bebygan (Sauer and Waxensberger (2013: 11.4 (3)) our text has sellan (l. 32), and since all three MSS show sellan/syllan, this could point to a WS origin of the archetype.

TEXT
HER we magon hwylcum hwega wórdum secgan. be ð´ære árwyrðan gebýrda. and be ðam halgan lífe and forðfore ðæs éadigan were. sanctus martínus. ðe we nú on andweardnesse his tíd wyrdíad. and márísíad. was ðæt gode swiðe gecóren man on his dáedium.

[SVM 2,1] he was on pannania ðære márgðe érest on wyrolde gecumen. in arrea ðam túne. ðæs he hwædere in itali aféded. in ticinam ðære byrýg[.] was he for wyrolde swiðe gðóra gebýrda and xèlira. wéró his yldran hwæðere. | fèder and moder butu háñene. [SVM 2,2] was ðæs his fador èrest cyninges ðegen. and ða atnihsan gedáh þet he was cyninges ðegna éaldorman. ðæs sceolde he sanctus martínus nýde bón on his géogoðháde on ðære gecumen. in arrea ðam túne. wæs he hwæðere in itali aféded. in ticinam ðære byrig.

[SVM 2,3] þa he was x. wíntre. and híne his ýldran to woruldfolgoðe | tyhton. and lærðon. ða fleah he to gödes cyricean. and bæd þet híne man gecristnode. þet se èresta dél his on onginnes. and lífes w´æron to geléafan gecyrred. and to fulwihte. [SVM 2,4] and he ða sóna mid ealle his lífe ymbe

1 HER ] The h is slightly decorated, in a red ink; C titled DE SANCCTO MARTINO CONFESORE; D titled TO SANCTE MARTINES MAESSAN. 1–2 be ðære árwyrðan gebýrda. and be ðære arwyrðan gebýrde 3 and márísíad] D om. 4 d´ædum] C [weawum 6 ticinam.] C om. 7 yldran hwæðere] C om. 9 cyninges ðegna éaldorman] C tribunus þæt is éaldorman cyninges þegna 13 idlan dréamas] C dreamas and þa welan; D idlan þreas 14 x.] D tyn 17 mid] C nú on 17 ymbe] C on

1 hwylcum hwega] Lit. ‘which-somewhat’ or ‘some-somewhat’ (see BT s.v. hwic and s.v. hwega, cf. s.v. hwæt-hwega); Morris translates ‘some few’, Kelly ‘brief few’, Hamilton ‘a few’; BT does not support a translation with ‘few’. 3 ðe] Hamilton (51,3) suggests that the particle serving as a relative pronoun should be translated with ‘whose’ rather than with ‘which’ (as Morris translates), since it refers to martines rather than to life and forðfore; though I agree with Hamilton, ‘whose’ does not make sense for the sentence. 4 gode] Hamilton (51,4) emends to be Gode, arguing that gode means ‘God’ rather than ‘good’, thus suggesting the Blickling copyist misread good.

7 w´æron] Hamilton (51,7-8) comments that the OE text “implies that Martin’s parents were heathen despite their nobility” where the Latin source “gives no such implication.” But, as Szarmach (1981) notes, Hoare (1954) and Fontaine (1967) have already “construed gentilibus to refer to religion, not social class.” The OE translator followed the Latin closely, which has “gentilibus tamen”, lit. ‘yet heathen’, cf. BT s.v. hwæðre which is glossed ‘yet, nevertheless, however’. Morrison translated ‘yet’ which correspond to BT and which is a proper translation if considering the temporal connotation of ‘yet’, anticipating Martin’s mother’s conversion.
Here we may say some words about the honorable birth and about the holy life and death of the blessed man St Martin, whom we now commemorate and celebrate at the presence of his time. He was very dear to God for his deeds.

[SVM 2,1] He first came into the world in the land of Pannonia, in the town of Sabaria. He was, however, raised in Italy, in the city of Ticino. Worldly, he was of very good and noble birth; his parents, however, father and mother, were but heathens. [SVM 2,2] His father was first the king’s soldier, and at next thrived so that he became a commander of the king’s soldiers. Then, he, St Martin, was compelled in his youth to be among the king’s fellowship, first in the days of Constantine, and afterwards in those of the emperor Julian. Not less against his will he was in that worldly service; but soon in his youth he much more loved the service of God than the idle joys of this world.

[SVM 2,3] When he was ten winters [old], and his parents intended him for worldly service and instructed him thus, then he fled to God’s church, and entreated to be christened, that the first part of his undertaking and of his life might be turned towards belief and to baptism. [SVM 2,4] And soon his whole

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5 SVM 2,1 ] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 8 SVM 2,2 ] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adolescencia securus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militauit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustruam potius seruitutem sacra industris pueri spiruait infantia. 14 SVM 2,3 ] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecciesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulauit. 17 SVM 2,4 ] Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conversus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen, aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus, meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit.

8 cyninges ] The OE text has cyninges to refer to the emperor because SVM has rege (‘rex’, i.e. “king”), which is not derogatory, however; cf. above, p. 149.
10 geferrædene ] ... or geferræddenne (C) translates scholares in SVM, a mounted elite unit, cf. above p. 9, and Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 23).
11 káseres ] Cf. OED s.v. kaser (first attested c. 888 AD), and obsolete in PDE; the OED derives the modern Kaiser from ME caiser (first attested c. 1160 AD), see also MED s.v. casere and DOE s.v. casere.
12 wyroldfolgoðe ] I.e. ‘military (lit. ‘secular’) service’, see. BT s.v. folgoþ II.
12 sóne ] Hamilton (52,12) underlines the “force” of sóne (sona in D); for him the phrase must be read as “from the earliest period of his youth”, which would, however, not be a close translation.
godes ðeowdom abisgod wæs . [SVM 2,5] ða hé wæs fifténe wintre ða nyddan hine his yldran to ðan þæt he scéolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfôn . and on cyaninges ðegna geféredena béon . [SVM 2,6] ða wéron .i. gær ær his fulwithe . þæt he wyrolf wæpna . wéeg . and he hine hwædere wip eallum ðam heallicum wæpnum | geheold ða ðe woruldmæn fremmad on mænniscum díngum .

[SVM 2,7] he hæfde micle lúfan . and ealle wærnesse to ælcm màen . and he wæs geðyldig . and éadmód . and gemetfæst . on eallum his life . and ðeah ðe he dríhten . bebéad on his godspelle | De crastino non cogitáre . ðæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,8] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,9] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,10] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,11] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,12] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,13] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,14] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,15] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,16] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .

[SVM 2,17] and ðeah ðe he ða gýt nære fullice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær ðæde . hwæðere he þæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæges gebídan .
life was engaged in God’s service. [SVM 2,5] When he was fifteen winters [old],
his parents compelled him to take to worldly arms and to be among the king’s
fellowship. [SVM 2,6] It was three years before his baptism that he bore worldly
arms, and he nevertheless abstained from all those distinguished weapons which
are of use for worldly men in human affairs.

[SVM 2,7] He had much love and was very considerate to everybody, and
he was very patient, humble, and moderate in all his life. And though he was
yet compelled to lead a lay life, he nevertheless had such circumspection in all
things that he even lived the life of a monk much rather than that of a layman.
For his kind deeds he was dear to all his fellows, and honoured, and respected;
and they all privately honoured him with love. [SVM 2,8] And though he
was yet not fully baptized according to subsequent ordinances, but was (only)
christened, as I said earlier, nevertheless he kept and fulfilled the sacrament of
holy baptism by good deeds. He would aid the struggling, comfort the poor,
give meat to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and everything that he obtained
through his service he shared for love of God, except for the daily bread alone
which he needed to live. He was mindful of what the Lord commanded in his
Gospel, de crastino non cogitare, that a man of God should not think about
tomorrow, lest it happen that he thereby should put off any of the good deeds
that he might do on that day, and then perhaps nevertheless he again must abide
the day after.

[n.s.] May we hear of some of the merciful deeds which he, this blessed
man, St Martin, performed early in his youth, though of those good deeds there
were more than any man might relate.

18 SVM 2,5 ] Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberetur,
prodente patre qui felicibus eius actibus inuidiebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et cate-
natus sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, uno tantum servum comite contentus, cui tamen uersa
uice dominus serviebat, adeo ut plerumque ei et calciamenta ipse detraxeret et ipse detergeret,
cibum una caperent, hic tamen saepius ministraret. 20 SVM 2,6 ] Triennium fere ante bap-
tismum in armis fuit, integer tamen ab his uitiis quibus illud hominum genus complicatur. 23 SVM 2,7 ]
Multa illius circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas, patientia uero atque hu-
militas ultra humanum modum. Nam frugalitatem in eo Laudari non est, qua ita usus
est, ut iam illa tempore non miles, sed monachus putaretur. Pro quibus rebus ita sibi omnes
commilitones deuenierat ut eum uiro ad locum ueneraret. 28 SVM 2,8 ] Necdum tamen
regeneratus in Christo, agebat quendam bonis operibus baptismi candidatum: adsistere scilicet
laborantibus, opem ferre miseris, alere egentes, uestire nudos, nihil sibi ex militiae stipendiiis
praeter cotidianum uictum reseruare. Iam tum euangelii non surdus auditor de crastino non
cogitabat.
[SVM 3,1] ðæt gelamp sume side. ðæt he gefyrde mid ðærum cyninges dégenum on da | burh de ambinensus hatte. wæs on middum wintre. and wæs se wintre ða gære to ðæs grim ðæt etne manig man his fyhr for cyne gesæalde.

dá sæt ðær sum ðearfa æt ðam burhgeþe sæt éac nacod bæd him ða for gode his hrægles on ælmesan. ða fyrdon hie ealle ford be him. and hyra nán him to gecyrran wolde. ne him énige ære gedón. ða ongeat se godes wer. sanctus martinus ðæt drihten him döne ðearfan gehelold. ðæt he him mitisian scelds ða ðara odéra manna him | nán árian wolde. [SVM 3,2] nyste ðæah hwæðere hwæt he him dón sceolde. forðan de he naht elles néfde bútan his anfealdne gýrelan. Ac eall ðæt he ma hæfde. eall he ðæt ér beforan on gelíc wyrc atéah. and for gode gesæalde. getéah ða his sex. and genam his sciccels ðe he him onhæfde. and tonsdæ ða hine. on twá. and ða half gesæalde ðam ðearfan. and mid hælfe hine besweop. ðaw æron manige men. de ðæt gesáwon. and hie hine on ðan tældon. and bismrodan. ðæt he his swa anfealdne gýrelan tonsidan scéolde. sume ðanne eft ða de betan módes wæron. and ænige lufan to gode gesæalde. hie sélfe be ðan ongæton ðæt hie swa ne dydan. and wistan ðæt he mete hæfdon. ðæt hie ægwhæder ge ðam ðearfan hrægel sylan. me ðhe æc heom selfum genóh hæfdon. [SVM 3,3] ða wæs sóna on ðære æfterfylgendan nihte. ða he se eadiga wer slép. ða geseah he crist selfne. mid ði ilcan hrægle. gegeyrwynde. ðe he ér ðan ðearfan gesæalde. | ða wæs him beboden gýrnlicor ðæt hie ðære ðreecean ðære ðam ðearfan gesæalde. Mox angelórum circumstantium multitudinem. ða geseah he meycele mænige æxngla ymbe hine drihten stándan. and ða gehyrde he drihten sélfe mid swa cudre stéfne. and to ðan æxglum cwæð. martínus nu ðu éart gecristnod ér his fulwihte. mid ðisum hrégle. ðu me gęgyfredest.
[SVM 3,1] It happened at some time that he went with other soldiers of the king to the city called Amiens. It was in midwinter, and the winter was so severe that year that many a man lost his life for the cold. Then there sat a pauper at the city’s gate; he sat naked, and begged by God for himself garments as alms. Then they all went past him and none of them would turn towards him, nor do him any favour. Then the man of God, St Martin, perceived that the Lord had reserved the pauper for him, that he should take pity upon him, since of the other men none would show mercy to him. [SVM 3,2] He did not know, however, what he should do for him, because he [had] nothing else but his one single garment; all which he previously had more of, all that he had disposed of earlier in a similar deed, and had given it away for God’s sake. Then he drew his sword, and took his cloak which he had on, and cut it in two and gave the one half to the pauper, and with the other half clothed himself.

There were many men who saw that and insulted and mocked him for thus cutting his single garment. Some again, who were of a better disposition and had some love to God, chided themselves for not doing so, and knew that they had more, both to give garment to the pauper, and also to have enough for themselves. [SVM 3,3] Soon after on the following night it was, when he, the blessed man, slept, that he saw Christ himself, clothed with the same garment which he had given the pauper before. Then he was earnestly commanded that he would behold our Lord and the garment which he had given to the pauper before. Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem. Then he saw a great many angels standing around him. And then he heard the Lord himself, with such a clear voice, saying to the angels, ‘Martin, now you are christened before your baptism; with this garment you clothed me.’
[SVM 3,4] was on ðære dáde swiðe cuð. ðæt ure drihten is swiðe gemýndig ðæs his cwí|des ðe he selfa ýr cwæð. Quamdiu fecísti. Swa hwæt swa ge hwilcum earmúm to góde ge doð. for minum naman efnæ ge ðæt me selfum ge doð. and he ða wolde ðane cwí|des getrí|man on ðære godcundan dá|da and híne selfne to ðán gee|amededc ðæt he híne on ðæs déarfan gyre|læn axéow|ðe ðam éad|gan were. sancte mártíne. [SVM 3,5] Quo uís uír non in gloriam élátus est. ða he se eadyga mártínu. ða gesihþe geseah ða næs he naht swí|de on óferhý|dig ahæfen. on mén|isc. wúndor. ac he godes gó|ð on ðære | his dæ|da ongæt. [SVM 3,6] ða for|let he ealne ðane wyroldfolg|ð ænne. and ða gewá|t he to sán|cte hilá|rie ðam bys|ceope. ðe in pictá|ue ðære býrig wæs bys|ceope. and wæs þæt swí|de foremá|re. man for gode. se bys|ceope. and his gó|ð was swí|de gecýdé|ð. and he ða ðínde ý|ðan wer fulfrémed|líc on godes é. and on godes ðéowdom | getyðe. and gelé|rde. [s.u.] eac ðán ðæ|he híne god sél|fne innan gemanode. wæs he swí|de gedüngen on his ðéawum. and stá|dolfést. on his wordum. and hlutter. and clé|né on his lífe. and he ðæs a|rfaest. and gemét|faest. and mild|hyr|ð on his dæ|da and georn|ful. and be gewyrhtum. ymbe drihtnes lá|re. and on eallum gó|ðum. for gode fulfrémede.

67 cuð] C sweotol 68 Swa] The capital S is decorated with two dots inside the arms in brown ink. 69 earmán] So in MS 70 ge] ge is a scribal correction 70 getrí|man] C gefyllan 70 godcundan] C godan 71 híne] C wolde 71 axéow|ðe] C treywan 72 sancte] Note the unusual abbreviation, usually it is sèc. Here it is stë. 72 Quo] The Q is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside. 73 Pa] The letter thorn is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside it. 73 eadyga mártínu] C ða se eadíga wer sanctus mártinus; D ða se eadíga wer sanctus mártinus 73 naht swí|de] C hwæðre oht ofor ţan; D noht feor 74 wúndor] C wul|dore; D wuldor 75 ða] The eth is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside it. 76 on ðære] C after 76 .iii.] C D þeo 79 hilá|rie] C ilario 79 pictá|ue] C pictauensis; D pictauie 80 for gode. se bys|ceope] C se bis|ceop; D for gode 82 eac] D toecan 85-86 be gewyrhtum. ymbe] C biwyrd in 86 gó|ðum] C þingum

68 Quamdiu fecísti] Lit. ‘Inasmuch as ye have done’, cf. the biblical passage in BS Mt 25,40. 72-73 Quo ... est] From SVM; lit. ‘After this vision the man was not puffed up with human glory/pride...’. 75 and he ða wolde ... ongæt] Hamilton (58,74-81) notes that the OE homilist stretches the Latin text to serve the “homiletic purpose”, which in Hamilton’s view highlights Martin’s humility and “slow[s] the story’s pace”. 82 s.u.] The source for the section is unclear; possibly the OE homilist drew material for this short description of Martin’s character from the respective sections in the vita, esp. SVM 25,2 / 25,5-6 / 26,2 / 27,1-2.
By this deed it was very evident that our Lord is very mindful of that saying of his which he said before, ‘quamdiu fecisti’, ‘Whatever good [deed] you do to any any pauper in my name, even that you do to me.’ And he would confirm the saying by that divine action; and he then humbled himself so as to show himself to the blessed man, St Martin, in the pauper’s garment. [SVM 3,5] Quo visu vir non in gloriam elatus est. When the blessed Martin saw that sight, he was not greatly exalted in the pride of human glory, but he perceived in his deed the goodness of God. [SVM 3,6] When he had [completed] his eighteenth winter, he was baptized according to the ordinances of the church; and he had been christened three years before, as I said earlier.

Then he left his worldly fellowship alone, and went to St Hilary, the bishop, who was bishop in the city of Poitiers, and who was a very illustrious man of God, the bishop, and his goodness was very renowned, and then he perfectly instructed and taught this blessed man in God’s law and in God’s service. [SVM 5,1] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarius Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et ahquandiu apud eum commoratus est.
[SVM 7,1] ða gelamp æfter ðan þæt se eadiga wer sanctus martínus. súm mynster getimbrede. and he on ðam mánigra godes ðæowá gáztíc féder geýeard [.] ða gelamp sume sipe þæt ðær | com sum ungecrístnod. man to him þæt he wolde mid his láre. and mid his lifis bísene beon getimbred. ða ðær wæs wel monige dagas. ða weard he úntrum on féferadle. [SVM 7,2] ða geláp on ða tíd. þæt sanctus martínus wæs on sumre fóre. ealle .iiii. gér. ða he ðæt hám cóm. ða gemette he ðanæ man. fórdféréndne. ðe ðær ´ér úntrum wæs. and hine étíne swa férlice dead fornám. þæt he ungefullod fórdférde. ða he ða sanctus martínus. þæt geseah þæt ða ðære gebroðre ealle swa unróte wáran. ýmbe þæt lic. ða weop he. and éode in to | him and was him swíde mícere wyrace þæt he swa ungefullod fórdgeférán scéolde. [SVM 7,3] getrýwde ðæhwæðere mid ealle móde. on ælmíhtiges godes miht. and his mildhéortnesse. and éode on ða çytn ðær se lichama inne wæs. and hét ða ðære men út gángan. and ða duru beléac after him. and he him ða gebæd. and astréahte ofer ða léoma ðæs aswóltonan mannes [.] ða he ða lánge hwíle on ðan gebede wæs. ða ongæt he þæt ðær wæs godcundlic mégen ánweard. and he ðære mildheortnesse únforht | onbád. ða wæs ýmbe hwíle ða gefélede he þæt se deada man his léoma. ealle astyrodan. and his éagan up ahóf. and fórdlócode.

[SVM 7,4] ða he ða sanctus martínus. þæt geseah ða wæs he swiðe geféondei. and ða clýpode he hlúdre stéfne. and ealmihtigum gode ðære gife ðanc s´æde. ða ða oðre broðran. gehýrdan ðe ðær úte wáron ða éodon hie in to him.

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87–88 súm mynster ] Martin built the monastery at Logociacum, today Ligugé, France. Huber-Rebenich (2010: 81 n. 59) notes that this represented the first community of cenobitic monasticism in western Christendom, an event which initiated a transition period from Christian hermitage towards monastic community.

89 ungecrístnod ] E is wrong here; in C and D the man who joins Martin is christened, as reported in SVM.

92–93 .iii. gér ] E is wrong here, C is unspecific. D is right (cf. SVM) in that Martin had been gone for three days.

103–104 gefélede he ] In his edition of the text in C Scragg (p. 297) inserts the text from D to make up for the missing folio; Szarmach (p. 59) inserts the text from E.
Afterwards it happened that this blessed man, St Martin, built a monastery, and there he was the spiritual father of many servants of God. Then it happened at some time that there came a unchristened man to him, who wished to be instructed by his lore and by his exemplary life. When he had been there for many days, he then fell ill with fever. This happened at a time when St Martin was on a journey for three full days. When he came home again, he found the man dead who had previously been ill; and death had taken him away even so suddenly that he had died unbaptized. When St Martin saw that all the other brothers were so troubled, standing around the body, he wept and went in to him, and it affected him so very much that he should die so, unbaptized. He trusted, nevertheless, with all his mind in the power of the almighty God, and in his mercy, and he went into the cell wherein the body was, and bid the other men go outside and lock the doors after them. And he then prayed and stretched himself over the limbs of the dead man. When he had been in prayer for a long while, then he perceived that there was a divine power present, and he fearlessly awaited the mercy of God. After a little while he felt that the dead man moved all his limbs, and lifted up his eyes and looked forth.

When he, St Martin, saw that, then he was very glad, and cried in a loud voice, and said thanks to the almighty God for that grace. When the other brethren heard that, who were outside, then they went in to him; then

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The Anonymous Homily

The passage in SVM 7.6, which reports “The same man was wont to relate that, when he left the body, he was brought before the tribunal of the Judge, and being assigned to gloomy regions and vulgar crowds, he received a severe sentence. Then, however, he added, it was suggested by two angels of the Judge that he was the man for whom Martin was praying; and that, on this account, he was ordered to be led back by the same angels, and given up to Martin, and restored to his former life.” (transl. Roberts).

111 SVM 7.7] The Anonymous Homily


they saw the wonderful event – the man living whom before they had left dead. [SVM 7,5] And soon they baptized him, and he lived many years afterwards. [SVM 7,7] This was the first of wonders that this blessed man openly performed before other men. And after this deed his name became ever since honoured and renowned, and all the people perceived the holiness and power in his works.

[n.s.] There also happened another miracle like this afterwards. [SVM 8,1] At some time he, this blessed man, travelled to the town of a man who was called Lupicinus. Then he heard in that town great wailing and weeping, and many cried with a loud voice. [SVM 8,2] Then he stood and asked what the crying would be [about]. Then they told him that there a certain man had died a miserable death, that he had strangled himself. When he, St Martin, so miserably heard of this man’s death, he was immediately very grievous, and in great pain, and then went into the cell where the body of this dead man lay; and then he bid all other men go out and close the doors, and he stretched himself [over the body] in prayer. And for a while he was in prayer; [SVM 8,3] then suddenly the dead man became alive, and looked forth again, and endeavoured to rise. Then St Martin took him by the hand, and raised him up, and led him forth to the hall of the house, and gave him back again whole and sound to those men who before had left him dead.

[n.s.] These wonders and many others the almighty God performed through this blessed man, before ever he became a bishop. But after that he received the bishopric in the city of Tours. There is no man who could recount all the miracles which God performed through him.

107 SVM 7,5] Ita redditus uitae, statim baptismum consecutus, plures postea uixit annos, pri-musque apud nos Martin uirtutum uel materia uel testimonium fuit. 108 SVM 7,7] Ab hoc primum tempore beati uiri nomen enituit, ut qui sanctus iam ab omnibus habebatur, potens etiam et uere apostolicus haberetur. 111 SVM 8,1] Nec multo post, dum agrum Lupicini cuiusdam, honorati secundum saeculum uiri, praeteriret, clamore et luctu turbae plangentis ex-cipitur. 114 SVM 8,2] Ad quam cum sollicitus adstitisset et quis esset hic fletus inquiereret, indicatur unum ex familia seruulum laqueo sibi uitam extorsisse. Quo cognito, cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ingrodritur, exclusisque omnibus turbis superstratus corpori aliquantisper oravit. 120 SVM 8,3] Mox uiuescante uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigi-tur; lenoque conamine enius ad sumgere, adprehensa beati uiri dextera in pedes constitit, atque ita cum eo usque ad uestibulum domus, turba omni inspectante, processit. 125 n.s.] Martin’s election to bishop of Tours is narrated in SVM 9,1-7: Sub idem fere tempus, ad episcopatum Turon-icae ecclesiae petebatur [...].
[SVM 10,1] and ðæah ðe he ða máran háfde... and ðæah ðe he ða máran háfde. and ðæec for wyrolde rícra béon scéolde. 

[SVM 13,9] wæs he forðan swide mére geond middangéard. and he manig templ. and deofolgeld tobréç and gefelde ðæt hæðne ðen ´ær deoflum onguldun. and ðan næfre þæt me ðæt gewylde. for ðan hie swutolice ongán sleani. swa he swiðor ongæn ðam wínde. and éfne on ða gelícnesse swa ða gescfighter in ðam légt... 

[SVM 14,1] þæt gelamp sume side þæt he ongán bérnan sum déofolgyld þæt mid hæðnum mannum swide wyrð. and ðæs was. ða stód ðær sum nytwyrd hús be ðan gelde ðe he ðær bérnan ongan. ða sloh se wind ðane légt on þæt ðær ongan blisse. ealle hie þæt hæðne þæt me ðæt gewylde. for ðan hie swutolice ongán sleani. swa he swiðor ongæn ðam wínde. and éfne on ða gelícnesse swa ða gescfighter in ðam légt... 

134 was D ware. 134 hwædere] MS ni hwædere; the ni is in a different ink, apparently a later addition; according to Scrugg, the hw was overwritten. 136 mete] MS mee 138 næfre] D næde 139 unanimiter] ‘presumed’ <ter> "written into spine" [Szarmach l. C27] 140 lif] MS has only h; the full word was added by a corrector 140 gehyrdan] D forebyrdan 141 gelyfan] C lyfgean; 141-142 swutolice on him ongan godes lufe and his blisse. Þa gela and godes gif on him was; Þa sweotolice on him ongan godes lufe and his blisse 142 he] C his hliða 143 middangéard] C ealne middangéard 143 tobréç] C D gebræc 144-146 ðæt hæðne ... getimbrede C and he þonne þær asette godes cirican. ðode fullice þær mynster getimbrede 154 on ða gelincenesse swa ða gescfighter in ðam légt... 

136 mete] Emended as in Szarmach. 139 Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant] Lit. And so all unanimously desired; the quote’s origin is unknown. 143 middangéard] Lit. ‘middle-dwelling’, a common expression in OE for ‘the earth, world’ (BT s.v. middan-géard I).
And though he held this important office, and would also have possessed more worldly power, he nevertheless was then like [he had been] before; [SVM 10,2] nevertheless, he had the same humility in his heart, and the same abstinence regarding to his body, both in food and garments, and also in everything even which he had before. And he as fitly held his bishophood so as if he had never abandoned the virtue and prudence of his monkhood. [S.u.]

Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant. And almost all men who knew or heard of this blessed man’s life, all unanimously wished that they might hear his words and believe in his lore, because they clearly perceived God’s love and joy in him. [SVM 13,9] He was therefore very famous all over the earth, and he broke and felled many temples and idols where heathen men had made offerings to devils before. And then, where he destroyed idols, there he placed churches of God or fully built a monastery.

[SVM 14,1] It happened at some time that he began to burn an idol which among heathen men was very valuable and famous. There stood a useful house near the idol which he began to burn; then the wind drove the fire towards that other house, and it appeared to him that it would burn up completely. [SVM 14,2] When he, St Martin, saw that, then he ran at once towards the house and stood against the fire. Then there happened a wonderful event – the fire struck and burst against the wind, and even as the wind struck heavily against the fire, so it heavily burst against the wind, and even in the likeness as if two creatures fight each other, and so the fire was oppressed by St Martin’s prayers, so that it
durh sancte martines gebyde. þæt he nénigum oðrum ér scadian ne méahete. éfne ðam déofolgyldle ánnum ðe he där bærnan organ.

[SVM 14,3] Swlyce gelamp eft oðer wundor dysum gelic. he com to sumen tûne ðe librassa wæs geháten. ða wæs ðær sum geld ðe ða hæðenan swiðe wyrðedan. ða wolde he sanctus martinus ælce ðinga ðæt geld abrécan. and gefyllan. ða wyrðedan him ða hæðenan men. and hine mid téonan on weg adrifon. [SVM 14,4] ða éode hine ðærrihte big on sume stówe. and hine ða gefýrhte mid hærere házegle swiðe heard. and unwyname. and gefæste. dgas. and álmihtigne. god gebad. þæt he durh his godcundan gemiht. 

þæt déofolgyld gebræce. and gefelde. ða he hit for manna téonan gebrecan ne moste. [SVM 14,5] ða cóman ðærrihte samninga. ænglas to him gescyldode. and gesþyrode. and mid heregeatwum gégrede. ða he hit for manna téonan gebrecan ne moste. 

þæt hyra hæðengyld wáran ealle ídele. and unnytte and ðæt hie na hæðitere ne heom selfum gedéncan ne meahûn. | ne ænies þara gehelpan de to him ænigre are wilnodon. 

[156] ár scadian ne méahete | C þingum ne derede 157 éfne | C butan; D buton 159 librassa | C librass 159 hæðenan swiðe | C hæðenan men godgild heton and hie hine swiðe 163 unwynsome | C swiðe unwynsome 163 gefæste | The e is a scribal correction 163 .ii. | C þry; D þry 166 .ii. | C D twegen 166 to | D om. 167 gesþyrode | C geswoerdode; D geswerdode 167 heregeatwum | D heora geatwum 168 self gesènde | C sylla to him sende 169 on fulturne bén. | C gefultumian; D gefultmian 170 gebrecan meahete. and gefyllan | C gebrace and gefylde; D mihte gefyllan 171 á oð done grúnd | C and gefylldon á oð grund; D ond gefyldan eal oð grund 172 godcundne | MS codcunde sic!; C by godcundan 172 gefyrhte | D to þæs swiðe gefyrhte | C wíðstandan ne dorste | D wíðstandan meahete ne ne dorste 176 gedéncan | C gehelpan; D helpan 176 ænies | D nanum 176 ænigre | D om. 

156 SVM 14,7] Cf. the discussion on the Latin source MS in Szarmach (l. 117-8).
157 þe is a scribal correction.
159 73v
160 SVM 14,7] Cf. the discussion on the Latin source MS in Szarmach (l. 117-8).
161 or passages resonant of classical Old English alliterative verse, until SVM 14,7; cf. Berger (1993) on binomials generally, and p. 101 for this particular pair.

170 SVM 14,6] Cf. the discussion on the Latin source MS in Szarmach (l. 117-8).
171 74v 172 74v
would not be able to harm anything except the idol alone which he set about to
burn there.

[SVM 14,3] There also happened afterwards another miracle like to this.
He came to a town which was called Levroux; there was an idol which the
heathen venerated greatly. Then he, St Martin, wished, at all events, to destroy
and cast down the idol. The heathen men opposed him, and angrily drove him
away. [SVM 14,4] Then he went straightway to a certain place, and clothed
himself with haircloth, very hard and unpleasant, and fasted for three days,
and bid the almighty God that he, by his divine power, should break and cast
down that idol, since for the men's anger he was not able to destroy it. [SVM
14,5] Then there suddenly two angels came to him, with shield and spear, and
provided with equipment, even as if they wished to go to war, and they said that
God himself had sent them, that they should put to flight the heathen host, and
be of help to Martin, that he might destroy and cast down that idol. [SVM
14,6] Then they went afterwards to the town and razed the idol to the ground.
[SVM 14,7] And then the heathen men watched, but they were, however, so
terrified by the divine power, and none of them dared to oppose – but they all
converted to the Lord's faith, and they said to him that there was one true God,
the one whom Martin followed, and that their heathen idols were all vain and
useless, and that they neither were able to reward themselves, nor help any of
those who do honour to them.

153 SVM 14,3] In uico autem, cui Leprosum nomen est, cum itidem templum opulentissimum
superstitione religionis uoluisset euertere, restitit ei multitudo gentilium, adeo ut non absque
inuria sit repulsus. 157 SVM 14,4] Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio
tectus et cinere, ieiunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud
euertere humana manus non potuisset, iuritus illud diuina dirueret. 160–161 SVM 14,5] Tum
subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos
se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praesidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum
templum dirueretur, obisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleret. 164–165 SVM
14,6.] Ira regressus ad uicum, spectantibus gentilium turbis et quiescentibus, dum profanam ae-
dem usque ad fundamenta dirueret, aras omnes atque simulacra redegit in puluerem. 166 SVM
14,7] Quo uiso, rustici, cum se intellegenter divino nutu obstupefactos adque perterritos ne
episcopo repugnarent, omnes fere Iesum Dominum crediderunt, clamantes palam et confitentes
Deum Martini colendum, idola autem neglegenda, quae sibi adesse non possent.
196 EDITIONS

SVM 15,1
swylce gelamp sume siðe þæt he sum gyld tobræc. þæt ealle wæron swyðe. ða wæs hyra sum hweðra and hátheortra ðæt ða oðre gebræd ða his swyrde. and gemynte hine to sléanne. ða he þa sanctus martins þæt geseah. ða dyde he sóna þæt hrægel ef his swyran and léat forð to ðam men. ðe hine sléan mynte and him ða ðane éadigan wer forgyfenesse gebæd. 

SVM 15,2
æt gærfæd ða his swyrde and gemynte hine to sléanne. ða he ða se hæðena man uparéahte mid ðære swiðran hánd. and hine sléan mýnte. ða feol he færinga on bæcling. and ne ahte his ðæt lichman man gewéald ac he wæs mid godcunde mægne geðréad. and he him ða ðane éadigan wer forgyfenesse gebæd. 

SVM 15,3
Swylce wæs eft oðer wundor ðæs ánlicnesse. þæt gelamp sume siðe ðær he sum deofolgeld tobræci. and gefylde. ða gebræd ðara hæðenra manna sum his séaxe ða he hine ða stíngan mynte. þa nyste he færinga hwær þæt seax becóm. þæt he ðær on hánda hæfde. 

SVM 15,4
gelomlice þæt dan wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælannei. and to ðæs mycel gyfe he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde. and þæt dan wæs hál gewórden. and to ðæs mihtig he ðan wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælannei. and to ðæs mycel gyfe he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde. 

SVM 18,4
ge þæt oft á gelamp ðan wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælannei. and to ðæs mihtig he ðan wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælannei. and to ðæs mycel gyfe he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt dan mægn gewælde. and to ðæs mihtig he ðan wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælannei.
Likewise it happened at some time, when he destroyed an idol, that there ran upon him a great many of the heathen men, and all [of them] were much enraged; there was one of them [who was] fiercer and more furious than the others; he drew his sword and intended to slay him. When St Martin saw that, he forthwith put off his garment from his neck, and leaped forth to the man who intended to slay him. When the heathen man raised up [his sword] with the right hand and intended to slay him, then suddenly he fell backwards, and had no command over his body, but was oppressed by divine power, and then he begged forgiveness of the blessed man. There was also another miracle like this, which happened at some time when he destroyed and cast down an idol; then one of the heathen men drew his sword; then he intended to stab him; then suddenly he knew not what had become of the sword which he had had in his hand. Frequently, when he was destroying heathen idols and the heathen men opposed him, through his lore and through his Lord's grace he turned their hearts to God's faith, so that they at next with their [own] hands destroyed and cast down their vain idols.

And he was so mighty as to heal every sickness, and had received so much of God's grace, that there was no one so sick [of those] who sought him, that he did not regain his health again.

It also often happened that when men brought parts of his garment to a sick man, that then he soon became whole.

And most of all is he to be praised for that he would never condescend to any worldly man, nor even to any king through false flattery, more than it would be right; and also always to every man he
æghwilcum men sod and riht sprecan wolde and dón . [SVM 26,5] Vere beatus uir . In quo dolus . Þis wæs sódlice eadig wor ne wæs éfre fácen ne inwid on his hyortan ne he énigne man unrihtlice ne gedémde . ne he wíte ne nam ne énig yfel mid yfele ne geald . [SVM 27,1-2] ne hine énig man yrne . ne grammónde geréhte . ac he wæs á in ánun mode and efne | heofonlícne blis . and geléan mann mohte á on his andwídan angytan . ne gehýrde énig man aht elles of his muðe nemne cristes lof . and nytte spréce . ne aht elles on his hyortan . nemne áfræstnesse . and mildhyortnesse . and sibbe .

[SET 6] swylce éac ðes eadiga wer mycle ðær beforan ðone dæg wiste his forþfærnesse . and him dриhent gécyðed héfde . and he dænne his gebroþrum sǽde þet hit ða ryhte wére . þet he of ðisse werolde sceolde . ða wiste he sumne hýrd on his hyortan unÐwære heom betweenum | wéran . ða fyrde he ðider mid his discipulum ðeah ðe he wiste þat he ða æt his daga ænde wére . þet he huru wolde þet hie ealle on sibbe wéran ær he of werolde gefýrde swylce .


From SVM, lit. ‘Truly blessed man in whom [there was no] guile’. 204 yfel mid yfele ne geald] The phrase is from BS Lc 6.37 and BS Romans 12.17 (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 90 n. 157). 205 in ánun mode ] i.e. an allusion to the Christian ideal of stoicism (Fontaine: 1103). 209-210 wiste his forþfærnesse ] Martin does not feel but knows about his passing; cp. SVM 20,8, where he also predicts the future (Fontaine: 1285).
wished to tell and do what was true and just. [SVM 26,5] \textit{Vere beatus vir in quo dolus.} This was truly a blessed man; never was deceit or guile in his heart, nor did he condemn any man unjustly, nor did he punish, nor did he return any evil with evil; [SVM 27,1-2] nor did any man see him angry or cruel, but he was always in the same mood; and truly one might always behold heavenly bliss and joy in his face; nor would any man hear anything else from his mouth than Christ’s love and edifying language, nor would [be] anything else in his heart but piety and pity and peace.

[SET 6] Likewise also, the blessed man knew of his death long before the day, and the Lord had made it known to him. And he then told his brethren that the time would be near when he should leave this world. Then, he learned of a certain community in his bishopric who were at enmity and in discord with each other; then he went there with his disciples – even though he knew that he would be near the end of his days – he desired for them that they all should be at peace before he would leave the world.
The version surviving in MSS D and E omits this section which is based on SET 7, as well as the following section based on SET 8; I inserted the text from MS C. For a brief note on the language of MS C turn to the introduction to appendix I below, p. 401. This passage, which is omitted in D and E, is possibly mirroring Martin’s combat against an insatiable foe, which eventually ends for him with his imminent death, as well as it is a final didactic message for his disciples.

223 drige [MS drige 225 ætsomne] MS ætsomne (scribal correction) 225 furðum [MS furpun 229 discipulum] C þegnum 230 untrum ] C metrum 230 discipulas ] C þegnas; D discipulos 231–232 weopan hie sóna ealle and sárlice gebérdan for heora hlaforde; D wæron hie ealle sóna unróte and sárlice gebérdon

The version surviving in MSS D and E omits this section which is based on SET 7, as well as the following section based on SET 8; I inserted the text from MS C. For a brief note on the language of MS C turn to the introduction to appendix I below, p. 401. This passage, which is omitted in D and E, is possibly mirroring Martin’s combat against an insatiable foe, which eventually ends for him with his imminent death, as well as it is a final didactic message for his disciples.

216 þa cwomon ... martine gehyrdon]

The version surviving in MSS D and E omits this section which is based on SET 7, as well as the following section based on SET 8; I inserted the text from MS C. For a brief note on the language of MS C turn to the introduction to appendix I below, p. 401. This passage, which is omitted in D and E, is possibly mirroring Martin’s combat against an insatiable foe, which eventually ends for him with his imminent death, as well as it is a final didactic message for his disciples.

217 scealfra [In SVM mergatores; Szarmach (l. 152) writes: “the birds in question appear to be mergansers (mergus merganser) [BE: goosander] rather than loons (colymbus torquatus) [BE: divers] or grebes (podiceps cristatus). Wright 1884 gives mergus/mergulas/mergula/terdella as glosses for scealfor. On the bottom of fol. 77r in [E] there is a drawing of a bird that appears to have a crested head. Whether it is meant to represent a scealfor is doubtful, since [E] lacks the incident; the anecdote of the scealfra would, however, have begun on fol. 77r if it had been included in the [E] version.” The version in D omits the passage, too.

223 drige [Peterson (85,237) suggests to read drige, (‘dry’); Szarmach (l. 158) emends so.

225 furðum [Emended as in Szarmach (l. 160).

231–232 weopan hie sóna ealle and sárlice gebérdan ] SET has Tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium (Then indeed, sorrow and grief took possession of all, and there was but one voice of them lamenting, and saying... (transl. Roberts)), so D is closest to the Latin. Cf. Hamilton (68,227).
Then they came to a certain river, there they saw a great many of those birds which we call divers, and they snatched the fish from the river, and though each of them devoured fish, afterwards it was as greedy as it had been before, and caught another one. Then St Martin spoke: “Lo, these creatures have a likeness to devils, in that the devil sits wherever he may seduce unaware men, and he never betrays so many that he would ever be satisfied.” Then St Martin commanded the birds that they should depart thence from the water, and seek the desert and dry land, just like when he put the devil to flight from some place where he was at that time. Thus, at once the birds all together departed, so that none stayed behind; and they who saw this were amazed, and it seemed to his disciples the birds themselves obeyed St Martin.

When he had reconciled the community to which he had gone, and was there many days, then he intended to go back with his disciples to his monastery. Then, he suddenly became very ill and called all his disciples to him, and said to them that he should die.

Then soon they all wept,

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210 SET 7] Then they came to a certain river, there they saw a great many of those birds which we call divers, and they snatched the fish from the river, and though each of them devoured fish, afterwards it was as greedy as it had been before, and caught another one. Then St Martin spoke: “Lo, these creatures have a likeness to devils, in that the devil sits wherever he may seduce unaware men, and he never betrays so many that he would ever be satisfied.”

215 SET 8] Then St Martin commanded the birds that they should depart thence from the water, and seek the desert and dry land, just like when he put the devil to flight from some place where he was at that time. Thus, at once the birds all together departed, so that none stayed behind; and they who saw this were amazed, and it seemed to his disciples the birds themselves obeyed St Martin.

220 SET 9] When he had reconciled the community to which he had gone, and was there many days, then he intended to go back with his disciples to his monastery. Then, he suddenly became very ill and called all his disciples to him, and said to them that he should die.

224 SET 10] Then soon they all wept,
ealle and sárlice gebérdan. and ðis cwædan to him. | forhwan forlæst fader us nu gyt. oðde gif ðu gewítest hwam bebéodest ðu ðús. Cur nos páter deseris cuí nos desolátus. Cumad risende wulfas. and todríd ðine hýorde. hwa forstándhe gif ðu hie ne scyldest. we þet witon þet þet is ðínes módes willa. þet ðu móte ðas wyrold forlætan. and críst geséon. ac gemiltsa ðu hwaðere ðís. and gemene úra ðearfa. [SET 11] ða he ða ðás word gespréc. and ðís gehyrde. and he ealle wépende geseah. ða wéop he êac selfa. and his móð was onstyred mid ðam hera wórdum. swa he wæs manna mildhéortast. | and he efne mid wépendre stéfne ðus to drihtne cwæð. Domine si ad húc populo tuo sum necessarius. Drihtne cwæð he gif ic nu gét sie ðínum folce ðearflic hér on wórulde to habbanne. ðanne ne wídsace ic ðam gewinne. ac sie ðæs ðín willa. 

[SET 12] wæs he to ðæs árfæst þet him wæs æghwaðer on wýrce ge þet he ða gebroðran forlete. ge ðanne huru êac þet he læng fram crístes onsýne wære þet he ðane gesáwe. he ða forðan drihtnes willa sohte. [SET 13] and ðus cwæð min drihten lánge ic nu wæs on ðan néardan cánhe her on wyroldæ. ac

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234 risende] C rixiende; D arisende 237–238 ða he ða ðás word gespréc. and ðís gehyrde C ða he ða heora spræce þyllice gehyrde; D ða he þa ðás word spræce 239 onstyred] C swiðe onstyred 240 efne] D om. 242 ðearflic C midþearflice; D nedþearflic 242–243 ac sie ðæs ðín willa C þet ic nu gyt mid him sie 245 ða gebroðran forlete. ge ðanne huru êac þet he ] D om. 246 gesáwe C breaks off again after gesawé due to a missing folio; continues below, E l. 279

233–234 Cur nos páter deseris cuí nos desolátus ] Translates: ‘Why, dear father, will you leave us? Or to whom can you commit us in our desolation?’ (transl. Roberts). Note that the translation precedes the Latin quote; D shows the usual order. 236 Cumad ... forlætan ] Cf. BS St Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians 1.21-7. The inner combat here is between the desire to meet Christ and to take care of the disciples (Fontaine: 1303f.). 237–238 ða he ða ðás word gespréc. and ðís gehyrde] Hamilton (68,234) notes that D and E are confusing, while C has a correct version with regard to context: Martin is listening, not speaking, and weeps. 240–241 Domine si ad húc populo tuo sum necessarius ] Translates: ‘if I am still necessary to thy people’ (transl. Roberts). 246 willa ] Szarmach emends to willa<n>, as in D.
and grieved deeply, and said this to him: ‘Father, what for do you leave us now, or if you depart, to whom do you commit us? *Cur nos, pater, deseris aut cui nos desolatos relinquis?* Rising wolves will come that will scatter your flock. Who will withstand them if you do not shield them? We know that it is your soul’s will that you must leave this world and see Christ, but pity us yet, and mind our needs.’ [SET 11] When they had spoken these words, and (he) had heard, and he saw them all weep, then he wept himself too, and his mind was stirred by their words, so mild-hearted a man was he; and he with weeping voice thus said unto the Lord: ‘*Domine si ad húc populo tuo sum necessarius.*’ ‘Lord,’ he said, ‘if I be now still so useful for thy people as to have me here in the world, then I will not refuse the struggle, but let it be [according to] thy will.’

[SET 12] He was so pious that he was both in pain from leaving his brothers, as well as from it being long for Christ’s want that he would see him. Therefore he sought the Lord’s will, [SET 13] and thus said, ‘My Lord, long have I now been in hard struggle here in the world, but nevertheless I shall not
where I went not, and heaven was long before it will be. And all the wills of my weapons on their strength.

and for the camp I had not wills.

[SET 14] was him aghwaed dam cadigan were gesy godes lufu to das hat. ge to das byrht. on his hyorton. di he for dan deade. ne forhtode. ac him das hardost langoode hwanne he of disse wyroldle moste. and him danne was eac manna lufu to das mycel. het him nainig gewin her on wyroldle to lang. ne to heard ne ouhte. das de hira sulum to hazo. and to reede gewinnan mehte [. ] da was he wel manige dagas mid pam [ /feferadle] swide gestandén. ac he hwaedere nfe frank godes wyrcse ne blon. ac he hwilum ealle nian dyrhwareode on halgu gebedum. and deah de se lichama were mid dare untrunnnesse swide geswinced hwaedere his lod was ahéard. and geféonde on drihten.

and danne he reste. danne was his seo adeleste rest on his bearan. odde elcora nihte on nacodre eordan.

[SET 15] da bædan hine da his discipulos het he mostan hwilce hwega uncyme strætenss him under gedón for his untrunnnesse. da cwaed he bearne biddad ge das ge gedfénaed cristan men | het he elcora do butan swa he eihe on acsan and on duste liege. gif ic éow oðres dinges bisene onstelle. danne agylte ic. and á ðer he læg. á he hæfte his hända upweardes. and mid his eagnum up to héofonum lócode. dider his módgédanc á seted was. da bædan hine da godes ðéowas ða ðidere to him coman. het he hine mostan on oðre sidan oncyrran. and da cwaed he to heom. Sinite frates sinite celum potius respicere. Forlætað gebroðra he cwæð ða spræce. forlætað me héofon. swiðor geseo danne eordan het minum gaste sio to drihtne wég | dider he feran scyl.

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250 fort de cámige | Fór þi πeirre campunga 252 ge | D om. 252 ði | D heah 256 /feferadle| A later hand/corrector corrected the MS’s /feferadle; D leforâdle 257 hwaedere | Ńheah 260 /bearan | MS earan; D earan 262–261 elcora nihte | D om. 261 eordran | So in MS 262 hwilce hwega | D huru sune 263 strætenss | D strewnesse 264 elcora | D elles 268 dider | D þær 271 ðær | Reconstructed, MS damaged. 271 minum | MS þinum (sic!); D minum

248 ic dan ... campe | As Szmarch (I. C101) also notes, “this last MS line on fol. 78r is begun well away from the margin and is double-underlined”.

249 /bid | Illegible, added from D, as in Szmarch (I. C102).

256 da was ... mid | As Szmarch (I. C109) also notes and accurately describes, “below this last line on fol. 78v is a bird-like head with a rather longish neck”.

260 /bearan | Förster (1893) suggests this emendation, Napier agrees, Szmarch (I. C113) emends likewise.

265 het he elcora ... liege | Hardly legible; I followed Szmarch, who added do butan and liege from D.

266 he | Added by Szmarch (I. C117).


271 dider he | Added likewise by Szmarch (I. C121).
refuse to be in that struggle longer, if it be thy will; but strengthened with thy weapons, I shall stand fast in thy army and for thy struggle, the while it is thy will.’

[SET 14] Not only was the love of God so warm and bright in the heart of this blessed man that he did not fear death, but he longed so greatly [to know] when he should leave this world, and his love for mankind was so great that he deemed no struggle here in the world too long or too hard for winning their souls for salvation and counsel. Then he was attacked by a fever for many days, but nevertheless he never ceased from God’s work, but at times he stayed awake all night in holy prayers, and though his body was very afflicted by his illness, nevertheless his mind was firm and joyful in the Lord; and when he rested, then his noblest bed was his haircloth or else at night on the naked earth.

[SET 15] Then his disciples bid his leave that they might put some paltry bedding under him, considering his illness; then he said, ‘Children, do not ask that, it does not befit a Christian man that he do otherwise than ever to lie on ashes and on dust. If I give you any other example, then I will become guilty.’ And always he lay there, always he had his hands upward, and with his eyes looked up to heaven, where his mind was set. Then the servants of God who came to him begged his leave that they might turn him on the other side, and then he said to them, ‘Sinite, fratres, sinite, celum potius respícere.’ ‘Let go, brothers,’ he said, then spoke, ‘let me rather see heaven than earth, so that your spirit be towards the Lord, whither it shall go.’

243 SET 14] O uirum ineffabilem, nec labore uitctum nec morte uincendum, qui in NULLAM se PARTEM PROMIO INCLINÆSERIT, nec morti timuerit nec uuierc recusarit! Itaque cum iam per aliqua dies ui febrium teneretur, non tamen ab opere Dei cessat; pernoctans in orationibus et uigilibus fatiscentes artus spiritui seruere cogebat, nobili illo strato suo in cinere et cilicio recubans.

252 SET 15] Et cum a discipulis rogaretur ut saltim uiüa sibi sineret stramenta subponi: Non decet, inquit, christianum nisi in cinere mori; ego si aliud uobis exemplum relinquo, peccaui.» Oculis tamen ac manibus in caelum semper intentis, inuictum ab oratione spiritum non relaxabat; et cum a presbyteris, qui tunc ad eum convenerant, rogaretur ut corpusculum lateris mutatione replearet. »Sinite, inquit, sinite me, fratres, caelum potius respicere quam terram, ut suo iam itinere iturus a Dominum spiritus dirigatur.”
da he ða ðus spræc. ða geseah he ðane awergedan gást déofol ðær únfear standan [.] ða cwæð he to him. Quid adstas cruënda urá nihil in me funeste repperes. hwæt stândest ðu wælgrim. wildeor ná fast ðu méde aht æt me. ac me scyl abrahámes béarm æt his seo éce rést onfón. [SET 17] ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his andwlita swa blídelic and his mod swa geféonde. ðet hie éfne meahtan on ðan gære ongytan ðæt he gástlicne geféan geseah. and ðet hine héafonlic werod gefétode. an and ða swa geofode ðas sarlican ofogelet. a butan ænde. A M E N —

[SET 16] da he ða ðus spræc. ða geseah he ðane awergedan gást déofol ðær únfear standan [.] ða cwæð he to him. Quid adstas cruënda urá nihil in me funeste repperes. hwæt stândest ðu wælgrim. wildeor ná fast ðu méde aht æt me. ac me scyl abrahámes béarm æt his seo éce rést onfón. [SET 17] ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his andwlita swa blídelic and his mod swa geféonde. ðet hie éfne meahtan on ðan gære ongytan ðæt he gástlicne geféan geseah. and ðet hine héafonlic werod gefétode. an and ða swa geofode ðas sarlican ofogelet. a butan ænde. A M E N —
[SET 16] When he had thus spoken, then he saw the accursed spirit, the devil, there standing near him. Then he said to him, ‘Quid adstas, cruénda úra? Nihil in me funeste reperes.’ ‘What for do you stand [there], cruel beast? In me, you shall not find anything as meed; but I will be received in Abraham’s bosom for eternal rest.’ [SET 17] When he had said this, then his face became so blissful, and his spirit rejoiced so much that they could even see at that moment that he rejoiced spiritually, and that the heavenly band fetched him, and then he, thus rejoicing, left this painful dwelling and our Lord took him to his heavenly kingdom.

[n.s.] Lo, we have now heard how humbly this blessed man lived his life for God, while he was here in the world, and what a sweet reward he received from our Lord. And now, for as long as this world shall stand, man shall praise his goodness all over this earth, in God’s churches, and with all the saints he will exult and rejoice far and wide in His heavenly kingdom, in the presence of the Lord. But let us strive to emulate this blessed man’s life and his deeds, that this be our measure, and let us ask him that he sits with us well in your heaven, with our Lord. Now, we here on earth honour his memory; for that help us, our Lord, who lives and reigns forever without end. Amen.
Ælfric of Eynsham’s

Catholic Homily for Martinmas

Manuscripts

F: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28., fols. 234v - 238v, s. x/xi, Ker Catalogue no. 15, Gneuss Handlist no. 11 (base text of this edition).

G: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, fols. 378r - 385v, s. xi1, Ker Catalogue no. 48, Gneuss Handlist no. 64.


Editorial Note

MS F served as the base text; lexical variants from manuscripts G and H can be found in the upper apparatus. I followed Godden’s editorial method, but I did not print a prose layout, and tried to highlight the underlying verse structure instead (see my “Editorial Policy”). For the re-checking of MS H, I had to rely heavily on Godden’s apparatus, since the MS (esp. the folios in question) is in a poor state, poorer as it must have been when Godden consulted it. The apparatus contains only those variants which are clearly decipherable in H. Parts of the text block are often cut away at the outer and upper margin. Folio numbers on fols. 96r-101v (i.e. the section of our text) are entirely lost,32 therefore, I do not present them in the edition’s margin.

32The parchment folios were bound into paper. Most of the paper pages have a pencil numbering in the upper right corner on the recto side; the text on St Martin in this numbering is fols. 58r to 63v. Some folios show the original numbering in the lower right corner on the recto side. The pencil numbering is probably from 1964 (the last page reads “Examined after binding [indecipherable signature] 29.7.64“)
I have – as in all edited texts – included variants of accents. However, I ignored the variant of hé/be (MS F / MS G) to limit the entries from G in the apparatus to a sensible number. The scribe of F generally employed far more accents than the scribe of G. F’s scribe uses accents frequently on long vowels, and sometimes in order to differentiate between <u> and <i> (Deffner 1975: 48-9).

Language

Ælfric’s IWS language has been the subject of much research. Godden’s edition of the Catholic Homilies presents introductions to the manuscripts he edits (see pp. lxviii-lxxxii for MS F), but Pope’s (1967-8) edition pays more attention to their language (esp. pp. 177f.). Hofstetter (1987) deals specifically with Ælfric’s (Winchester) language, and pays much attention to MS F (check pp. 38-66), whereas Scragn’s (2006) article focusses on “Ælfric’s Scribes”, and in this respect has much to say about MS F.33

Phonology and Spelling: MS F’s orthography is very regular, and studies have shown that it probably originates from Ælfric’s own scriptorium and its production was under his supervision (cf. the section on the MS above, p. 126). Therefore, the text represents an exemplary late West-Saxon language. I will confine myself here to collect a few specifically late West-Saxon characteristics, and may direct readers to the more comprehensive introduction to MS J’s language before the Life below, p. 257.

Specifically IWS is the appearance of eo from West Germanic e before l+cons., as in geheolp (l. 35), or heold (l. 92); cf. Hardy: 14/15, Hamilton: 3 (7). ea from eWS e before b+cons. is also typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 7(b); Hamilton: 3(8), e.g. wīðeafht l. 118. Also, γ (or i) following a palatal is typical for IWS, as in scylde (l. 74) (Hamilton: 3.) The syncopation of an unaccented vowel before l is another typical IWS feature, e.g. englum (l. 56, from Lat. angelus), or deofle (l. 106), cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5b). The syncopation of an unaccented vowel before r is also typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), e.g. mynstre (l. 153), or bealicre l. 258; cp. the variant in MS G: bealicere, which does not show the syncopation. MS G shows a few more variants which present an interesting contrast to the forms in MS F; therefore, I have inserted a few linguistic comments at the respective location. hiwe (l. 194) is a typical form in IWS, cf. Hamilton: 3; GrSB § 78, and § 107 (5).

33For studies of Ælfric’s language, see the language sections in Reinsma’s (1987: 135f.) and Kleist’s (2000) annotated bibliographies of studies on Ælfric, as well as to Gretsch (2006), Earl (2007), and Gretsch (2009).
Vocabulary: Unsurprisingly, the text shows some words that are not only specifically West-Saxon, but part of the Winchester vocabulary, as analyzed by Hofstetter (1987). In our text we find *tocwysan* (l. 253), and *tocwysed* (l. 300) (Hofstetter: 16 (10)), as well as *modig* (l. 30, Hofstetter: 17 (12)).
TEXT
III . IDUS NOVEMBRIS . DEPOSITIO SANCÆ MARTINI EPISCOPI : —
[SVM 2,1] MARTINUS se wuldorfulla godes andetere
was acenned of æðelborenum magum .
on ðam earde þe is geháten pannonia .
on þære byrig þe is gecweden Sabaria .
and he was síddan alsed on Italia .
þæt is Romana rice ; [SVM 2,2] his fæder was æðelboren .
xrest cempa . and síddan cempena ealdor .
on hædenscipe wunigende . and his gemæcca samod ;
ða gestryndon hí þone gecorenan godes
cempan martínum . and hí mærlice geðeah ;
ða árn hé to cyrcan buton his freonda
foresceawunge fulluhtes biddende .
and he weard þa gecristnod . and on wunderlicum gemete gecyrred .
and hú he on westene wunian mihte ;
[SVM 2,5] þa aspráng þæs caseres gebán þet ðæra cempena bearn
þe forealdode wæron . wurdon genamode
to ðam ylcan gewinne þe heora fæderas on wæron ;
hvæt þa martinús weard ameldod fræm his agenum fæder .
de on his weorcum andode .

2 MARTINUS ] The M is enlarged; the other capital letters have been adorned with red ink.
6 síddan ] H síddan 7 Romana ] G romá-na (judging from the colour of the ink the accent and
the hyphen are by a later hand) 7 rice ] H ri 8 cempa ] G cæmpa 8 síddan cempena ] G

2 andettere ] Meaning ‘confessor’ (DOE s.v. andettere). As Masi (183) points out the
term is not in SVM at this point; he
suggests that Ælfric inserted it “from
necessity of liturgical categorization”, in
accordance with his “organizational
principle” in the sanctorale.

8 cæmpa ] The variants in F and G
present one example for the variants
produced by i-Umlaut of Germanic æ, i.e.
OE e (WS) and æ (nWS); cf. Masi (63), and
GrC § 192(2). Another example in this
homily is bendas/bendas.
3rd IDES OF NOVEMBER. THE DEPOSITION OF ST MARTIN, BISHOP

[SVM 2,1] Martin, the glorious, confessor of God, was born of noble parents, in the country which is called Pannonia,
in the city which is called Sabaria; and he was afterwards brought up in Italy, that is the Roman empire. [SVM 2,2] His father was of noble birth, first a soldier, and afterwards a commander of soldiers, living as heathen, together with his consort.

[SVM 2,3] They then begat God’s chosen soldier Martin, and he thrived magnificently. [SVM 2,4] Truly, when he was ten winters of age, then he ran to church without his friends’ foreseeing, requiring baptism;
and then he was christened, and in a wonderful manner converted, constantly meditating on God’s church, and how he might live in the desert.

[SVM 2,5] Then came forth the emperor’s decree that the sons of those soldiers who had become old would be appointed to the same warfare in which their fathers were engaged. Lo, Martin was enrolled by his own father, who envied his deeds.

2 SVM 2,1] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 7 SVM 2,2] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adolescetia secutus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militauit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustris pueri spirauit infantiia. 12 SVM 2,3] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulauit. 16 SVM 2,4] Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conversus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen, aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus, meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit. 18 SVM 2,5] Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur, prout patre qui felicibus eius actibus inuidebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et catenatus sacramitis militaribus implicatus est, uno tantum seruo comite contentus, cui tamen uersa uice dominus seruiebat, adeo ut pleurumque ei et calciamenta ipse detrheret et ipse detergeret, cibum una caperent, hic tamen saepius ministret.
and he wearð þa gelæht to þam laðum gecampe.
and on racenteagum gelæd. þa da he fyftyne geara wæs;
Ænne cinht he hæfte to his ðenungum ford.
ðam he sylf þenode swa swiðe swa he him;
hé folgode þam casere ærest constantinium.
and siððan Iuliane þam wælhreowan widerscan.
[svm 2,6] and he on ðam folgode ealle fulnysse forbeah.
[svm 2,7] he æteowode þam swincendum mid eallu geðylde.
and his efence pan þa hine endemes wurðodon.
[svm 3,1] þa gemette martinus on middes wintres cyle ænne nacode ðearfan.
and his nan man ne gymde.
þeah de he mid hreame. ða riddan þaes bæde;


24 and on racenteagum ] The two variants in F and G show that Germanic au became ea in eWS, which in turn became e before c, g, h in late West-Saxon; cf. GrW § 163 (Masi 67).
27 constantinium ] Emended as in Godden. I.e. the Roman emperor Constantius II., who reigned 337-61 AD. Note that the emperor’s name appears in Severus already in SVM 2,2, cp. E and the commentary below.
28 Iuliane ] I.e. the pagan Roman emperor Julius (Apostatus), who reigned 360-3 AD. This emperor’s name also appears in Severus already in SVM 2,2, cp. the text in E and the commentary.
30 modig ] Masi (187) suggests to translate ‘laborers’ rather than ‘the afflicted’ (as in Thorpe).
34 swincendum ] Masi (187) suggests to translate ‘laborers’ rather than ‘the afflicted’ (as in Thorpe).
38 nacode ðearfan ] As Masi (187) also notices, there is no reason for Thorpe to translate ‘blind pauper’.
39 hreame ] The alliteration with riddan suggests a silent b in hreame.
And he was seized for the hateful warfare, 
and led in chains, when he was fifteen years [old].

He had one servant still in his service, 
whom he himself served rather than he did to him. 
He followed the emperor Constantius first, 
and afterwards Julian, the bloodthirsty apostate, 
and in that service he avoided all impurity, 
living like a monk rather than like an impetuous soldier. 
He always manifested true love for his companions, 
and boundless humility with all patience, 
and his fellow-soldiers honoured him likewise. 
He was very kind to all [who were] troubled, 
the poor and ill-clad, and still was not yet baptized. 
Then Martin met, in midwinter’s coldness, 
one naked pauper, and no man heeded him, 
though he with outcry prayed the horsemen therefore.
[SVM 3,2] da næfde martinus nan ding to syllenne
bam nacedan ðearfan. þe ðær swa ðearle hrymde
bution his | gewædum | þe hé wel behófode.
and hæfde ár his ding | þearfum gedælode;
hé ne mihte swa ðeal | on his mode áfindan.
þær he ðone nacodan | mid nahte ne gefrefrode.
ac tocearf his basing on | emtwæ mid sexe.
and sealdæ oðerne dæl | þam earman wædlan.
and mid þam ofcyrfe | hine eft bewæfde;
þa hlofon da cempan | sume ðes básinges.
Sume eac geomorodon | swiðe on mode.
þær hi naht ðylllices | þam ðearfan ne gebudon.
þa ða hí edelicor | hine mihton scrydan;
[SVM 3,3] On þære ylcan nihte æteowode crist hine sylfne
martine on swefne | mid þam basinge gescrydne.
and het hine sceawian | gif he ða sylene oncneowe.
and se hælend sona | his englum ðus sæde;
Martinus me bewæfde | efne mid ðyssere wæde.
þeah þe hé ungefullod | gyt farende sy;
and weard þa gefullod | forhraðe on criste
þa ða he on ylde eahtatyne geara wæs;

40 syllenne | G sellene 41 ðearfan | H omits 41 hrymde | G hremde 42 gewædum | G gewædum 42 hé | G H he 42 behófode | G behófode 43 ár | G ær 43 þearfum | G þearfan 44 áfindan | G frefrode 45 þam nacoden | G nacoden 45 gefrefrode | G frefrode 46 emtwæ mid sexe | G mid sexe ðon emtwæ 47 dæl | G dæl 49 hlofon | G hlogan 49 cempan | G cempan 49 básinges | G básinges 50 geomorodon | G geomorodon 51 hí | G hio 52 hí | G hio 52 edelicor | G edelicor; H eðelicor 53 ylcan | G ðican 53 æteowode | G H æteowde 53 sylfne | G sylfne 55 sylfne | G sylfne 56 englum | G englum 57 wæde | G wæde 61 eahtatyne | G xiii

56 hælend | Masi (188) criticizes Thorpe for translating ‘Jesus’, and obviously reads ‘Lord’. According to BT (s.v. hælend) it translates ‘A healer, savour, Jesus’; the cognate is ‘healer’, cf. German Heiland or the Old Saxon Hœland.
Then, Martin had nothing to give to the naked pauper, who cried so hard there, except for his garments, which he well needed, and he had before distributed his goods to paupers. He could not, however, find it in his heart not to comfort the naked with anything; but cut his cloak in two with a sword, and gave the other part to the poor beggar, and with the cut-off part he clothed himself again. Then some of the soldiers laughed at the cloak. Some also grieved much in spirit that they had not offered anything of the like to the pauper, since they more easily might have clothed him.

In the same night Christ showed himself to Martin in a dream, clad with the cloak, and bid him behold, whether he recognised the gift; and the saviour promptly said thus to his angels: “Martin clothed me with this very garment, though unbaptized he yet be.”

Martin then rejoiced at the fair vision, and was then promptly baptized in Christ, when he was eighteen years of age.
Æft er ðisu gelamp on ðære leode gewinn. 
and dælde his cæmpum cynelice sylene. 

æft hí on ðam gewinne werlice ongunnon; 
andælde his gefeohte his handa afylan. 
ac cwæð ðet he wolde criste ðeowian. 
on gæstlicum gæmpe ðæt æfter his cristendome; 

ðæt ðam gewinne werlice ongunnon; 
andælde his cæmpum cynelice sylene. 

as Masi (69) notes for final positon the "reasons are not always discernible". He further notes that such variants are frequent in F and G. In this case I would propose that the double n in F is in analogy to the earlier gewinne, l. 20. 

for the free variation of the IWS product of i-Umlaut of Germanic ea and io, i.e. y and i; cf. Masi (62); another example from this homily is syddan/siddan. 

74 rodetacne ] Loan translation from Latin crucifix, i.e. ‘cross-sign’ (Sauer 2013: 277).
After this, it happened, in the war of these men, that the emperor Julian called for battle, and distributed among his soldiers a royal gift, so that in that conflict they would act manfully.

Then Martin would not take his gift, nor defile his hands in the battle, but said that he wanted to serve Christ in spiritual war in accordance with his Christianity.

Then the bloodthirsty said that he would be afraid because of the forthcoming battle, not pious for Christ.

Then Martin boldly answered the emperor: “I will fearlessly go through the host, armed with the sign of the cross, not with a red shield, or with heavy helm, or hard corselet.”

Then the heathen king commanded to hold Martin, that he might be thrown unarmed before the host.

Then the saviour would not forsake his servant, but reconciled the people soon in the morrow, so that they submitted to the emperor’s sceptre.

Interea inruentibus intra Gallias barbaris, Iulianus Caesar, coacto in unum exercitu apud Vangionum ciuitatem, donatiuum coepit erogare militibus, et, ut est consuetudinis, singuli citabantur, donec ad Martinum uentum est. Tum uero oportunum tempus existimans, quo peteret missionem – neque enim integrum sibi fore arbitrabatur, si donatiuum non militaturus acciperet – : 3. hactenus, inquit ad Caesarem, militaui tibi; patere ut nunc militem Deo. Donatiuum tuum pugnaturus accipiat; Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet.

Tum uero aduersus hanc uocem tyrannus infremuit dicens eum metu pugnae, quae postero die erat futura, non religionis gratia detractare militiam.

At Martinus intrepidus, immo inlato sibi terrore constantior: si hoc, inquit, ignauiae adscribitur, non fidei, crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domini Iesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus.

Retrudi ergo in custodiam iubetur, facturus fidem dictis, ut inermis barbaris obiceretur. Postero die hostes legatos de pace miserunt, sua omnia seque dedentes. Vnde quis dubitet hanc beati uiri fuisse victoriam, cui praestitum sit ne inermis ad proelium mitteretur. Et quamuis pius Dominus seruare militem suum licet inter hostium gladios et tela potuisset, tamen, ne uel aliorum mortibus sancti violarentur, exemit pugnae necessitatem. Neque enim aliam pro milite suo Christus debuit praestare victoriadam, quam ut, subactis sine sanguine hostibus, nemo moreretur.
Hwæt ða martīnus done wælhwreowan forlē. and beah to hilariūm ðam gelæredan biscope. se de ða on worulde wuldorful wæs gehæfd. scinende swa swa tungel. on sōdre lære;

Mid ðam he wunode on weligre lære to langum fyrste. od ðæt he his frynd geneosode on fyrlenum earde. wolde hī feondum ætbredan. ðurh halwendum fulluhte. de ða gyt hæðene wunodon;

[SVM 5,1-3] Hwæt da martīnus done wælhwreowan forlē. and beah to hilariūm ðam gelæredan biscope. se de ða on worulde wuldorful wæs gehæfd. scinende swa swa tungel. on sōdre lære;

Mid ðam he wunode on weligre lære to langum fyrste. od ðæt he his frynd geneosode on fyrlenum earde. wolde hī feondum ætbredan. ðurh halwendum fulluhte. de ða gyt hæðene wunodon;

[SVM 5,4] Da da | hē com to munton da gemetton hine sceadan. G 379v

and heora án hine slōh mid æxe on his heafod;

he weard ða gebunden. and heora anum betæht;

[SVM 5,5] Da befrán se sceadā ðe hine onsundron heold hwæt hī manna wære. òððe wære ofdræd;

Martinus him to cwæð. ðæt hē cristen wære. 235v

and on eallum his life næræ swa orsorh;

[SVM 5,6] Begānn ða to secgenne ðam sceadan geleafan. and mid bólicere lære hine læran ongann;

hwæt ða se sceadā ða gebunden. on ðone lifigendan god. and tolysde da bendas.

his halwendan lærowes. and him swa filigde

on eawfæstum ðeawum. siddan á lybbende;


82 gelæredan] Masi (66) notes that this variation of a and ð occurs only in G. 99 bendas] F and G present here another example for variants of a Germanic sound, cf. above cempan, l. 8.

93 hwæt hē manna wære] In the sense “what kind of a man he would be”.

98 gélyfde] y from West-Germanic e through i-Umlaut is typical for IWS (Hamilton: 2), whereas G’s e is nWS. 101 siddan] Cf. the note on wille/wylle above, l. 73.
Lo, then Martin left the bloodthirsty, and turned to Hilary, the learned bishop, who then was held in great esteem in the world, shining like a star with true teaching. He lived with him, in rich instruction, for a long time, until he visited his friends in a distant country; he wanted to release them from the foes, through wholesome baptism, they who yet remained heathen. When he came to the mountains, robbers met him, and one of them struck him with an axe on his head. Then he was tied up and committed to one of them. Then the robber asked, who kept him separately, what kind of man he was, or whether he was afraid. Martin said to him, that he would be a Christian, and in all his life he was never so unconcerned. He then began to tell the robber of faith, and with book learning set about teaching him. Lo, then the robber soon believed in the living God, and loosened the bonds of his salutary teacher, and so followed him, living in pious service ever after.

81 SVM 5,1-3] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et ahquandiu apud eum commoratus est. 2. Temptauit autem idem Hilarius inposito diaconatus officio sibi eum artius inplicare et ministerio unciire diuino, sed eum saepissime restitisset, indignum se esse uociferans, intellexit vir altioris ingenii uno eum modo posse constringi, si id ei officii imponeret in quo quidam locus iniuriae uideretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse praecepit. Quam ille ordinationem, ne despexisse tamquam humiliorem uideretur, non repudiauit. 3. Nec multo post admonitus per soporem ut patriam parentesque, quos adhuc gentilitas detinebat, religiosa sollicitudine uisitaret, ex uoluntate sancti Hilari profectus est, multis ab eo obstrictus precibus et lacrimis ut rediret. Maestus, ut ferunt, peregrinationem illam ingressus est, contestatus fratribus multa se adversa passurum: quod postea probabuit euentus. 89 SVM 5,4] Ac primum inter Alpes deuia secutus incidit in latrones. Cunquc unus securi eleuata in caput eius librasset ictum, ferientis dexteram sustinuit alter; uinctis tamen post tergum manibus, uni adseruandus et spoliandus traditur. Qui cum eum ad remotiora duxisset, percontari ab eo coepit quisnam esset. Respondit Christianum se esse. 92 SVM 5,5] Quaerebat etiam ab eo an timeret. Tum uero constantissime profitabatur numquam se tam fuisse securum, quia sciret misericordiam Domini maxime in temptationibus adfuturam; se magis illi dolere, qui Christi misericordia, uprote latronica exercens, esset indignus. 96 SVM 5,6] Ingressusse quaeangelicam disputationem uerbum Dei latroni praedicabat. Quid longius morer? Latro credidit prosecutusque Martinum uiae reddidit, orans ut pro se Dominum precaretur. Idemque postea religiosam agens uitam uius est, adeo ut haec, quae supra rettulimus, ex ipso audita dicantur.
Æft er ðisu gemette martinus þone deofol .

Se áxode ardlice hwider he siðode .

on eallum his færelde . swa hwider swa hé ferde ;

and se sceocca fordwán of his gesihdæ ða ;

and avende his moder of mánfullum hædenscipe .

and manega hire to eacan eac to gode gebigde .

Be ðam we magon tocnawan þet gehwilce gedœð to heofenan rice . þeh de heora frynd losian .

þa ða se mæra wer swa micclum gedœah .

and his fæder forwearð on fulum hædenscipe .

On ðam timan asprang Arrianes gedwyld wide geond eorðan . þa m Š martinus wiðfeah .

oð þet he forwel oft yfele weard geswenct ;

he ðygde unlybban eac on his mete .

ac he ða frecednysse þes færlican attres mid gebedum afligde . þurh fulum drihtnes ;

Masi (67) notes that this variation of o and u occurs in unaccented syllables; cf. GrC § 373.

Ælfric (here as well as in the Life) does not mention Illyris, and shortens the passage on Martin's fight against Arrianism.
[SVM 6,1] After this Martin met the devil, who promptly asked where he was travelling, [SVM 6,2] said that he would be his adversary in all his course, wherever he would go. Then the saint straightforwardly answered the devil: “I do not fear you. The Lord is my stay,” and then the devil vanished from his sight. [SVM 6,3] Afterwards, Martin travelled to his parents, and turned his mother away from wicked heathendom, and many besides her turned to God, though the father alone remained an idolater. From this we may know that anyone may thrive to the heavenly kingdom, though their friends may perish, when this great man thrived so greatly, and his father perished in foul heathendom. [SVM 6,4] At that time the heresy of Arius spread widely on the earth, which Martin fought against, so that he very often was evils harassed.

[SVM 6-5-6] He received poison also in his food, but the danger from the sudden venom, he drove away with prayers, by help of the Lord.

102 SVM 6,1] Igitur Martinus inde progressus cum Mediolanum praeecessisset, diabolus in itinere, humana specie adsomptu, se ei obuium tulit, quo tenderet quaerens. Cumque id a Martino responsi accipisset, se quo Dominus uocaret intendere, ait ad eum: 104 SVM 6,2] quocumque ieris uel quaecumque temptaueris, diabolus tibi aduersabitur. Tune ei prophetica uoce respondens: Dominus mihi, inquit, adiutor est; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo. Statimque de conspectu eius inimicus euanuit. 109 SVM 6,3] Itaque, ut animo ac mente conceperat, matrem gentilitatis absolvit errore, patre in malis perseverante; plures tamen suo saluauit exemplo. 117 SVM 6,4] Dehinc cum haeresis Arriana per totum orbem et maxime intra Illyricum pulluasset, cum adversus perfidiam sacerdotum solus paene acerrime repugnaret multisque suppliciis esset adjudicatus – nam et publico viri tamen causas est et ad extremum de ciuitate exire compulsus –, Italiam repetens, cum intra Gallias quoque diessu sancti Hilarii, quem ad exilium haereticorum uis coegerat, turbatam ecclesiam comperisset, Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit. Ibi quoque cum Auxentius, auctor et princeps Ariariorum, grauis sine insectatus est, multisque adiectum injuriis de ciuitate exurbavit. 120 SVM 6,5-6] Cedendum itaque tempori ratus, ad insulam, cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit, comite quodam presbytero magnarum uirtutum uir. Hic aliquandiu radicibus uixit herbarum. Quo tempore helleborum, uenena uatum, ut ferunt, gramen, in cibum sumpset. 6. Sed cum uim ueneni in se grassantis uicina iam morte sensisset, imminens periculum oratione repulit statimque omnis dolor fugatus est.
[SVM 6,7] Pa cyrde martinus ongean to hilarium swa swa he mid wope hine georne bæd.
125  þær hé æfter ðam siðe. hine gesecan scelde.

[SVM 7,1] Hilarius da eft mid estfullum mode hine underfeng. fægen his cymes.

and martinus siddan him mynster aræde.
buton þære byrge mid munuclicere onbryrdynsse;

Æfter ðisum gedeodde sum häðen wer him to.

and se binnon feawum dagum swa færlice swealt.
[SVM 7,2] þær hé on fullühte underfangen næs.

for dān ðe martinus dā on neawiste næs.

ac com dā to huse [SVM 7,3] hearde gedrefed.

130 and hine sylfne astrehte. sona ofer ðone deadan.
drihten biddende. þær he him liif sealde.

and he weard dā geeducod æfter lytlum fyrste.
[SVM 7,5] and sona gefullod. gesundful leofode
to manegum gearum. [SVM 7,6] and gewisslice sæde

135 þæt hé ware gelæd to leohtlesre stowe.
and swærlice geswenct. on sweartum witu;
ða comon þær fleogende twegen fægre englas.

and hine gelæddon ongean to life for martines bene. swa swa he bæd æt gode;

130 sum häðen wer him to] The verb com is obviously missing in the b-verse (compare the Life, ll. 209f.).
144 martines] F and G present two variants of e and u, which Masi (65) discusses and categorizes as possibly "regional orthographic custom", not having enough material to draw other conclusions. Another example is burhware/burhwaru.
[SVM 6,7] Then Martin returned to Hilary, as he had earnestly with weeping asked of him, that he, after his journey, should seek him.

[SVM 7,1] Then Hilary with devoted spirit received him, joyful about his coming, and Martin afterwards erected for himself a monastery, outside the city, with monastic inspiration.

After this a certain heathen man joined him, and he, within a few days, died so suddenly, [SVM 7,2] that he had not received baptism, because Martin was not in proximity, but came to the house, [SVM 7,3] deeply troubled, and soon stretched himself over the dead, praying the Lord that he would give him life, and he was then revived, after a little while, [SVM 7,5] and soon baptized, lived in good health for many years, and truly told that he had been led to a lightless place, and severely afflicted with dismal torments.

Then there came flying two fair angels, and led him again to life, because of Martin’s prayer, as he had asked of God.

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\[\text{SVM 8,1-2} \text{ Sum ungesceadwis man hine sylfne aheng }\]
\[\text{þet hé fotum span } \text{ and his forh forlét.}\]
\[\text{þet weard ða mid wope } \text{ þam halgan were gecydd.}\]
\[\text{and hé genealæhte } \text{ þam lifleasan men.}\]
\[\text{SVM 8,3} \text{ and hine unwurðne of deade aræde. G 380v}\]
\[\text{þurh his ðingrædene wið þone soðan god;}\]
\[\text{SVM 9,1} \text{ þet turonisce folc hine ða gecneas him to leodbiscope. ðeah de he lange widcwæde. and of mynstre nolde nawar beon gemit. oð þet sum fæmne hi facenlice hiwode}\]
\[\text{sárlice seoce. and asende wið his;}\]
\[\text{SVM 9,2-3} \text{ Þa ferde martinus and þet folc his cepte.}\]
\[\text{and hine gelahton swa swa hí ær geleornodon ealle clypigende mid anre stæmne.}\]
\[\text{þet martinus wære wyrde þæs hades.}\]
\[\text{and þet folc gesælig durh swilcne bispoc;}\]
\[\text{SVM 10,1} \text{ he wearð ða gehalgod swa swa hí ealle gecuron.}\]
\[\text{and done hád geheold mid sódre eadmodnysse on þære ylcan anrædnysse þe he ær on leofode;}\]
\[\text{SVM 10,2} \text{ He heold his ðeawas swa swa swa healic bispoc.}\]
\[\text{and his muneclice ingehyd swa þeah betwux mannun;}\]


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Some unreasonable man hanged himself, so that he span with his feet, and forsook his life. Then with weeping that was reported to the holy man, and he approached the lifeless man, and raised him, the unworthy, from death, through his pleading, with the true God.

The people of Tours then chose him for their diocesan bishop, though he long refused, and would not be found anywhere outside the monastery, until some woman deceitfully feigned herself sorely sick, and sent for him.

Then Martin went, and the people awaited him, and took him, as they before had been instructed, all crying with one voice, that Martin would be worthy of the position, and the people blessed by such a bishop.

He was then consecrated, as they all had chosen, and held that position with true humility, with the same steadfastness which he had lived by before.

He observed his duties like a distinguished bishop, and his monastic strictness among men nevertheless.
[SVM 10,3-5] he ærde him munuclif on micelre digelnyse
twa mila fram ðære ceastre turoniscre ðeode;
ðæt münster he gelogode mid wellybbendum mannum.
ðæt wæron hundeahtig muneca. þe him anmodlice gehyrdon.

and him eallum wæron heora ðing gemæne.
æfter regollicere gesetnysse [SVM 10,6] ne hí naht synderlices næfdon.

Næs heora nanum alyfed on ðam life ænig cæft.
buton halgun gebedum. and heora gewritum;
Seo yld hí gebæd. and seo iuguð wrat;

Symle hí sæton ætsonne to gereorde.

næs þær wines drenc buton wannhalum mannum.
[SVM 10,8] heo ra forwel fela wæron mid waces offendes hærum G 381r
to lice gescrydde. and þær laðode softnys;

Of ðam munstre gedugon ædele bispocas.

þurh martines lare gehwilcum leodum;
[SVM 11,1-2] ðær wæs ða gehæfd gehende ðære byrig
swilce halig stow. mid healicu gedwylde.
and weofod geset mid micclum wurðmynte
swilce ðær gereste sum halig cyðere;

þa befrán martinus æt þam mæssepreostum
ðæs martres naman. þe hí swa micclum wurðodon;
þa nyste heora nán his naman to secgenne.
He build up for himself a monastery in great solitariness, two miles from the city of the people of Tours. That monastery he lodged with men of good life; that were eighty monks, who unanimously obeyed him, and to them all their things were in common, in canonical tradition, nor owned they anything privately. To none of them any craft was allowed in that life but holy prayers and their writings. The elderly prayed, and the youth wrote. They always sat together at meals; there was no drink of wine, except for sick men. A great many of them with poor camel’s hair clothed their bodies, and loathed softness there. From that monastery thrived noble bishops, through Martin’s instruction, to many people. Then Martin inquired of the mass-priests the name of the martyr whom they so greatly honoured. Then none of them knew to say his name,
ne on hwæs timan he ðrowunge underhnige;

[SVM 11,3-4] hwæt ða se bispoc mid his gebroðrum
ferde to þære ylcan stowe. and þone ælmihtigan bæd
þet hé geswutelode mid sóðre gebicnunge.
hwæne ðær swa marne þæt mennisc wurðode;
Pa wearð þær æteowod an atelic sceadu
on sweartum hiwe. and sæde þet he ware
for stæle ofslegen. na for sódum geleafan.
and wunode on wite mid wælhreawum sceðum.
for his mándædum. na mid drihtnes cyðerum;
[SVM 11,5] ða towende se bispoc þæt weofod sona.
and þa dwollican socne mid ealle adwæste;
[AVM 660A] hit gelamp eac swilce on oðru
timan. þæt anre wydewan sunu wearð to deade | gebroht.
and hradlice gewát fram woruldlícum bricum.
and se halga martínus for hine gebæd
on ðaes folces gesihđe. and hæ sona arás
to ðám lánan | life be hê ær forlet;
Purh ðám tæne gelyfdon of þære leode gehwilce
on ðone lifigendan god. ðe hine to life arærde;
[AVM 660B] On ðære ylcan byrig he gehælde án mæden
mid halwendum smyrelse gehalgodes eles.
\[æt de fram cildháde symle ær dumb ðæs;]

188 underhnige] G underfenge 189 ða se bispoc] G ða martínus se bispoc 190 ferde ]
195 ofslegen.] G ofslegan; H ofslegan 196 wælhreawum] G wælhreowan 196 sceðum]
martýrum 201 wydewan] G wudowan (second u is a scribal correction from e) 202 hradlice.

205 lánan life ] Masi (195) proposes ‘passing life’ as a more literal translation, instead of Thorpe’s
‘poor life’; ‘lent life’ is even closer.
nor in whose time he had undergone his passion.

[SVM 11,3-4] So, then the bishop with his brothers
got to the same place, and prayed the Almighty
that he would show with a true sign
whom there so greatly the people honoured.
There appeared then a horrid shade
in dark colour, and said that he had been
put to death for theft, not for true faith,
and dwelled in torment with bloodthirsty robbers,
for his wicked deeds, not with the Lord’s martyrs.

[SVM 11,5] The bishop then straightaway overthrew the altar,
and suppressed the false sanctuary.

[AVM 660A] It also happened, at another time,
that a widow’s son was brought to death,
and suddenly departed from worldly realms;
and the holy Martin prayed for him
in sight of the people, and soon he arose
to the granted life that he had left before.
Through this miracle everyone from that people believed
in the living God, who had raised him to life.

[AVM 660B] In the same city he healed a maiden,
with a wholesomeunction of holy oil,
who from childhood had always been dumb before.
234

[SVM 12,1-5] he ferde eft siddan embe sumere neode.
þa ofseah hé feorran ða hæðenan ferian
án lic to eordan. mid anþracum gehlyde.
and hé ealle gefæstnode heora fét to eordan
on ðære stowe þe hí steppende ææron
mid his strangan bene swilce mid bende;
hí tyrndon mid bodige gebigedum sceancum.
and heora fótwyldmas awendan ne mihton.
óð þæt se halga hí eft alysde.
215
and lét hí forðgan. for his gódnysse;
[SVM 13,1] Se halga towearp ðac sum hæðengyld.
and wolde aheawan ænne heàhne pinbeam.
se wæs ær gehalgod þam hæðenum godum;
[SVM 13,2] ða noldon ða hæðenan þam halgan gedæfan.
220
þæt hí swa halig treow æfre hynan sceolde;
[SVM 13,3] Cwæð þeah heora án þæt hí hit underfenge
feallende to foldan. and hí hit forcurfon.
gif hí on god truwode þurh trumne geleafan;
225

hí forðgan] G lét hi forðgan; H let hi forðgan 220 gódnysse] G H gódnysse 221 hæðengyld]

213 he ferde … gehlyde] Ogawa (1996: 469) discusses the use of þa in this passage.
[SVM 12,1-3] Afterwards, he went about for some endeavour, when he observed the heathens bearing a corpse to the earth with a horrible clamour, and he fastened all their feet to the earth, on the place where they were walking, with his powerful prayer, so as if with a bond.  
[SVM 12,4-5] Their bodies turned, with bended legs, and they could not move their foot-soles, until the holy man again released them, and let them go on, because of his goodness.  
[SVM 13,1] The saint also destroyed an idol, and intended to hew down a high pine tree, which had before been dedicated to the heathen gods.  
[SVM 13,2] Then the heathens would not allow the saint that he should ever treat ill so holy a tree.  
[SVM 13,3] One of them said, that he should receive it when it falls to the earth, and they would cut it down, if he trusted in God with firm belief.  

[211 SVM 12,1-3] Accidit autem inequenti tempore, dum iter ageret, ut gentilis cuiusdam corpus, quod ad sepulchrum cum superstitoso funere deferebatur, obuium haberet; conspicatusque eminus uenientium turbam, quidnam id esset ignarus, pauluium stetit. Nam fere quingentorum passuum interualium erat, ut difficile fuerit dinoscere quid uideret. 2. Tamen, quia rusticum manum cerneret et, agente uento, lintea corpori superiecta uolitarent, profanos sacrificiorum ritus agi credidit, quia esset haec Gallorum rusticis consuetudo, simulacra daemonum candido tecta uelamine misera per agros suos circumferre dementia. 3. Leuato ergo in aduersos signo crucis, imperat turbae non moueri loco et deponere. Hic uero, mirum in modum, uideres miseros primum uelut saxa riguisse. 217 SVM 12,4-5] Dein, cum promouere se summo conamine niterentur, ultra accedere non ualentes ridiculam in uertiginem rotabantur, donec uicti corporis onus ponunt. Attoniti et semet inuicem aspicientes, quidnam sibi accidisset taciti cogitabant. 5. Sed cum beatus uir conperisset exequiarum esse illam frequentiam, non sacrorum, eleuata rursum manu dat eis abeundi et tollendi corporis potestatem. Ita eos et, cum uoluit, stare conpulit et, cum libuit, abire permisit. 221 SVM 13,1] Item, cum in uico quodam templum antiquissimum diruisset et arborem pinum, quae fano erat proxima, esset adpressus excidere, tum uero antistes loci illius ceteraque gentilium turba coepit obsistere. 224 SVM 13,2] Et cum idem illi, dum templum exuertitur, imperante Domino quieuisissent, succidi arborem non patiebantur, ille eos sedulo commonere nihil esse religionis in stipite; Deum potius, cui seruiet ipse, sequerentur; arborem illam excidi oportere, quia esset daemoni dedicata. 226 SVM 13,3] Tum unus ex illis, qui erat audacior ceteris: si habes, inquit, aliquid de Deo tuo, quem dicis te colere, fiduciam, nosmet ipsi succidemus hanc arborem, tu ruentem exice; et si tecum est tuus, ut dicis, Dominus, euades.
[SVM 13,4-5] þa geðafode martinus . þæt mid gebylde .
230 and weard gebunden under þam beame geset
ðider þe hé bigde mid healicum bogum .
235 and næs him nán wend þæt hé ahwár wende
buton to þam halgan . swa swa he ahylde næs ;
[SVM 13,6] hwæt þa ða hæðenan aheowon þæt treow
236 mid ornametre blisse . þæt hit brastliende sâh
to þam halgan were . hetelice swiðe ;
240 and fornean ofeoll þa hit ær forcurfon ;
[SVM 13,9] Pa wurpon þa hæðenan sona heora gedwyld .
and to heora scyppende sæmtinges gebugon
mid micclum geleafan þurh martines lare ;
245 ða gewende se líg ðurh þæs windes blæd
to sumes mannes hum þæt gehende stód .
Then Martin consented to that with boldness, and was set bound under the tree, where it bent with its high boughs, and they had no expectation that it would turn anywhere else than to the holy man, so as it was inclined.

So, then the heathens cut that tree with excessive bliss, so that it sank crackling towards the holy man, very violently.

Then he made towards the falling tree the sign of the Saviour’s cross, and right away it stood still, then turned again, and fell backwards, and nearly fell on those who had cut it before.

Then the heathens immediately renounced their heresy, and instantly turned to their creator, with great faith, through Martin’s instruction.

Afterwards, he set fire to some heathen temple. Then the flame turned, through the wind’s blast, to some man’s house, which was standing there nearby,
[SVM 14,2] ac martinus astah on dam sticelan hrofe.
and sette hine sylfne ongean dam swegendum lige.
and he sona dreow dywyres wid þæs windes
mid micclum gewinne for ðæs weres mihte.
[SVM 14,3-4] gelóme he towearp gehwær geðædene gyld.
þa wolde hé ðene án eald hus tocwyxan
þe was mid gedwyldæ. deoflum gehalod.
ac mennisce handa hit ne mihton towurpan.
| for dam fæstum gefege þæs feondlican temples;
[SVM 14,5] þæs feorðlice ænglas
of healicre heofenan. and hi þet hús towurpon.
þurh gastlicne cræft. dam gódan to blisse;
[SVM 15,2] sum hæðen man wolde hine acwellan
mid atogenum swurde. and se halga aleat
and astrehte his swuran under dam scinendan brande.
ða feoll se cwellere afyrht underbæc
arleas oð þæt. and ða bad forgifenysse.
[svm 15,3] eac sum oðer arleas hine wolde slean
| on his halgan headfe mid heardum isene.
ac þæt wæpen wánde aweg mid þam slege
of ðæs reðan handum þe hine hynan wolde;

248 sylfne | G selfne 248 swegendum | G swegandan 250 micclum | G miclum 252 Gelóme]

Thorpe's erroneous translation 'the wind's might'; instead it must be translated 'man's might'.

Masi (195) points to Thorpe's erroneous translation 'the wind's might'; instead it must be translated 'man's might'.

Masi (69) writes about such variants (here F and G) that "[m]any of these variants occur in adjectives that replace strong for weak endings".
but Martin ascended the steep roof, and set himself against the roaring flame, with great struggle, because of this man’s power; and then the innocent house was saved. 

He frequently destroyed heathen idols everywhere. At that time, he sought to destroy an old house alone which was in heresy dedicated to devils; but human hands could not destroy it, because of the firm construction of the hostile temple.

Some heathen man sought to kill him with a drawn sword, and the saint bent down, and stretched out his neck under the shining brand. Then the murderer fell back, terrified, impious until then, and then begged forgiveness, acknowledging his crime to the exalted man.

Also, some other impious man sought to strike him on his holy head with hard iron, but the weapon turned away with the stroke out of the hand of the fierce man who sought to abuse him.

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247 SVM 14,2] Quod ubi Martinus aduertit, rapido cursu tectum domus scandit, obuium se aduenientibus flammis inferens. Tum uero, mirum in modum, cerneres contra uim uenti ignem retrorqueri, ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur. Ita uirtute Martini ibi tantum ignis est operatus, ubi iussus est. 252 SVM 14,3-4] In uico autem, cui Leprosum nomen est, cum itidem templum opulentissimum superstitione religionis uoluisset euertere, restitit ei multitudo gentilium, adeo ut non absque iniuria sit repulsus. 4. Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut quia templum illud euertere humana manus non potuisset, uirtus illud diuina dirueret. 257 SVM 14,5] Tum subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praeolidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum templum dirueretur, obisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleter. 260 SVM 15,2] Nec cunctatus ferire gentilis, sed, cum dexteram altius ex tulisset, resupinus ruit, consternatusque divino metu veniam precabatur. 266 SVM 15,3] Nec dissimile huic fuit illud. Cum eum idola destruentem cultro quidam ferire uoluisset, in ipso ictu ferrum ei de manibus excussum non conparuit.
[SVM 16,2-8] Sum mæden he gehælde mid gehalgodum ele.
þær þe langlice læg on legerbedde seoc.
toslopen on limum. samcucu geduht.
and aras ða gesund on gesihde þæs folces;
[SVM 17,1] Tetradius hatte sum hæden þegen
his ðeowcnapena án weard þearle awed.
[SVM 17,4] þa sette martinus his handa him onuppon.
and se feond fleah forht for þam halgan.
and se ðæowa siðdan gesundful leofode.
and his hlaford beah mid geleafan to gode
mid eallum his hirede. þe ær ðan hæden wæs;
[SVM 17,5-6] Martinus eac cóm to anes mannes huse
his cnapa wæs awed wunderlice ðurh deofol.
and árn him togeanes mid gyniendu muðe;
Þa bestáng se halga his hand him on muð.
het hine ceowan mid scearpum todum.
his liðegan fingras. gif him alyfed wäre;

272 toslopen on limum] Lit. ‘asleep in the limbs’, i.e. ‘paralyzed’.
He healed some girl with hallowed oil,
who had lain long in bed, sick,
with paralyzed limbs, considered half-dead,
and she arose whole in sight of the people.

Tetradius was the name of one heathen thane;
one of his servants became exceedingly mad;
then Martin put his hand upon him,
and the fiend flew affrighted from the saint,
and the servant afterwards lived sound,
and his master turned with belief to God,
with all his household, who had been heathen before.

Martin also came to one man’s house
whose boy was wonderfully maddened by the devil,
and ran towards him with yawning mouth.
Then the saint put his hand on his mouth,
told him to gnaw with sharp teeth
his flexile fingers, if it were possible for him.
Se wódæ ða awende ægel his cealfas
fræm ðære hlægan handa. swylce fræm hátum ise.
and se awyrgeða gast gewét of ðam men

út ðúrh his gesceapu. mid sceandlicum fleam;
[SVM 18,3-4] Martinus gelacnode mid ænelipium cosse
ænne hreolfinne mannæ fræm his micclan cõde.
and fræm atelicum hiwe his unsmédan lices;
Manega ðæc wurdon mettrume gehælede

þúrh his reafes hreapunge. swa swa | hit geræd is;
[SVM 19,1] Sumes gerefan dohtor hé æhredde fræm fefere.
ðúrh his ærendgewrit þe heo adlig underfeng;
[SVM 19,4] Eft æt sumum sæle ætslád se halga wer
on ðam healicum gradum æt þam halgum weofode.

swa þet he fornean eal wearð tocwysed.
ac on þære nihte hine gelacnode god
ðúrh his hlægan engel to ansundre hæle;
[SDS 12,11] Oft hine geneosodon englas of heofenum.
and cuðlice tospræcon for his clænan life;

[Masi (196) notes that Ælfric made “sexual” what was only “scatological” in SVM. Probably Masi read gesceapu as ‘privy members’ (BT s.v. ge-sceap III.). Ælfric probably preferred the word for the alliteration, cf. the passage in the Life, l. 549.]
The madman then turned away his jaws from the saint’s hand, as if from hot iron, and the accursed spirit departed from the man out through his genitals, with shameful flight.

Martin healed with a single kiss a leprous man from his great disease, and from the horrid appearance of his uneven body. Many ill were also healed through the touch of his garment, as it is read.

Some prefect’s daughter he rescued from a fever through his written message, which she received while sick.

Again, at some time, the holy man slid on the high steps at the holy altar, so that he was bruised almost all over; but in the night God healed him, through his holy angel, to sound health.

Some angels from heaven visited him, and familiarly spoke with him because of his pure life.
305 [SDS 13,5] Seo halige MARIA  eac swilce gecom
to ðam halgan were  on sumere tide
mid twám apostolam .  Petre . and Paule .
and twám mædenum .  Tecla . and Agna .
and mid hire geneosunge  hine gearwurðode .
310 and micclum gehyrte .  þurh hire andwerdnysse ;
Eac se halga | bispoc  geseah gelome
þa awyrigedan deoflu  mid mislicum gedwyromur ;
he nateshwon ne ondred  heora deofelican híw .
ne hé nes bepæht  þurh heora lesungum ;
315 [SVM 24,4-6] Hwilon com se deofol  on anre digelnyse
mid purpuran gescryd .  and mid helme geglengd
to ðam halgan were  þær hé hine gebæd .
and cwað þet hé ware  witolice se hælend ;
[SVM 24,7] Pa besah martinus  wid þæs sceoccan leoht .
gemynig on mode .  hu se metoda drihten
cwað on his godspelle  be his godcundan tocyme .
and cwað to ðam leasan  mid gelærendum muðe ;
Ne säde ure hælend  þet hé swa wolde beon
mid purpuran gehiwod .  òþþe mid helme scinende .
320 þonne he eft come  mid engla ðrymme ;

305 Seo ] H Se 305 MARIA ] All capitals are decorated with red ink .  305 swilce ] G swylce
G and was gemynig 320 metoda ] G H metoda 321 tocume ] H tocume 324 gehiwod .
G H gehiwod 325 engla ] G angla

310 andwerdnysse ] ‘The two variants in F and G show: Germanic aw became æ in eWS, which in turn became e before c, g, h in IWS, see GrW § 163 (Masi 67).’
314 lesungum ] Masi (198) suggests to replace Thorpe’s archaic translation ‘leasing’s’ with ‘deceits’.
315 Hwilon ... ] Masi (198) notes that “many” of the following miracles “serve no particular purpose” other than

“entertainment for an audience eager to hear wonders”, which might be true for Ælfrics audience. In SVM, Severus probably rather gathered and instrumentalized a quantity of miracles as evidence for Martin’s holiness.
320 metoda ] According to Masi (68) and GrW (§ 48) the variants in G and H show an Anglian form as a result of an umlaut of e.
The holy Mary likewise also came to the holy man at some time, with two apostles, Peter and Paul, with two maidens, Thecla and Agnes, and with their visitation honoured him, and greatly cheered him by their presence. Also, the holy bishop often saw the accursed devils with different illusions. He did not dread at all their devilish shape, nor was he deceived by their deceptions.

One time the devil came in secrecy, clothed with purple and adorned with a crown, to the holy man, where he prayed, and said that he would truly be the Saviour. Then Martin beheld the fiend's splendour, mindful in mind of how the Creator Lord said in his gospel of his divine advent, and said to the false [one] with learned mouth: "Our Saviour did not say that he would be so arrayed in purple, or with shining crown, when he should come again with a host of angels."
and seo stow do stanc mid ormætum stence.
də wəron gefyllede swa swa hæ foresæde;
[SDS 2,1] hwilōn æt his móssan men gesawon scinan
fællice æt his hno lle swilce fyren clywen.
swa þæt se scinenda līg his locc up ætæah;
[SDS 2,3] he wolde geneosian sumne adlīg mannan
æt sumon sæle. se hatte Euantius.
ac he wearð gehæled. ær se halga come
into his huse. þurh þæs hælendes gife;
[SDS 2,4-5] ða wæs ðær án cnapa geættrod þurh næddran
swīde toswollen. þurh ðæs wyrmes slege.
unwæte his lifes. ac he wearð ahredde
þurh martines hrepruneg fram ðam rèdan attre.
[s.u.] Se eadmoda bispoc ðe we ymbe spreacā
waes swīde gedýldig wið þwyrum mannam.
and him ne eglode heora hospspræc.
ac forbær blīdelice ðeah ðe him man bysmor cwæde.
He nolde ðæcan ænigum rican
mid geswæsum wordum. ne eac sod forsweian.


329 scean] According to Masi (68) and GrC (§ 179) the form in F shows an glide vowel (e) that occurs often when following palatal sc.
Then the devil vanished sadly from him, and the place stank with an immense stench, after the presence of the terrible spirit.

The holy Martin shone in prophecy, and prophesied to men many future things which were fulfilled so as he had foretold.

He sought to visit some sick man, at some time, who was called Evantius, but he was healed before the saint came into his house, through the Saviour’s grace.

Then there was a boy, poisoned by an adder, greatly swollen from the worm’s strike, hopeless of his life, but he was saved, by Martin’s touch, from the cruel poison.

The humble bishop, about whom we speak, was very patient with irrational men, and their insulting language did not trouble him, but he kindly bore it, though one would speak blasphemy to him. He would not flatter any rich man with sweet words, nor silently hide the truth.
Gif him ænig heafodman hwilces dinges forwyrnde.

donne wende he to gode mid gewunelicum gebedum.
and him sona getiðode his scyppendes arfæstnys
þæs se wuruldrica him forwyrnde on ár;
[SDS 8,9] hit gelamp hwilon þæt an wód man
gesêt þær þær se eadiga wer hine ár gereste.

and he weard gewittig dhurh þæs weregesearnungum
be on ár þæt setl swa gebletsode;
Menn hé gehælde from | mislicum codum.
and eac swilce nytenum læcedom forgæfe ahredde
from wódnysse. and hét faran aweg
to þære eowode þe hi of adwelodon;
[SDS 9,6] Swa micel mildheortnys was on martine.
þæt hé hét hwilon da hundas ætstandan.
þe urnon on dræfe deorum getenge.
and ahredde | da déor. from andwerdu deade;
[SDT 9,3] Sum earm wif was eallunge geswenct.
þurh blodes gyte. and heo ongann hreppan
þæs halgan gewædu. and weard sona hál;
[n.s.] Ne mage we awritan ealle his wundra
on ðisum scortan cwyde. mid cuðum gereorde.

ac we wyllað seegan hu se sodfæsta gewat;

349 hwilces | G lswylces 351 getiðode | G getyðode 351 scyppendes | G sceppendes 352 se
G seo 352 ár | G H ær. 353 an | G án 353 wód | G H wid 354 gesêt | G H gesæt
356 ár | G ær 357 Menn | G Mæn; H Men 357 hé | G H he 358 swilce | G swylce
358 forgæfe | G H forgæfe. and 358 ahredde | G areddæ 359 wódnysse | G wódnysse
359 hér | G hét 359 aweg | G on weg. 360 eowode | G eowode 360 hí | G hi 361 micel |
G mycel 362 hé hét | G H he het 363 dræfe | G dræfe 363 getenge | G getængce 364 déor |
G H deor 364 andwerdu | G andweardum 365 geswenct | G geswenct 366 blodes
gyte | H blodgyte 366 heo | G he 366 ongann | G H ongan 367 gewædu | G H gewædu
367 hál | G H hal 368 mage | G magon 369 ðisum | H bysæm 369 scortan cwyde | G sortan cwyde 370 wyllda seegan | G willað sægan
If any leader denied him anything,
then he would turn to God with his wont prayers,
and soon his Creator’s goodness granted him
that which the worldly leader had denied him before.
[SDS 8,9] It happened once that an upset man
sat there where the blessed man had rested before,
and he became sane through the man’s merits,
who had so blessed that seat before.
He healed men from diverse diseases,
and also gave medicine to animals and saved them
from madness, and commended them to go away
to the herd from which they had strayed.
[SDS 9,6] So great compassion was in Martin,
that once he commanded the hounds to stop
which were on the hunt, pressing upon an animal,
and saved the animal from present death.
[SDT 9,3] Some poor woman was greatly afflicted
by a flow of blood, and she set about to touch
the saint’s garments, and soon became whole.
[n.s.] We cannot write down all his miracles
in this short sermon, with familiar language,
but we will say how the righteous [man] departed.

353 SDS 8,9] Vna earum post dies paucos partem straminis, quam sibi pro benedictione col-
legerat, energumenou, quem spiritus erroris agitabat, de ceruice suspendit. Nec mora, dicto citius
eiecto daemone persona curata est. 361 SDS 9,6] Quodam tempore, cum dioeceses circuiret,
uenantium agmen incurrimus. Canes leporem sequebantur; iamque multo spatio uicta bestiola,
cum undique campis late patentibus nullum esset effugium, mortem imminentem iam iamque
capienda crebris flexibus differebat. Cuius periculum uir beatus pia mente miseratus, imperat
canibus, desisterent sequi et sinerent abire fugientem. Continuo ad primum sermonis imperium
constiterunt: crederes uinctos, immo potius adfixos in suis haerere uestigiis. Ita lepusculus per-
secutoribus alligatis incolumis euasit. 365 SDT 9,3] Idem autem Refrigerius mihi testis est
mulierem profluuo sanguinis laborantem, cum Martini uestem exemplo mulieris illius euangel-
icae contigisset, sub momento temporis fuisse sanatam. 4. Serpens flumen secans ad ripam, in
qua constiteramus, adnabat: «In nomine, inquit, Domini iubeo te redire». Mox se mala bestia
ad uerbum sancti retorsit et in ulteriorem ripam, nobis inspectantibus, transmeauit. Quod cum
omnes non sine miraculo cerneremus, altius ingemescens ait: «Serpentes me audiunt, et homines
non audiunt!»
DE EIUS OBITU:

[SET 6] MARTINUS se eadiga wiste his geendunge gefyrn. Ær hé ferde fram eallum frecednyssum ðíse lænan lifes to his leofan drihtne.

and hé cydde his forðside sumum his gebroðrum;

 hva wæron on ðam timan. Úngerðwære preostas.

on anum his mynstra. Þa he wolde sibbian.

ær his forðside. and ðíder síðode;

[SET 7] Þa geseah he swymman. scealfran on flode.

and gelome doppetan. adune to grunde.

ehtende ðearle. þære éa fixa;

þa cwaðe se halga wer to his geferan;

ðas fugelas habbað feonda gelincysse.

de gehwilce menn unwaræ beswicað.

and grædelice gripað to grimre helle;

[SET 8] Þa het martinus ða mæðleasan fugelas.

ðæs fixnoðes geswican. and to westene síðian.

and ða scealfran gewiton. aweg to holte.

ealle endemes. and ða éa forleton.

be martines hæse. Þæs mærnan wæres;

371 DE EIUS OBITU ] in red ink; G has here a small black cross and in capital letters de obitu eius (in the 13th-cent. hand); H om.

372 MARTINUS ] All capitals adorned with red ink, the M is enlarged and its legs rounded.


379 scealfran ] Masi (198) notes that Thorpe’s translation ‘plungeons’ is more accurate as Bosworth’s ‘sea gull’. BT has (s.v. scealfor) ‘A diver (bird)’; Szarmach discusses it in his edition of C, see l. 000, and decides for ‘mergansers’ (SVM has mergatores).

382 geferan ] Masi (66) notes that this variation of a and u occurs only in G.
OF HIS DEATH

[SET 6] The blessed Martin knew of his end long before he went from all the perils of this granted life to his dear Lord;
and he announced his departure to some of his brothers.

There were at that time discordant priests in one of his monasteries; he sought to reconcile these before his departure, and travelled there.

[SET 7] Then he saw divers swimming in a river, and frequently dipping down to the ground, eagerly chasing the fishes of the river. Then said the holy man to his companions: “These birds have a likeness to the fiends who deceive any unwary men, and greedily snatch them to grim hell.”

[SET 8] Then Martin commanded the greedy birds to stop the fishing, and go to the desert; and the divers went away to the wood, all together, and left the river, at the command of Martin, that great man.
Æfter ðisum becom se bispoc to ðam mynstrē.

and ða ungeðwaran preostas ðreade for gyltum.

and on sibbe gebrohte mid geswætre làrē;
ða weard he gennrumode cællum lymum.

and sæde his gyngrum ðæt he scoelde gewitan;

SET 9]

Pa wurdon hi ealle endemes astreyde.

and mid micelre heofunge hine befrinon;

hwi forlæst þu fæder? ðine fostorcild?
Oðde hwam betæhst ðu ús nu forlætene?

SET 10]

Soðlice becumað ungesevenlice wulfas
to ðinre eowode. and hwát bewerað hí?

We witon ðæt ðu gewilnast to ðam wuldorfullan drihtne.

dæ æt ðu gewilnast ðine meda gewisse.
gemiltsa ús swiðor. and swa gýt ne forlæt;

SET 11]

Martinus ða wende mid ðisum wordum to gode.

Ne wìdcwæde ic drihten to deorfenne gyt.

gif ic nýdbehafe eom gýt þinum folce.

Ne ic ne beládige. gýt me for ylde.

beo ðin willa. å. weroda drihten;

SET 12]

Æfter ðisum gebede hé abád on ðam legere
ane feawa dagas mid fefore gewæht.
þurhwacol on gebedum. on florē licgende.

bestrœwod mid axum. on stiðre hæran
upahafenum ægum. and handum to heofenum.

and ne geswác his gebeda. oð þæt he sawlode;

[SET 9] Masi (198) notes that Thorpe disregarded the word (which means ‘truly’) in his

translation.
After this the bishop came to the monastery,
and rebuked the discordant priests for their sins,
and brought about peace with kind advice.

Then he became enfeebled in all his limbs,
and said to his disciples that he should depart.

Thereupon they were altogether agitated,
and with great lamenting asked him:
“Why, father, do you forsake your foster-children?
Or to whom will you commit us now forsaken?
Truly, invisible wolves will come
to thy flock, and who will defend it?
We know that you long for the glorious Lord,
but certainly your rewards are kept for you;
rather have pity on us, and do not thus leave us yet.”

Martin then turned to God with these words:
“I shall not oppose, Lord, to labour still,
if I am yet needful to Thy people,
nor will I yet excuse myself because of [my] age.
Be thy will, forever, Lord of hosts!”

After this prayer, he abode in sickness
a few days, weakened by fever,
watchful in prayer, lying on the floor,
bestrewed with ashes, in stiff haircloth,
eyes and hands uplifted to heaven,
and ceased not his prayers until he expired.

Aliquandiu ergo in uico illo uel in ecclesia ad quam ierat commoratus, pace inter clericos restituta cum iam regredi ad monasterium cogitaret, uiribus corporis coepit repente destitui conuocatisque fratribus indicat se iam resolui. Tum vero maeror et luc tus omnium et uox una plangentium: «cur nos, pater, deseris? aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Inuadent gregem tuum lupi rapaces: quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit? Scimus quidem desiderare te Christum, sed salua tibi sunt tua praemia nec dilata minuentur; nos tri potius miserere, quos deseris.»

Nimirum inter spem maeroremque positus dubitauit paene quid mallet, quia nec hos deserere nec a Christo uolebat diutius separari. Nihil tamen in uoto suo ponens aut uoluntati relinquens, totam se Domini arbitrio potestatique committens,
[SET 16] he geseah ðone deofol standan swiðe gehende.
and hine orsorhlice axian ongann;
Þu wælhreowe nyten to hwí stenst ðu þus gehende?
Ne gemetst þu on me. aht | witniendlices.

Me soðlice underfæð se heahfæder Abraham.
into his wununge on ecere wynne;
[SET 17] Æfter ðiðum worde gewát seo sawul
of ðam geswenctan lichaman sona to gode;
[GHF 1,48] hwæt ða gehyrdon gehwilce on life
halige englas singan | on his fordðide.
blíðe on heofenum þæs halgan tocymes.
[SET 17] His lic weard geseven sona on wuldre.
bearhtræ dunka glæs. hwittre dunka meoloc.
and his andwitæ sceæ swiðor þonne leoth.
þa ða gewuldrod to ðam toweardan æriste;
[GHF 1,48] hundæhtaþig geara he ðæs on his life.
ða ða he of worulde gewat to heofenum;
[SET 18] Eala hwilc heofung holdra. and geleaffulra.
hlude ða swegde. and swiðost ðæra muneca.
and myneceæu wop. on martines deade.

He saw the devil standing very near at hand,
and fearlessly began to ask him:
"You bloodthirsty beast, why do you stand thus at hand?
You will not find in me anything that is punishable;
truly, the patriarch Abraham will receive me
into his dwelling in eternal joy."

After these words the soul departed
from the afflicted body, directly to God.
Lo, then some living [persons] heard
holy angels sing at his departure
blithely in heaven at the saint’s coming.
His body soon appeared in glory,
brighter than glass, whiter than milk,
and his face shone more than light,
then already glorified for the future resurrection.
Eighty years he was in his life,
when he departed from the world to heaven.
Alas, what lament of the devoted and faithful
loudly sounded then, and most of all the monks’
and nuns’ weeping at Martin’s death.
Is eac to gehyrenne hu da leoda wunnon;
ymbe þæs halgan líc . him betwynan þearle;
Seo burhwaru wolde Ḟe hé on biscop wæs.
þet sind Turonisce ðone halgan geniman.

and Pictauiensciscie þearle wicwædon.
woldon habban ðone ylcan þe hí ár aléndon
to ðam biscopdome . of heora burhscire.
cwædon þet hé wäre heora munuc æt fruman.
and woldon hine habban . huru swa deadne;

Betwux disum gewinne weard se dag geendod.
and butu ða burhwaru besæton ðone halgan;
Þa on middere nihte . gewurdon on slepe.
pictauiensciscie . bæpæhte forswide.
þet of ealre ðære menigu . án man ne wacode.

Hwæt ða Turonisce ðone halgan gelæhton.
and to scepe bæron mid swiðlicere blisse.
and mid gastlicum sange ðone sanct ferodon.
to ðære ylcan byrig . þe hé on biscop wæs;
ða wurdon ða ðære . awrehte mid þam sange.
and gecyrdon him ham . hearde ofsceamode;

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438 burhwaru ] Cf. comment above, l.
144. 455 ofsceamode ] According to Masi (68)
and GrC (§ 179) the form in F shows an
glide vowel (e) that occurs often when
following palatal sc.
It must also be heard how the people fought for the saint’s body between themselves. The inhabitants of the city of which he was bishop, that are the Turonians, wanted to take the saint, and the Poitevins firmly opposed, [and] wanted to have the same whom they had lent before for the bishopric, from their province, [and] said that he had been their monk originally, and wanted to have him at least as a dead. During this quarrel the day ended, and both townspeople sat by the saint. Then, at midnight, in [their] sleep were the Poitevins greatly deceived. in that among all of the crowd not one man was awake. So, the Turonians seized the saint, and carried him to a ship, with great joy, and with spiritual song conveyed the saint to the same city in which he had been bishop. Then the others were awakened by the song, and returned home, deeply ashamed.

GHF 1,48
On ðisum dæge gewat se halga wer to gode.
mærlice of worulde. mid micclum wundrum geglencged;
[n.s.] Uton hine biddan þæt hé us þingige
to þam lifigendan gode. dé hé on life gecwémde;
Sy ðam á wuldor on ecere worulde.
dé leofað and rixad þurh hine sylfne god;
AMEN : –
On this day the saint departed to God, gloriously from the world, adorned with great miracles. [n.s.] Let us pray to him that he intercede for us to the living God, whom he pleased in life.

To Him ever be glory in the eternal world, who lives and reigns, through himself, God. Amen.
Ælfric of Eynsham’s
Life of St Martin

Manuscripts


L: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, fols. 35r - 39v, s. xii², Ker Catalogue no. 310.³⁴

Editorial Note

MS J served as a base text; the upper apparatus presents lexical variants from MS K wherever the text in K is extant. MS L represents a verbatim but shortened 12th-century copy of Ælfric’s Life. It is edited on its own in the appendix (II) below.

Language

MS J’s language has been studied by Otto Schüller (1908), who comprehensively analyzed MS J’s phonology (“Lautlehre”). More recently, the manuscript has been studied by Mechthild Gretsch (2003) with regard to the question of a “Standard Old English”. She argues that the orthography is not as regularized as in MS F, and both this and the inclusion of non-Ælfrician texts – “a tampering with Ælfric’s original collection” (Gretsch 2003: 43) – suggests that the

³⁴MS L is not listed in Gneuss’s Handlist because it is later than 1100.
texts in MS J “had passed out of their author’s control” (Gretsch 2003: 43). Still, as Gretsch concludes, J’s orthography is fairly consistent, and readers may find this all the more true if compared to the edited text from MS E above. Several editors who have re-edited single Lives from the collection in MS J have also included studies or introductions to the manuscript’s language in their editions, e.g. Needham (1966: esp. 6-11 (MS A)), who re-edited Lives of Three English Saints, or Upchurch (2007: esp. 26-9), who re-edited three “Lives of the Virgin Spouses”, or Corona (2006), who re-edited St Basil. Two significant articles on the manuscript and its language are 1. Needham’s (1958) about “Additions and Alterations in Cotton MS Julius E VII”, and 2. Torkar’s (1971) about the sources for MS J.

Phonology and Spelling: Despite the lWS features, and the mainly regularized orthography of the Winchester school, J presents unusual orthographies at times.35 J’s scribe, for example, frequently writes e for ea, as in towerdum, or cyrcwerde (cf. below).36 J’s scribe confused y and i (cf. Gretsch: 46 (2)), which produced variants like biseop/byeceop, though not in the Life, which always shows bisceop(e); the scribe also confused se and seo, and be and heo, as well as the suffixes -on, -an, -en; another peculiar orthography is the frequent cg after n, e.g. cynincges.37 Since Schüller (1908) analyzed J’s phonology so comprehensively, I shall briefly outline some developments of the vowels, which are representative for Ælfric’s lWS language, and add examples from the Life. a before nasal remained a, e.g. naman (l. 86), or samod (l. 40). WG a is usually æ, as in after (l. 15), or crefi (328); only rarely it appears as e, e.g. cepan (l. 471), or bed (preterite, l. 508), or arfestynse (l. 746), or dege (dat., l. 1224). WG æ is always æ, as in dedum (l. 302), forleat (l. 93), and there is no exception to this in the Life. WG e is usually e, as in gebede (l. 1031), or fela (l. 571), but infrequently also æ, as in gebede (l. 170), or in aweg (l. 366) (n.b.: MS K shows the variant aweg). WG e is e, as in her (l. 1368). WG i is i, as in drincan (l. 603), mislice (l. 307), or y as in clypian (l. 82), scylde (l. 116), sybbe (l. 121). WG i is mainly i, as in lichman (l. 251), or arisende (l. 253), but also often y, as in blysse (l. 422), next to blisse (l. 1479), or burhscyre (l. 135), next to burhscire (l. 258). WG o

35Gretsch writes: “[T]he Ælfrician texts contained in this manuscript were, in all probability, first written down in pure West Saxon Standard, but very shortly afterwards (s. xi in.) they were copied into Julius E. vii in an unknown centre in South England, most of them by one scribe who clearly had not been trained by someone thoroughly imbued with Ælfric’s ideas of writing correct English, and who is noted for quite a number of orthographic peculiarities.”
36Gretsch (2003: 46 (1)) also notes an infrequent confusion between long and short æ and e, e.g. in fec/fex, or bed/bed, which does not appear in the Life, however.
37Corona (2006: 138), Needham (1966: 6-7) and Upchurch (2007: 26-9) all include short listings to collect these orthographies.
is usually o, as in goldbord (l. 602), or dohtor (l. 576). WG ō is always o, as in biode (l. 964), flode (l. 1316), fotum (l. 930), modor (l. 149). WG u is always u, as in burh (l. 59), lufe (l. 46), wuldor (l. 1102), wunda (l. 961). WG ā is always u, as in truwan (l. 403), or āsend (l. 712). WG ai consistently developed to ā, e.g. in gast (l. 1012), balig (l. 240), just like the Latin ae developed to a, as in casere (l. 19). WG au is generally ea, as in eac (l. 28), deade (l. 129), geleafe (dat. l. 113). eWS sel- shows as IWS syl-, e.g. sylfum (l. 6). eWS ie is y, e.g. gelyfed (l. 240), gefylled (l. 292). Before l+cons. WG a is usually broken to ea, as in eall (l. 26), getealde (l. 336), sealde (l. 67). eo from WG e before l+cons. is typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 14/15, Hamilton: 3 (7), e.g. heold (l. 56), beheolde (l. 78), sceolde (l. 130). Before r+cons. WG a is also usually broken to ea, as in eahtatyne (l. 92), leabrum (l. 1084). y (or ɪ) following a palatal is typical for IWS, Hamilton: 3 (4), e.g. gescyld (l. 116), deofolgild (l. 373). Syncopation of an unaccented vowel before r is typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), e.g. woruldlicre (l. 92), mynstre (l. 256), heali- cre (l. 288), beafonicre (l. 449), waccre (l. 1354). Syncopation of an unaccented vowel before l is typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5b), e.g. englum (l. 82), deoflum (l. 144).

Inflectional Morphology: The IWS pronouns in J are very regular in that there is “little variation”.38 Exemplary for this is the occurrence of both þisne and þysne (the Life shows only þisne, e.g. l. 559). Other observations are that the nouns tend towards a levelling of inflectional endings, which is unsurprising for IWS, however.

Vocabulary: As expected, the text shows a number of typical Winchester-words. They are geriblæhte (l. 185, see Hofstetter 1987: 15 (9)), ogan (l. 549; Hofstetter 14 (8)), behreowsian (l. 746; Hofstetter 16 (11)), geladunge (ll. 1069, 1437; Hofstetter 9 (5)), tocysan (ll. 253, 450, 1249; Hofstetter 16 (10)), gearcode (l. 1278, Hofstetter 9 (4)), mihte (l. 1437, when translating virtus, Hofstetter 12 (6)).

38See Gretsch (2003: 48), and cf. Upchurch (2007: 27-9) for more peculiarities with regard to inflectional endings in J.
The initial S is decorated and in red ink. The initial M is decorated and in a red ink.
HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF ST MARTIN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR, IN ENGLISH
[n.s.] One writer was called Sulpicius, who wanted to write [down] the miracles and mighty works which the great Martin had mightily performed in this world, and then he wrote about him the things which he had learned, either from himself, or from other men, because to many were his miracles known, which God had performed through him, and we take the English from that same composition; but we will not write of more than his own miracles.

[SVM 2,1] Martin, the great bishop, was born in the fastness called Sabaria, in the province of Pannonia, and in Ticinum he was brought up, in the Italian land. He came of heathen parents, of noble birth nevertheless, from an honourable family, according to worldly matters.

[SVM 2,2] His father was first a soldier and then a commander of soldiers, and Martin was accustomed to weapons from childhood, and engaged in warfare amongst a training group, first under Constantine, the noble emperor, and then under Julian, the honourless apostate; not, however, by his own will, because from childhood he was very inspired by God to divine service rather than to worldly warfare, as he related afterwards.

[SVM 2,3] When he was ten winters [old], then he was christened to his parents’ displeasure, and in a wonderful degree he soon was wholly turned towards God’s service, and when he was twelve winters [old] he desired [to go] to the desert, and he would also have accomplished it, if he had been of age.

11 SVM 2,1] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 16 SVM 2,2] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adolescencia secutus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militauit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustris pueri spiraut infanta. 24 SVM 2,3] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postuluit.
His mod wæs swæðah æfre ðæs ðæs mæst smægnende.

He smeade þa on cildhade. þæt he siddan gefremode.

vaðæ þær casere bebod | þæt þæræ cempena suna

he wæræ ðorealdode würdon genamode
to þæm ylcan campdome þæ þe heora fæderas on wæron.

and martinus þa warpæ ameldod fram his fæder.

þe on his weorcum andode. and he wearð geracentegod
þa þa he fiftynæ wintre wæs. betæht to þæm gewinne
mid anum his þeowæn þæ þe his gesiðæ wæs.
þæm he sylf þenode. swiþor þonne he hyn.

and samod hi gereordoden swa swa gelícan.

Þæo gear he ferðe mid þæm follicum cempum.
buton gewæpnunge æþan þe he ware gefullod
ungewemmed swæðah fram woruldlicre besmitennysse
on þære þe mennisc cynn micclum on syngad.

Embe his efencempan þæ þæfde welwillendnysse.
and miclæ lufe. and gemetfaæt gedylæ.
and sode eadmodynysse. ofer mennisc gemett.
Swa miclæ forhæfedyssé þæ þæfde on his bigleofan.
swilce he munuc ware swiðor þonne cempa.
and for þis æþelum þeawum his efencempan ealle
þa hine arwurdodon mid wundorlicre lufe.

49 swilce ... cempa] Find a discussion of this line and its alliterative style in comparison with Ælfric’s Homily in Szarmach (2003: 46).
His mind was, nevertheless, ever meditating over monasteries or about churches and God’s law; he pondered in childhood about that which he performed afterwards. Then there was the emperor’s edict that the soldiers’ sons who had grown old enough would be appointed to the same warfare in which their fathers had been, and Martin was thereupon enrolled by his father, who envied his works, and he was put in chains when he was fifteen winters [old], assigned to the war with one of his slaves who was his follower, whom he himself served rather than he him; and they ate together just as equals. Three years he marched with the common soldiers without weapons, before he would be baptized, unspoiled, however, by worldly defilement in which mankind sins greatly. From this time he had goodwill, and much love, and modest patience, and true humility above man’s measure. So much temperance he had with regard to his diet such as if he were a monk rather than a soldier, and for his noble conduct all his fellow-soldiers reverenced him then with a wonderful love.
He næs þa git gefullod. ac he gefylde swaþeah þæs fulluhtes dæda mid fulfremedium weorcum. swa þæt he swincendum fylste. and fedde þearfende.

and nacode scrydde. and nan þing him sylfum of his campdomesscipe on his seode ne heold. buton þæt he deghwamlice to bigleofan hæfde. swa swa þæt godspel sægð. Ne þenc þu be mergene.

of his campdomesscipe on his seode ne heold. buton þæt he deghwamlice to bigleofan hæfde. swa swa þæt godspel sægð. Ne þenc þu be mergene. 

ON sumere tide he ferde forð þurh one byrth ambianis gehaten on hetelicum wintra. on swa swidlicum cyle. þæt sume men swulton þurh þone. Þa gemette he ðær ænne þearfan | nacodne biddende þa riddon þæt hi him sum reaf sealdon. ac hi ridon him forð. ne rohton his clypunge.

Martinus þa ongeat þæt he moste his helpan. þa ða þa opre noldon [SVM 3,2] ac he nyste swaþeah hwæt he sealdle þam nacodan forðan þe he sylf næfde naht butan his gewædum. and his gewæpnumne. forðan þe he on swilce weorc aspende ær his ðing .

He gelæhte ða his sex. and forcearf his basing. and sealdle healfne dél þam gesæligan þearfan. and þone healfan dél he dyde on his hricg. Þa hlogan his geferan þæs forcorfenan basinges. sume eac besargodon þæt hi swilces naht ne dydon þonne hi butan nacerednysse him bet mihton tidian.
He was not yet baptized then, but he fulfilled, nevertheless, the deeds of baptism with perfect works, so that he helped the oppressed, and fed paupers, and clothed the naked, and no thing for himself, from his warfare, he kept in his pouch, save what he daily had for food, so as the gospel says: “Do not you think about tomorrow”.

At some time he travelled forward through a city called Amiens, in a harsh winter, in such severe cold that some men died of it. Then he met there a pauper, naked, beseeching the riders that they would give him some clothing; but they rode past him, nor cared for his cry. Then Martin perceived that he must help him, since the others would not; but he knew not, however, what he would give to the naked [man], because he himself did not have anything but his clothes and his armour, since he, by a similar deed, had spent his things before.

He drew his sword then, and cut through his cloak, and gave half a part to the blessed pauper, and half a part he put on his back. Then his comrades laughed at the cut cloak; [but] some also deplored that they had not done anything similar, since they, without nakedness, might have helped him better.

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[SVM 3,3] On þære ylcan nihte he geseah on swefne
þone hælend gescrydne mid þam healfan basinge .
þe he sealde þam þearfan . and hét þæt he beheolde
to his drihtne werd . and oncenowe þæt reaf
þe he sealde þam þearfan .
Þærrhite gehyrde se halga martinus .
þone hælend clypian to his hælum englum
mid beorhtre stemne . and to him ymblstandendum . cwæð .
Martinus þe git nis gefullod me mid þysum reafe gescrydde .
[SVM 3,4] He gemunde þa his cwydes þe he cwæð on his godspelle .
þæt þæt ge doð on minum naman anum of þysum læustum .
þæt ge doþ me sylfum . and forþi he geswutelode
dine sylfne martinse on swefne mid þam reafe
þe se þærfa underfeng for his naman on ár .
[SVM 3,5] Se halga wer swaþeah næs ahafen þurh þæs gesihþe .
ac godes godnyssse he onceneow on his weorce .
and þa þe he wæs eahtatyne wintre . he wearð gefullod on gode .
nolde þæah git forlætan . for his leofan ealdormenn .
þone folclican campdom . [SVM 3,6] ac for his benum swa wunode
þæt ge doþ me sylfum . and forþi he geswutelode
dine sylfne martinse on swefne mid þam reafe
þe se þærfa underfeng for his naman on ár .
[SVM 4,1] III . Hwæt ða faerlice wearð þæs fyrlenan leodscipes
onræs into gallias . and Iulianus se casere
gegaderode his here . and began to gifenne
ælcum his cempum cynelice sylene .

[80] þe he sealde þam þearfan ] Probably an eye-skip by the scribe, who repeats the line. This might
be suggested by the missing b-verse, though the phrase is not preceded by the same word (basing/reaf),
which would more strongly suggest this. Skeat omits the phrase. 96 III . Hwæt ] The numeral is
in a brown ink, the H has the height of 3 lines (no ornamentation) and is in red ink.

[93] nolde ... wunode ] Szarmach (2003: 47) remarks that Ælfric obviously felt the
need of an explanation that Martin remained in the military service for two
more years, since there is no such
explanation in SVM (Severus confines
himself to stating that Martin continued
military service “just by name” (nomine
militanti)).
[SVM 3,3] In the same night he saw in a dream the Saviour clothed with the half-cloak which he had given to the pauper, and told him to behold his Lord’s clothing, and recognize the robe which he had given to the pauper.

Right away the holy Martin heard the Saviour call to His holy angels with clear voice, and to those who stood around Him [He] said: “Martin, who is not baptized yet, clothed Me with this robe.”

[SVM 3,4] Then He bore in mind His saying, which He said in His gospel: “That which you do in my name to one of these least, that you do to Myself.” And therefore He showed Himself to Martin in a dream with the robe which the pauper had received in His name before.

[SVM 3,5] The holy man, however, was not presumptuous through the vision, but he recognized the goodness of God in his deed. And when he was eighteen winters old, he was baptized in God, though he would not yet leave, because of his dear commander, worldly fighting; [SVM 3,6] but, at his entreaty, continued in it fully two years, after he was baptised.

[SVM 4,1] III. Lo, suddenly there was a foreign nation’s invasion into Gaul. And Julian the emperor gathered his army, and began to give to each of his soldiers a royal gift,
swa swa hit gewunelic wæs . [SVM 4,2] Þa wende martinus
þet he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
þet he of þam campdome þa cuman þoste .
him ne þuhte na fremfullic þet he fenge to þære gife .
and syddan ne campode mid þam casere ford .
[SVM 4,3] He cweæð þa to þam arleasan . oð þis ic campode þe .
geþafa nu þet ic gode campige heanonford .
and underfó þine gife . se þe feohhte mid þe .
ic eom godes cempa ne mot ic na feohtan .
[SVM 4,4] Ða gebealh hine se casere . and cweæð . þet he for yrhðe
hæs toweardan gefeohtes . na for eawfæstnyssse
hine sylfne ætbrude swa þam campdome .
[SVM 4,5] Ac martinus unforht to þam manfullan cweæð .
Gif þu to yrhðe þis telst . and na to geleafan .
nu to mergen ic stande on mines drihtnes naman
ætforan þam truman . and ic fare orsorh
mid rodetacne gescyld . na mid readum scylde .
oððe mid helme þurh þæs heres werod .
[SVM 4,6] Ða het se arlease healdan þone halgan
þet he wurde wæpnlæs aworpen þam hæðenum .
[SVM 4,7] On þam æftran dæg dydon þa hæðenan
þet hi budon sybbe . and hi sylfe þam casere .
and calle heora ding to his anwealde .
hwam twynað lá forði þet þæs geleaffullan weres
ware . se sige . þa þa him wæs getipod
þet he wæpenleas nære aworpen þam here .

108 compa ] Ælfric prefers the word
cempa to þegn, which is the word
commonly used by the Anonymous
Homilist; cp. Ælfric’s Homily above, l. 10,
and cf. the commentary under SVM 2,2.
108 ne mot ic na ] Double negation is
possible in OE, see Molencki (2012: 298
(2.3)).
just as it was customary. [SVM 4,2] Then Martin thought 
that he well might ask the emperor 
for his leave to quit warfare; 
it did not seem profitable to him to receive the gift, 
and afterwards not to fight with the emperor any longer. 

[SVM 4,3] He said to the impious one: “until now I have fought for you, 
permit now that I fight for God henceforth, 
and [who] received your gift, he might fight with you. 
I am God’s soldier, I must not fight.” 

[SVM 4,4] Then the emperor grew angry, and said that he for cowardice, 
because of the imminent battle, not for piety, 
would withdraw himself thus from warfare. 
[SVM 4,5] But Martin fearlessly said to the evil man: 
“If you count this as cowardice, and not as true faith, 
now, tomorrow, I will stand in my Lord’s name, 
before the cohort, and I will march unconcernedly, 
shielded by the sign of the cross, not by a red shield, 
or with any helmet, through the host of this army.” 

[SVM 4,6] Then the impious man commended to seize the saint, 
that he might be thrown weaponless before the heathens. 

[SVM 4,7] On the next day the heathen so did 
that they proffered peace and themselves to the emperor, 
and all their property at his disposal. 
Lo, who doubts therefore that it was because of this faithful man 
that there was victory, since to him it was granted, 
that he might not be cast weaponless to the army?
þeoh þe se arfaesta drihten eaþe
mihte gehealdan andsunnde his cempan.

[SVM 4,8] He ætbræd þæt | gefeoh.  þæt furdon næron gewemmede 180r
martines gesiþa  on oðræ deade.

[SVM 4,9] Hwilcne oþerne sige sceolde ure drihten
syllan for his cempan selran þonne þone.
þæt nan man ne swulte.  ac þæt hi to sibbe fengon.

[SVM 5,1] IIII. Ða forlet martinus swa he gemynete gefyrn.
þone woruldlícan campdom.  and to þam halgan were ferde.

hilarium þam bisceope on þære burhscyre
þe is pictauis gehaten.  þeðan þe he wæs acunnod
on godes geleafan.  and on goddre lare.

and he þa wunode mid þam were sume hwile.

[SVM 5,2] Þa wolde se halga hádian hine to diacone
ac he widcwæd gelome.  cwæð þæt he wyrde nære.
þa underget se bisceop þæt he mihte hine gebigan
gif he him bude læsson hád.  and bead him þæt he ware
gehadod to exorcista.  þæt we hatað halsigend
þe þe de bebyt deoflum.  þæt hi of gedrehtum mannum faran.

and he þa ne forsoc þone eadmooddran hád.
ac wearð swa gehadod æt þam halgan bisceope.

[SVM 5,3] Þa æfter sumum fyrste he wearð on swefne gemynegod.
þæt he sceolde his eþel.  and his eard geneosian.
and fæder.  and modor.  þe fúllice wæron hæþene.

and he ferde ða be leafa þæs foresædan bisceopes.

133 IIII. Ða ] The numeral and the following punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.

139 diacone ] A frequent loanword in OE, see DOE s.v. diacon, glossed 'deacon, one of an order of ministers in the medieval western Christian church ranking below bishop and priest, who among other things assists the priest, especially in the celebration of Mass.'
Although the beneficent Lord easily might have kept His soldier unhurt.  
[SVM 4,8] He prevented that battle, even so as not to stain Martin’s eyes by other men’s death.  
[SVM 4,9] What other victory could our Lord have given for His soldier’s sake better than this, that no man would die, but that they should come to peace?  
[SVM 5,1] IV. Then Martin quit, as he had meant to do long ago, worldly warfare and went to the holy man Hilary, the bishop, in the city which is called Poitiers, because he was experienced in God’s faith and in good doctrine, and then abode with the man some while.  
[SVM 5,2] Then the saint wanted to ordain him deacon, but he frequently refused, [he] said that he was not worthy. Then the bishop perceived that he might persuade him if he offered him a lesser office, and begged him that he would be ordained exorcist, which we call a conjurer who commands devils that they should depart possessed men; and he then refused not the humble office, but was so ordained by the holy bishop.  
[SVM 5,3] Then, after some time, he was admonished in a dream that he should visit his country and his home, and father and mother, who were wickedly heathen; and he went thereupon by leave of the aforesaid bishop,  

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128 SVM 4,8 ] Et quamuis pius Dominus seruare militem suum licet inter hostium gladios et tela potuisset, tamen, ne uel aliorum mortibus sancti uiolarentur obtutus, exemptu pugnae necessitatem.  
130 SVM 4,9 ] Neque enim aliam pro milite suo Christus debuit praestare uictoriam, quam ut, subactis sine sanguine hostibus, nemo moreretur.  
133 SVM 5,1 ] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et ahquandiu apud eum commoratus est.  
139 SVM 5,2 ] Temptauit autem idem Hilarius inposito diaconatus officio sibi eum artius implicare et ministerio uincire diuino, sed eum saepissime restitisset, indignum se esse uociferans, intellexit uir altioris ingenii uno eum modo posse constrinigi, si id ei officii imponeret in quo quidam locus iniuriae uideretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse praecepit. Quam ille ordinationem, ne despexisse tamquam humiliorum uideretur, non repudiauit.  
147 SVM 5,3 ] Nec multo post admonitus per soporem ut patriam parentesque, quos adhuc gentilites detinebat, religiosa sollicitudine uisitaret, ex uoluntate sancti Hilaris prefectus est, multis ab eo obstrictus precibus et lacrimis ut rediret. Maestus, ut ferunt, peregrinationem illam ingressus est, contestatus fratribus multa se aduersa passurum: quod postea probavit euentus.
and he hine georne bæd  þæt he ongean cuman sceolde.
and þa þa he com to muntum.  þa gemette he sceadan.
and heora an sóna  his exe up ábræd.
wolde hine slean.  ac him forwyrnde sum óþer.
swa þet he þet hylfe gelæhte.  and wiðhæfde þæt slege.
He wearð swæpæah gebunden  bæftan to his bæce.
and heora anum | betæht þæt he hine bereafode.
[SVM 5,5] Þa ongan se hine befrinan  hwærder he forht wäre.
oððe hwæt he manna waren.  ofþe he cristen waren.
þa andwyrede martinus  him anrædlíce.  and cwæð
þæt he nære swa orsorh  on eallum his life.
for þam þe he wiste  towerde godes
mildheortnyssé swìþost  on þam costnungum.
and cwæð þæt he besargode  swiðor his gedwyldes
þæt he unwyrde wæs  godes mildheortnyssé.
[SVM 5,6] Began þa to bodigenne  þa godspellican lare
swa lange þam sceadan  ofþæt he gelyfde on god.
and martine fyligde  micclum hine biddende
þæt he him fore gebæde.  and he forð þurhwunode
on æwfæstre drohtununge.  and eft us þis cydde.
[SVM 6,1] Þa þa he com to mediolana.  þa gemette hé ænne deofol
on menniscum híwe.  and he martinum befrán
hwider he siðode.  Þa sæde him se halga
þæt he þider ferde  þe hine drihten clypode.
Ða cwæð se scucca  sóna him to andsware.

172 mediolana] I.e. Milano in Italy; the Life is the only text among the OE Martiniana which includes the episode.
and he earnestly begged that he should come [back] again.

[SVM 5,4] Then Martin travelled to the distant land, and when he came to the mountains, then he met robbers, and one of them at once lifted up his ax,

meant to slay him; but another hindered him, in that he caught the helve and restrained the blow. He was, however, tied up behind his back, and committed to one of them, so that he might rob him.

[SVM 5,5] Then this man began to question him whether he was afraid, or what kind of man he be, or if he be a Christian. Then Martin answered him boldly, and said that he had not been as untroubled in all his life, because he knew of God's mercy, most especially in temptations;

and said that he sorrowed rather for his error, [and] that he was unworthy of God's mercy.

[SVM 5,6] Then he began to preach the gospel teaching, so long [a while] to the robber until he believed in God, and followed Martin, earnestly entreating him that he would pray for him, and he lived henceforth a pious life, and afterwards told us of this.

[SVM 6,1] When he came to Milan he met a devil in a human shape, and he asked Martin whither he travelled. Then the Saint said to him that he was going where the Lord had called him to. Then the demon said to him straightaway in answer:

152 SVM 5,4] Ac primum inter Alpes deuia secutus incidit in latrones. Cumque unus securi eleuata in caput eius librasset ic tum, ferientis dexteram sustinuit alter; uinctis tamen post tergum manibus, uni adseruandus et spoliandus traditur. Quì cum eum ad remotiora duxisset, percont-tari ab eo coepit quisnam esset. Respondit Christianum se esse. 159 SVM 5,5] Quaerebat etiam ab eo an timeret. Tum vero constantissime profitebatur numquam se tam fuisset securum, quia sciret misericordiam Domini maxime in temptationibus adfundit; se magis illi dolere, qui Christi misericordia, utpote latroniac exercens, esset indignus. 167 SVM 5,6] Ingressusque evangelicam disputacionem uerbum Dei latroni praedicabat. Quid longius morer? Latro credit prosecutusque Martinum uiae reddidit, orans ut pro se Dominum precaretur. Idemque postea religiosam agens utiam usus est, adeo ut haec, quae supra retrulimus, ex ipso auditâ dican-tur. 172 SVM 6,1] Igitur Martinus inde progressus cum Mediolanum praeterisset, diabolus in itinere, humana specie adsumpta, se ei obuium tulit, quo tenderet quarens. Cumque id a Martino responsi accepsisset, se quo Dominus uocaret intendere, ait ad eum:
Swa hwider swa þu færst. and se deofol þættiht fordwán on his gesiðe.
and se deofol þærrihte fordwán on his gesiðe.

[SVM 6,3] Martinus þa ferde ford swa he gemynite. and his modor gebigde to godes biggencgum.
and to þam halgan fulluhte. þeah þe his fæder nolde bugan of þam gedwylde. and þeah þurh drihtnes fultum

[SVM 6,4] Þa asprang geond ealle woruld arrianes gedwyld. and martinus mid geleafan micclum wan ongean.
and þam gedwylde þe þa dwollice asprang. ac þa gedwolmen sona hine adrifon þanon.

[SVM 6,5] He ferde þa ongean to italian lande. and on mediolana him munster arærde.
fordan þe se foresæda hilarius wæs afaren to wræceside. for þam ylcan gedwyld þe þa dwollice asprang. ac þa gedwolmen sona hine adrifon þanon.

[SVM 6,6] Martinus þa on þære tide on his mete þigde þa ættian wyrt. þe elleborum hatte.

and þet attor sona hine swiðe þreade

195 and hæ ferde swá þanon ] A scribal correction in the margin

196 gallinaria ] I.e. the island Gallinara, 70km south-east of Genoa, Italy (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 81 n. 56; Fontaine: 600).

197 wyrta morum ] Perhaps the root in question is a carrot, or parsnip, see BTS s.v. more; both wyrta and morum denote edible roots.
“Wherever you go, or whatever you begin, the devil shall be your adversary!”, and the holy man said to him: “The Lord is my succour, I do not fear what man may do to me.”

and the devil straightaway vanished from his sight.

Then Martin travelled on as he had meant to do, and his mother submitted to the worship of God and to holy baptism, though his father would not turn away from heresy, and yet, by help of God, Martin corrected many of the people.

Then all over the world the heresy of Arius arose, and Martin with faith strongly contended against it until he was tortured with cruel torments, and openly scourged and driven out of the city.

Then he went back again to the Italian land, and in Milan [he] established for himself a monastery, because the aforesaid Hilary had gone into exile because of the same heresy which then erroneously arose; but the heretics soon drove him away from there, and so he departed thence to an island called Gallinara, with a holy mass-priest who had lived long in the desert on edible roots.

Then Martin at that time in his diet consumed the poisonous plant which is called hellebore, and the poison soon tormented him greatly.
fornean to deaðe. ac he feng to his gebedum.
and eall seo sarnys him sona fram gewát.

[SVM 6.7] Þa æfter sumum fyrste þa ða he ofaxod hæfde
þæt se halga hilarius ham cyrran moسط.
of þam wrecside. þa gewende he to him.
and he mid arwurðnyse hine eft underfeng.
and martinus ða siddan him mynster þær arærde.
gehende þære byrig. þe is gehaten pictuais.

[SVM 7.1] V. Ða com an gecristnod man and gecudlæhte to martine.
and wunode mid him wolde his lare underfón
ac æfter feawum dagum he wearð færlíce seoc.
swa þæt he forðferde ungefullod sona.
[SVM 7.2] and se halga martinus næs æt ham þa hwile.
ða gebroþra sarige þa sæton ofer þæt lic.
[SVM 7.3] and martinus com þa micclum dreorig.
and het hi gan út and behæpsode þa duru.
and astrehte hine sylfne sona ofer þone deadan
biddende his drihten þæt he þone deadan arærde.
ða æfter | sumum fyrste he gefredde on his mode.
181v
þæt gods miht wæs towerd. and he astod þa up
anbidigende unforht his bena tīda.
ða æfter twæn tidum astyrode se deada
eallum limum. and lociende wæs.
almost to death; but he took to his prayers,
and all the pain soon departed from him.
[SVM 6,7] Then after some time when he had learned
that the holy Hilary was allowed to return home
from his exile, then he went to him,
and with reverence he received him again,
and then afterwards Martin built himself a monastery there
near the city which is called Poitiers.
[SVM 7,1] V. Then there came a catechumen, and made friends with Martin,
and lived with him, [and] wanted to receive his lore,
but after a few days he suddenly got sick
so that he soon died, unbaptized,
[SVM 7,2] and the holy Martin was not at home for a while.
Then the sorrowful brethren sat around the corpse,
[SVM 7,3] and then Martin came, [was] very sad,
and bade them go out, and hasped the door,
and immediately stretched himself over the dead,
praying his Lord that He would raise the dead man.
Then after some time he perceived in his mind
that God’s power was present, and then he stood up,
expecting fearlessly the granting of his prayers.
Then after two hours the dead man moved
all limbs and was looking [up].

203 SVM 6,7] Nec multo post, cum sancto Hilario comperisset regis paenitentia potestatem
indultamuisse redeundi, Romae ei temptauit occurrere profectusque ad urbem est. 209 SVM
7,1] Cum iam Hilarius praeterisset, Pictauros eum est uestigis persecutus; cumque ab eo gratis-
sime fuisset exceptus, haut longe sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocavit. Quo tempore se ei
quidam catechumenus iunxit, cupiens sanctissimi uiri institui disciplinis. Paucisque interposi-
tis diebus, languore correptus ui febrium laborabat. 213 SVM 7,2] Ac tum Martinus forte
disserat. Et cum per triduum defuisset, regressus exanime corpus inuenit: ita subita mors
fuaret, ut absque baptismo humanis rebus excederet. Corpus in medio posuit tristi maeren-
tium fratrum frequentabatur officio, cum Martinus flens et eiuus ancillae. 215 SVM 7,3]
Tum uero, tota sanctum spiritum mente concipiens, egredi cellam, in qua corpus iacebat,
ceteros iubet, ac foribus obseratis super examinata defuncti fratris membra prosterinitur. Et cum
aliquandiu orationi incubuisset sensissetque per spiritum Domini adesse uiutum, erectus paul-
ulum et in defuncti ora defixus, orationis suae ac misericordiae Domini intrepidus expectabant
euentum. Visque duarum fere horarum spatium intercesserat, uidet defunctum paulatim mem-
bris omnibus commoueri et laxatis in usum uidendi palpitare luminibus.
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[SVM 7,4] Pa clypode martinus micclum þancigende gode.

and þa þe þærute stodon instopon sona
swiðe ablicgede. þæt hi gesawon þa libban
þone þe hi ær forleton deadne.

[SVM 7,5] He weard þa sona gefullod. and he siddan leofode
manega gear. [SVM 7,6] and mannum sæde

þæt he to þæs hextan deman hehsete wäre gebroht.

and þær him wæs gedemed to dimre stowe.
þær he unrot wunode mid woruldmannum.
on witnungum þa hwile. and þa weard gecyd
þurh twegen englas þam ælmihtigan deman

þæt he se man wäre þe martinus fore gebæd.

and þa weard eft geboden. þurh þa ylcan englas
þæt he wurde gelæd to life ongean.
and martine agifen. and hit weard þa swa.

[SVM 7,7] Þa asprang martines hlisa geond þæt land wide.

þæt se þe halig wæs on weorcum. være apostolic wer gelyfed.

[SVM 8,1] VI. Êft æfter sumum fyrste ferde se halga wer
ofer sumes þegenes land lupicinus gehaten.
þa gehyrde he feorran færlice hream.
wependre meniu. [SVM 8,2] and he weard þa gestedegod
befrinende georne hwæt þæt færlices være.

Him wearp þa geséð þæt sum ungesælig man
hine sylfne ahenge. of þære hiwædene.
and swa hangigende hine sylfne adydde.

241 VI. Êft] The numeral and the initial are in a brown ink.

239 hlisa] The alliteration with land in
the b-verse suggests a silent h.

240 apostolic] A frequent loan word in
OE; cf. DOE s.v. apostolic, apostolic, here
in the sense ‘following the example of/
derived / handed down from the Apostles’

(3).
Then Martin cried out, greatly thanking God, and those who stood outside immediately stepped inside, greatly amazed to see him living whom they had left dead before.

Then was he baptized right away, and afterwards lived for many years, and related to men that he had been brought before the throne of the highest judge, and there he was condemned to a dim place; there he dwelt joyless with worldly men in torments for a while; and then it was made known by two angels to the almighty judge that he was the man for whom Martin prayed, and then it was commanded again that, by the same angels, that he should be brought to life again and returned to Martin; and then so it happened.

Then Martin’s fame sprang widely throughout the land, so that he, who was holy in works, was believed to be an apostolic man.

VI. Again after some time the holy man travelled through a nobleman’s land, who was called Lupicinus. Then suddenly he heard far off the cry of a weeping crowd, and it made him stand still, enquiring anxiously what this unexpected incident might be. It was told to him that some unhappy man had hung himself, one of the household, and thus hanging had killed himself.
Martinus þa inneode þær se man læg dead.

and adræfte ut ealle þa meniu.

and hine sylfne astrehþte ofer þone sawleasan lichaman.

sume hwile on gebedum. [SVM 8,3] and he sona geedcucode.

and mid geornfulre elnunge up arisende wæs.

and nam martinus swilþran hand mid him astod

and þorþostop midhim. on þæs folces gesihðe.

[SVM 9,1] VII[.] On þære ylean tide þæt turonisce folc
wilningende wæs þæt martinus wære
to biseope gehalgod to heora burhscire.
ac martinus nolde ut of þam mynstre na hwider.

oþ þæt sum his nehgebura gesohte his fet
sæde þæt his wif lage swiðe gebrocod.

and begeat þa uneþe þæt he ut ferde.

[SVM 9,2] and seo burhwaru cepte hwænne he ut come.

and gelæhton hine sona. and geleaddon to þære byrig

turonia gehaten þæt he wurde gehadod.

[SVM 9,3] Þa clypode eall seo meniu and cwædon anmodlice
þæt martinus wære wyrðe þæs hades.

and gesælig sacerd to swilcum biseopdome.

[SVM 9,4] þær waron bisceopas of gehwilcum burgum
to þære gecorennysse. Þa wicwædon hí sume

þæt martinus nære wyrðe swa miclest hades.

for his vacum gyrlum. and þær wicwæð swiþost

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256 VII[.] On ] The numeral is in a brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in a red ink.
269 waron bisceopas ] In between the two words is an erasure, hiding an indecipherable three-letter word starting with þ

268 sacerd ] A frequent loan word (from Latin) in OE, meaning ‘priest’, see BT s.v. sacerd.
Then Martin went inside, where the man lay dead, and drove out all the crowd, and stretched himself over the soulless body for some while in prayers; [SVM 8,3] and soon he revived and with fervent zeal rose up, and took Martin’s right hand, stood beside him, and stepped forth with him in sight of the people. [SVM 9,1] VII. At that same time the people of Tours were desirous that Martin should be consecrated as bishop of their city, but Martin would not go there out of the monastery, until one of his neighbours sought his feet, saying that his wife lay badly afflicted, and with difficulty convinced him to go out. [SVM 9,2] And the citizens watched when he would come out, and immediately seized him and led him to the city called Tours, that he might be consecrated. [SVM 9,3] Then all the crowd cried out and said unanimously that Martin was worthy of the office, and a fortunate priest for such a bishopric. [SVM 9,4] There were bishops from various cities at the election; then some of them objected that Martin would not be worthy of so great a dignity on account of his poor clothing; and there objected most strongly.

252 SVM 8,3] Mox uiuscente uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigitur; lentoque conamine enisus adsurgere, adprehensa beati uiri dextera in pedes constitit, atque ita cum eo usque ad uestibulum domus, turba omni inspectante, processit. 256 SVM 9,1] Sub idem fere tempus, ad episcopatum Turonicae ecclesiae petebatur; sed cum erui monasterio suo non facile posset, Rusticius quidam, unus e ciuibus, uxoris languore simulato ad genua illius proculatus, ut egredeturur obtinuit. 263 SVM 9,2] Ita, dispositis iam in itinere ciuium turbis, sub quadam custodia ad ciuitatem usque deducitur. Mirum in modum incredibilis multitudo non solum ex illo oppido, sed etiam ex uicinis urbis ad suffragia ferenda conuenerat. 266 SVM 9,3] Vna omnium voluntas, eadem uota eademque sententia: Martinum episcopatus esse dignissimum; felicem fore tali ecclesiam sacerdote. Pauci tamen, et nonnulli ex episcopis qui ad constituendum antistitem fuerant exuocati, impie repugnabant, dicentes scilicet contemptibilem esse personam, indignum esse episcopatu hominem multu despicabilem, ueste sordidum, crine deformem. 269 SVM 9,4] Ita a populo sententiae sanioris haec illorum inrisa dementia est, qui inlustrem uirum, dum uituperare cupiunt, praedicabant. Nec uero alius his facere licuit quam quod populus, Domino uolente, cogitabat. Inter episcopos tamen, qui adfuertauer, praecipue Defensor quidam dicitur restissue. Vnde animaduersum est grauiter illum lectione prophetica tum notatum.
an þæra bisceopa defensor gehaten.
ac he weard gescynd þurh godes seþunge.

275 [SVM 9,5] Þa sceolde man rædan sume rædinge him ætforan.
ac se rædere wæs utan belocen. þa gelæhte sum preost
ænne sealtene sona. and þet ærest gemette
rædde him ætforan [SVM 9,6-7] þet wæs þis fers.
Of unsprecendra muþe. and sucendra

280 þu fulfremedest þin lof drihten for þinum feondum.
þet þu towurpe feond and defensor.
Sona swa þis fers wæs ætforan him gered.
þa weard þet folc astyrode | on swiðlicum hreame.
þet godes sylfes seðung þær geswutelod ware.

285 and defensor mihte his mán þær tocnawan.
and þet god wolde wyrca his lof
on þam unsæððigan martine. and gescyndan defensor.
[SVM 10,1-2] Þa underfeng se halga wer bisceophadunge þær.
and þone hád swa geheold. swa hit is unsecgendlic.

290 mid þære ylcan anrednysse. þe he ær onwunode.
mid þære ylcan eadmodnysse. and mid þam ærran reafe.
and swa he wæs gefylled mid gehungennysse.
and mid þæs hades wurðscype. þet he mid weorcum gefylde
ge þone bisceopdom. mid eallum wurðscipe.

295 ge þone munuchád betwux mannu geheold.
He wæs sodfæst on dome. and estful on bodunge.
arwurdful on þeawum. and þurhwacol on gebedum.
singal on rædinge. gestæððig on his lece.
arfæst on gewilnunje. and arwrudful on his þenungum.

273 defensor ] I.e. Defensor, probably
Bishop of Angers, of whom nothing else is known; cf. above p. 12.

278 fers ] The verse is from the eighth
Psalm; cf. the discussion on the Old

288 Þa underfeng ... gladnysse ] Ælfric
interspersed information from the account
on Martin's character (SVM 26+27, e.g.
26,5) in this section.
one of the bishops called Defensor,
but he was put to shame by a God’s attestation.

Then one was to read some lesson before them,
but the lector was shut out; then a certain priest seized
a psalter soon, and that [which] he first found
he read before them; [SVM 9,6-7] that was this verse:
‘Out of the mouth of the unspeaking and of sucklings
Thou hast perfected Thy praise, Lord, for Thine enemies,
that Thou mightest destroy the enemy and the defender.’
As soon as this verse was read before them,
the people were agitated, in such great uproar,
that the attestation of God Himself had there been manifested,
and Defensor ought to acknowledge his wickedness,
and that God wished to work His praise
in the innocent Martin, and to shame Defensor.

Then the holy man received the ordination as bishop there,
and held the office thus, as is indescribable,
with the same steadfastness in which he had lived before,
and with the same humility, and with his former garment,
and he was so filled with piety
and with the office’s dignity that he fulfilled through his works
both the episcopal office with all honour
inasmuch as he kept his monkhood amongst men.
He was righteous in judgement, and devout in preaching,
venerable in conduct and vigilant in prayers,
constant in reading, steadfast in his look,
virtuous in desire, and reverent in his duties.

Nam cum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, intercluse a populo
defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum expectatur qui non aderat, unus e circumsstantibus, sumpto
psalterio, quem primum uersum inuenit, arripuit. 278 SVM 9,6-7] Psalmus autem hic erat:
ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicos et
defensorem. Quo lecto, clamor populi tollitur, pars diuera confunditur. 7. Atque ita habitum
est diuino naru psalmum hunc lectum fuisset, ut testimonium operis sui Defensor audiret, qui
ex ore infantium atque lactantium, in Martino Domini laude perfecta, et ostensus pariter et de-
structus esset inimicus. 288 SVM 10,1-2] Iam uero, sumpto episcopatu qualem se quantumque
praestiterit, non est nostrae facultatis evolueri. Idem enim constantissime perseverabat qui prius
fuerat. 2. Eadem in corde eius humiliatas, eadem in uestitu eius uilitas erat; atque ita, plenus au-
citoris et gratiae, inplebat episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum monachi uirtutemque
deseret.
Eala hwilc welwillendnys wæs on his spræcum.

and hwilc gepungennys wæs on his þæwum.

and hu micel glædnys on gastlicum dædum

wunode on þam halgan mid healicre fremmînges.

Eadig wæs se wer. on þam ne wunode nan facn.

 nænne hé ne fordemde. ne nanum hé ne forgeald

yfel mid yfel. ac he eaðelice forbær

manna teonrædene mid micclum geþylde.

Ne geseah hine nan man nateshwon yrre.

ne on mode murncniengde. ne mislice geworhtne.

ac on anre anrædnysse æfre wunigende

ofer mannæs gemet. mid mycelere glædnysse.

[SVM 10,3] Sume hwile he hæfde hus wiþ þa cyrcan.

tha æfter sumum fyrstæ. | for þæs folces bysnunge.

and for þære unstilnysse. he gestæðole him münster

[of] twa mila of þære byrig. [SVM 10,4] and seo stow wæs swa digle

þæt he ne gewînnode nanes òtres wæstenes.

On ane healfe þæs münstres wæs an ormaetæ clif

ascoren rihte adune. and seo deope ea

liger gehaten. læg on oðre sidan.

swa þæt man ne mihte to þam münstre cuman

butan þurh ænne pæð þæt he inganges bæde.

[SVM 10,5] Hundlehtatig muneca on þam münstre wunodon

under martines lærowdome mærlíc drohtnigaende.

and ealle heora þinceg him wæron gemæne.

320 münstre] MS münste (sic! Cf. Skeat)

306 yfel mid yfel] A commonplace in OE, after BS 1 Peter 3,9, collocates with

for-gildan, ‘to repay’, BT s.v. for-gildan. Cf. als BS Le 6,37 and Romans 12,17

(Huber-Rebenich 2010: 90 n. 157).

319 liger] le. the river Loire, which runs

through Tours; Liger is the common name

in Latin.
Oh, what benignity was in his sayings,
and what excellence was in his manners,
and how much gladness in spiritual deeds
dwelt in the Saint with sublime perfection!
Blessed was the man, in him dwelt no malice;
he condemned no one, nor did he repay
evil with evil, but he meekly endured
men’s wrongs with great patience.
No man ever saw him angry at all,
nor murmuring in mind, nor evilly disposed,
but ever remaining in one steadfastness
above man’s measure with much gladness.
[SVM 10,3] For a while he had a house next to the church;
then, after some time, as an example for the people
and because of the noisiness, he established for himself a monastery
two miles from the city; [SVM 10,4] and the place was so hidden
that he desired no other wilderness.
On one side of the monastery was an immense cliff
scarped right down, and the deep river,
called Loire, lay on the other side,
so that one could not come to the monastery
except by a single path, so he should ask for entry.
[SVM 10,5] Eighty monks dwelt in that monastery
under Martin’s instruction, living excellently;
and all their things were in common between them,
325 [SVM 10,6] and þær nan man næfde  nan þing synderlices.
ne hi cepes ne gymdon. ne naht syllan ne moston.
buta þam anum þe heora bigleofan forð dydon.
ne moste þær nan broðor  begán nænne cræft.
beton he hine gebæde.  òðde béc write.

330 ða wæron gebysgode  þa yldran gebroðra
on singalum gebedum. and seo iugud wrat.
and wunodon on stilnyse. swa swa him gewisode martinus.
[SVM 10,7] ætsomne hi æton  on gesettum timan.
and hi wines ne gymdon  buton wanhllum mannun.
and manega þær hæfdon  hæran to lice.
and þær hnesce gewæda. wæron to læhtre getealde.
[SVM 10,8] æþelborene weras  þær wunodon on þam mynstre.
þe wæron estlice afedde.  ac hi gewyldon hi swaþeah
to þære ylcan stiðnyse  þe þær stod on þam mynstre.
and manega we gesawon  síddan of þam bisceopas.
[SVM 10,9] lá hwilc burhscír wæs  þe nolde bisceop geceosan
of martines mynstre. for his mærum gebynsungum.
[SVM 11,1-2] UIII. ðær wæs þa gehende  þam halgan mynstre
| swilce an halig stow  swyðe gewurðod 183v
340 fram folces mannun.  swilce ðær martyres lagon.
and þær arran bisceopas  arwurðoden þa stowe.
and þær wœofod gehalgodon  wolice swaþeah.
Martinus ða ne gelyfde  þam leasum gedwimore.

343 UIII. ðær] The numeral and the following punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged
and in red ink.  348 Martinus] The initial M is slightly enlarged, and the legs are rounded
and there no man had anything privately, nor would they care for trading, nor might they sell anything, save only those things which provided for their food; nor might there any brother practise any craft save to pray or to write books.

The elder brothers were busied then in perpetual prayers, and the youth wrote and abode in silence, even as Martin instructed them.

They ate together at set times, and they did not care for wine, except for the sick men; and many there had haircloth on their body, and there soft clothing was accounted as sin.

Nobly born men lived there in the monastery who had been raised delicately, but they subjected themselves, nevertheless, to the same austerity which was established there in the monastery, and many of them we have seen as bishops afterwards.

Oh, what city was there which would not choose a bishop from Martin’s monastery, because of his glorious example.

by the common people, as if martyrs lay there; and the former bishops had venerated the place and had consecrated an altar there, wrongly, however. Martin then did not believe the false delusion,
ac axode smealice þa yldostan preostas
350 þæs martyrès naman. ofþe hwænne he gemartyrod wære.
ac heora nan nyste nan gewis be þam.
[SVM 11,3] Pa holde martinus geneosian þa stowe.
ne þam folce ne lyfde. ac för sume dæg tó
mid feawum gebroþrum. [SVM 11,4] and stód æt þære byrgene.
biddende þone almihitgan god. þæt he be þam geswutelode
hwæt he soþlice wære. oddhe hwilcere geearnunge.
þe þær bebyrged wæs. and gewurðod oþþet.
Pa besæah se halga wer to his wynstran healfe.
and geseah þær standan ane atelice sceade.
355 and sæde þæt he wære ofslagen for ðyfþe.
and on wite wunode. na on wuldre mid martyrum.
and wære gewurðod wolice fram þam folce.
[SVM 11,5] Hit wæs wundorlic swæþeah ðæt hine swutollice gehyrdon
ealle þe ðær wæron. ac hi ne gesawon hine
butan martinus ana. þe hit him eallum sæde.
He het sona þa awæg dón ðæt weofod of þære stowe.
and ðæt folc alysde fram þam leasum gedwylde.
[SVM 12,1] UIIII. Æft on sumne sæl siðode martinus
on his bisceoprice. þa ðær man þær an líc
360 anes hæðenes mannes þæt hi hine bebyrgidon.
Da beheold martinus þa hæðenan feorran.
[SVM 12,2] and wende þæt hi ðæron swa swa heora gewune wæs
heora deofolgild dwollice ofer heora land.

350 martyrès naman] A signe-de-renvoi marks this as the correct order of the two words. 368 UIIII
Æft] Numer and punctus are on a brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in a red ink.
but enquired minutely of the oldest priests
the martyr’s name, or when he was martyred;
but none of them knew anything certain about him.

[SVM 11,3] Then Martin would not visit the place
nor allow the people to do so, but went away one day
with a few brethren [SVM 11,4] and stood at the tomb,
praying the almighty God that He would reveal about the man
what he had really been or of what merit,
he who was buried there and had been venerated until then.

Then the bishop looked on his left side,
and saw there standing a horrid shade,
and said that he had been slain for theft,
and abode in torment, not in glory with martyrs,
and that he was wrongfully venerated by the people.

[SVM 11,5] It was wondrous, however, that he was clearly heard
by all who were there, but they saw him not
save Martin only, who told it to them all.

Then he commanded immediately to remove the altar from the place,
and delivered the people from the false error.

[SVM 12,1] IX. Again on a certain occasion Martin was travelling
in his diocese, when there was carried a corpse
of a heathen man, so that they would bury him.

Then Martin beheld the heathen men from afar,
[SVM 12,2] and supposed that they carried, even as was their custom
their idol wrongfully over their land,
and worhte þa rodetacn wiþ þæs folces werd.

ac aledon þa byrdene.  

þær mihte wundrian  

swilce hi astifode wæron.  

þæt hic hit ne bærion na furðor.  

184r  

ac ða þa hi ne mihton  

swiðe wundrigende.  

of þære moldan astyrian.  

þa asetton hí þæt lic.  

swiðe hwi him swa gelumpe.  

and besah ælc to oþrum  

þa bærmen sona  

on fol. 125r  

þæt hic mid lice ferdon  

nu godes naman  

ac ða earman bærmenn gebundene to eardan  

wendon hi abutan.  

woldon ford gán.  

on fol. 125v  

na mid deofolgilde.  

and tet lic to berenne to byrgene.  

swa swa hí gemynton.  

hí astifode wæron.  

wælde hi æt líc to berenne to byrgene.  

swilce þær mihte wundrian  

wælde hí æt líc.  

swilce þa bærmen sona  

sæteon hí æt lic.  

swilce þa bærmen sona  

sæteon hí æt lic.  

sæde þa bærmen sona  

sæde þa bærmen sona.
and he made the sign of the cross towards the people, and commanded them in God’s name not to carry it any further but lay down the burden, [SVM 12,4] and the carriers at once stood steadfast, as if they had been stiffened. Then he who was at hand might have wondered how the poor carriers, bound to the earth, turned about, wished to go forward, but when they could not stir from the ground, they set down the corpse and looked about, each to the other, greatly wondering why it should thus happen to them. [SVM 12,5] But when Martin understood that they travelled with a corpse, not with an idol, then he lifted up his hand, and gave them leave to journey on and to carry the body to the tomb as they had intended. Thus the holy bishop bound them with a word, and again, when he would, let them go away. [SVM 13,1] X. The holy Martin destroyed an idol at some time, in some place; and there was a pine tree next to the temple, protected, as if very holy in a heathen manner. Then he wanted to cut down the tree, too, [SVM 13,2] but the idolaters opposed the saint, saying that they could not find it in their hearts that he should cut down the tree, even though he had destroyed their temple. Then the holy bishop said that in that tree there was no peculiar holiness, and told the heathen

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374 SVM 12,3] Leuato ergo in adversos signo crucis, imperat turbae non moueri loco onusque deponere. Hic uero, mirum in modum, uideres miseros primum uelut saxa riguisse. 376 SVM 12,4] Dein, cum promouere se summo conamine niterentur, ultra accedere non ualentes ridiculam in uertiginem rotabantur, donec uicti corporis onus ponunt. Attoniti et semet inuicem aspicientes, quidnam sibi accidisset taciti cogitabant. 384 SVM 12,5] Sed cum beatu uir coprisset exequiarum esse illam frequentiam, non sacrorum, eleuata rursum manu dat eas abeundi et tollendi corporis potestatem. Ina eos et, cum uoluit, stare compulit et, cum libuit, abire permitit. 390 SVM 13,1] Item, cum in uico quodam templum antiquissimum diruisset et arborem pinum, quae fano erat proxima, esset adgressus excidere, tum uero antistes loci illius ceteraque gentilium turba coepit obsistere. 395 SVM 13,2] Et cum idem illi, dum templum euertitur, imperante Domino quieuisissent, succidi arborem non patiabantur, ille eos sedulo communere nihil esse religionis in stipite; Deum potius, cui seruiret ipse, sequerentur; arborem illam excidi oportere, quia esset daemoni dedicata.
æt hi swiðor sceoldon þone soðan god wurðian.

and aheawen æt treow þe wæs gehalogd deofle.

[SVM 13,3] ða cwaed an þæra hæþenra to þam halgan bisceope.

Gif þu ænigne truwan hæbbe on þinum gode.

we forceorfað æt treow. and þu hit feallende underfoh.

and gif þin god is mid ðe, þu gæst aweg gesund.

[SVM 13,4-5] | Martinus ða unforht fæste on god geblyd

behet æt he wolde mid weorcum æt gefyllan.

[SVM 13,6] Hi þa ealle glædmode begunnon to ceorfenne

þone heagan pinbeam. and he wæs ahyld

on ane healfe æt man eade mihte witan

hwider he sigan wolde. and hi setton martinum

þærforan ongean. æt he hine offeallan sceolde.

[SVM 13,7] ða væron his munecas wundorlice afyrhte.

and nan oðer ne wendon buton he wurde ðær ofhroren.

and se beam þa feallende beah to martine.

[SVM 13,8] Martinus þa unforht ongean æt feallende treow

worhte rodetacn. and hit wende þa ongean.

swilce hit sum færlic þoden þydde underbæc.

swa æt hit offeol fornean þæs folces

micelne dæl. þe þær orsorge stodon.

418 underbæc] K underbæc
that they should rather worship the true God, 
and hew down the tree which was consecrated to the devil. 
[SVM 13,3] Then one of the heathen said to the holy bishop; 
“If you have any trust in your God, 
we will cut down the tree, and you shall receive it when falling, 
and if your God is with you, you shall go away safe.” 
[SVM 13,4-5] Then Martin, undismayed, and firmly confident in God, 
promised that he would fulfil that [condition] by his deeds. 
[SVM 13,6] Then they all gladly began to cut down 
the high pine tree, and it was inclined 
to one side, so that one might easily know 
where it would fall; and they put Martin 
there opposite to it, that it might fall upon him. 
[SVM 13,7] Then his monks were wondrously terrified, 
and supposed nothing else but that it would fall down there; 
and the tree while falling bent towards Martin. 
[SVM 13,8] Then Martin, undismayed, towards the falling tree 
made the sign of the cross, and then it turned backward, 
as if some sudden impulse had thrust it backward, 
so that it almost fell on the people’s 
greater crowd who stood there carelessly.

402 SVM 13,3] Tum unus ex illis, qui erat audacior ceteris: si habes, inquit, aliquid de Deo tuo, quem dicis te colere, fiduciam, nosmet ipsi succidemus hanc arborem, tu ruentem excipe; et si tecum est tuus, ut dicis, Dominus, euades. 406 SVM 13,4-5] Tum ille, intrepide confusus in Domino, facturum se pollicetur. Hic uero ad istius modi condicionem omnis illa gentilium turba consensit, faciemsque arboris suae habuerque iacturam, si inimicum sanctorum suorum casu illius obritissent. 5. Itaque, cum unam in partem pinus illa esset adclinis, it non esset dubium quam in partem succisa corrueret, eo loci uinctus statuitur pro arbitrio rusticorum, quo arborum esse casuram nemo dubitabit. 408 SVM 13,6] Succidere igitur ipsi suam pinum cum ingenti gaudio laetitiae coeperunt. Aderat eminus turba mirantium. Iamque paulatim nutare pinus et ruinam suam casuram minitari. 413 SVM 13,7] Pallebant eminus monachi et periculo iam propiore conterrit spiem omnem fidemque perdiderant, solam Martini mortem expectantes. 416 SVM 13,8] At ille confusus in Domino, intrepidus opperiens, cum iam fragorem sui pinus concidens edidisset, iam cadenti, iam super se ruenti, elevata obuiam manu, signum salutis opponit. Tum uero, uelut turbinis modo retro actam putares, diuersam in partem ruit, adeo ut rusticos, qui tuto in loco steterant, paene prostrauerit.
and þa munecas weopan for þære wundorlican blysse.

and eall se leodscipe to geleafan þa beah.

To þam swiðe hi wurdon þurh þæt wundor gecyrrede. Þæt hi geond eall þæt land mid geleafan arædon cyncan. and mynstra. and martinus ætre

swa hwær swa he þa deofolgild towearp. swa worhte he cyncan.

[SVM 14,1] XI. Hwilon eac se halga wer towearp an hæðengild.

þa sett he sona fyr on þæt feondlice templ

þæt hit bradum lige brastligende hreas.

Pa wende þæt fyr forð mid þam winde to anum þære huse þe þær gehendost stód.

[SVM 14,2] ac martinus mid ofste uppon þæt hus astah.

and sette hine sylfne ongean þone swegendan fyr.

þær mihte wundor ða | geseon. se þe ware gehende.

hu se wind. and se lig. wunnon him betwinan.

se wind bleow ðone lig. ac he wand ongean

forbeah þone halgan wer þe on þam | huse wæs.

K 126v

and þæt án forberende þe him beboden wæs

[SVM 14,3] XII. Ëft on sumere wic ðe wæs librosum gehaten.

wolde se halga martinus towearpan an templ

þæt wæs þe earle welig hus gewurðod þam deoflum

þa forwyrdon þa hæþenan þam halgan were þæs.
Then the heathen cried out with great astonishment,
and the monks wept for the wonderful joy,
and they hailed the name of Christ in praise,
and all the people turned to the faith.

So greatly they were converted by that miracle,
that through all that land they reared with faith
churches and monasteries, and Martin always,
wherever he destroyed idolatry, he built churches.

Once also the holy man destroyed an idol,
and right away he set fire to the hostile temple
so that it fell crackling with broad flame.
Then the fire turned forward with the wind
towards one of the houses which stood there nearest,
but Martin with haste climbed up the house,
and set himself against the roaring fire.
Then those who were near were able to see a miracle,
how the wind and the flame strove between them;
the wind blew the flame, but it turned backwards,
avoided the holy man who was on the house,
and burned that one [thing] which it was commanded to burn.

Again in some town which was called Lévroux
the holy Martin wanted to destroy a temple
which was an exceedingly rich house dedicated to the devils;
then the heathen refused this to the holy man
and hine adrefdon gedrefedne þanon.

" [SVM 14,4] Pa ferde martinus na swyðe feor þanon
and scrycade hine mid hæran and mid axan bestreowode
fæstende þry dagas. and his drihten hæd.
þær he mid heofonlicre mihte þæt hæðene templ
[ SVM 14,5 ] Æfter ðam fæstene him comon færlice to
twegwen scinende englas. mid sperum and scyldum.
wélice on gelinysse heofonlices werodes.
secgende þam halgan þæt se hælend hi sende
þær hi þæt cyrlisce folc afligan sceoldon.
and martine fultumian þæt hi ne mihton widstandan.
[ SVM 14,6 ] Martinus pa ferde to þære foresædan deofolgilde.
and mid þære engla fultume mannum onlocigendum
þæt tempel eall towearp. and pa weofode to duste.
ealle þa anlicnyssa heora arwurðra | goda.
[ SVM 14,7 ] Pa ne mihton þa hæðenan martine widcwedian.
ac þær pa godcundan mihte miclum wuron afyrhte.
and gelyfdon on god. mid geleafan clypigende.
þæt se god wære to wurþigenne þe se halga wer bodode.
and heora godas to forletenne þe him fremion ne mihton.
[ SVM 15,1 ] XIII. hwilon on sumere tide swa swa us segð seo racu.
towearp se halga bisceop sum swiplice haþengild.
þa sáh him ón sona | þæt cyrlisce folc
swyðe wedende swa swa hi wæron hæþene.
and heora án sona his swurd ateah.

Pa ... [þanon] The text is in the margin and a scribal correction. 457 [Martinus] The initial is slightly enlarged and the legs are rounded 465 fremion K fremian 466 XIII. Æwilon. 467 Numeral, punctus, and the initial are in a brown ink.

458 mannum onlocigendum] Cf. l. 507 below and the comment on the syntax in the apparatus.
and drove him away, grievously troubled.

[SVM 14,4] Then Martin went not very far from there, and clothed himself with haircloth, and bestrewed himself with ashes, fasting three days, and asked his Lord that he by heavenly power [would destroy] the heathen temple, since he by his power could not destroy it.

[SVM 14,5] After that fasting there suddenly came to him two shining angels with spears and shields, as if in the likeness of a heavenly army, saying to the saint that the Saviour had sent them, that they might drive away the rural folk, and succour Martin, so that they would not oppose him.

[SVM 14,6] Then Martin went to the aforesaid idol, and with the succour of the angels, the people watching, utterly destroyed the temple and the altar to dust, and all the images of their venerated gods.

[SVM 14,7] Then the heathen could not resist Martin, but were greatly terrified by the divine might, and believed in God, crying out in the belief that that God whom the holy man preached was to be worshipped, and their gods, who could not profit them, were to be forsaken.

[SVM 15,1] XIII. Once, at some time, even as the account tells us, the holy bishop destroyed a vast idol; then soon the rural folk sought him out, fiercely raging, because they were heathen, and one of them at once drew his sword.

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446 SVM 14,4 ] Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud euertere humana manus non potuisset, uirtus illud diuina dirueret. 451 SVM 14,5 ] Tum subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praesidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum templum dirueretur, obsisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleret. 457 SVM 14,6 ] Ita regressus ad uicum, spectabantur gentilium turbis et quiescentibus, dum profanam aedem usque ad fundamenta dirueret, aras omnes atque simulacra redegit in puluerem. 461 SVM 14,7 ] Quo uiso, rustici, cum se intellegerent diuino nutu obstupefactos adque perterritos ne episcopo repugnarent, omnes fere Iesum Dominum crediderunt, clamantes palam et confitentes Deum Martini coelendum, idola autem neglecta, quae sibi adesse non possent. 466 SVM 15,1 ] Quid etiam in pago Aeduorum gestum sit referam. Vbi dum templum itidem euerteret, fures gentilium rusticorum in eum inruit multitudo. Cumque unus audacior ceteris stricto eum gladio peteret, rejecto pallio nudam ceruicem percussuro praebarit.
Se bisceop him togeanes bræd of his ceppan.
and æpenode his swuran þam sleandum hæþenum.
[SVM 15,2] and se hæþena dæ. þa þa he hine slean wolde.
þa feoll he underbæc mid fyrhte fornumen.

and bæd him forgifennysse æt þam halgan bisceope.
[SVM 15,3] Pysum weorce wæs sum oðer gelíc
þa þa he eac towearp sum oðer hæþengild.
þa sloh sum hæþen man to þam halgan were.
ac mid þam swenge hæpte þæt swurd him of handum.

and ne mihte nan hit næfre syððan findan.
[SVM 15,4] Witodlice foroft þa þa him widewædon
þa hæþenan þæt he heora hæþengild
swa huxlice ne towende. þa bodode he him swa lange
þone sodân geleafan. oðþæt he geliþewæhte.

478 Pysum weorce ... halgan were } Mitchell (OES § 3802) discusses the occurrence of apo koinou in this passage.

480 to geleafan heora wuroðfullan templ.
[SVM 16,1] Swa micle mihte he hæfe menn to gehælennæ.
þæt nan adlig man naht eade him to ne com.
þæt he ne wurde sona wundorlice gehæled.
[SVM 16,2] XIII. On treueris wæs sum mæden swiðlice geuntrumod
licgende on paralisin. oððæt hire lima ealle
wurdon adeadode. and heo unwene læg.
[SVM 16,3-4] Þa wearþ gecydd þam fæder þæt martinus come þa
into þære byrig. and he arn to þam halgan.

and gesohte his fét mid swyðlicum wope

492 gecydd] K gecyd
489 On ] The initial is enlarged and in a red ink.
490 paralisin] A rare word in OE, see DOEWC s.v. paralysis; more frequent is (DOE s.v.) crypelnes.

paralisin] A rare word in OE, see DOEWC s.v. paralysis; more frequent is (DOE s.v.) crypelnes.

Mitchell (OES § 3802) discusses the occurrence of apo koinou in this passage.
The bishop, going towards him, took off his cape, and stretched out his neck to the murderous heathen;
and then the heathen, when he sought to slay him, then he fell backwards, seized with terror,
and asked his forgiveness from the holy bishop.

This work was similar to another: when he destroyed some other idol, too, then a heathen fellow struck at the holy man, but with the swing the sword flew out of his hand, and no one could ever find it afterwards.

Indeed, very often when he was opposed by the heathen, that he should not their idols so shamefully destroy, then he preached to them for so long the true faith until he rendered suitable for the faith their venerated temple.

Such great power he had to heal men that no sick man did not simply come to him and that he would not be wondrously healed at once.

Tristes ad solam funeris expectationem adstabant propinqui, cum subito ad ciuitatem illam Martinum uenisse nutius. Quod ubi puellae pater conperit, currit exanimis pro filia rogaturus. 4. Et forte Martinus iam ecclesiam fuerat ingressus. Ibi, spectante populo multisque aliiis praesentibus episcopis, ciulans senex genua eius amplexitur, dicens: filia mea moritur miserо genere languoris, et, quod ipsa est morte crudelius, solo spiritu uiuit, iam carne praemortuа. Rogo ut eam aedes atque benedicas: confido enim quod per te reddenda sit sanitati.
And biddende þone bисeop þæt he hi bletsode. ic gelyfe he cwæð. þæt heo libbe þurh þe.

[SVM 16,5-6] Martinus þa cwæð. þæt hit his mihta næron to swilcere dæde. ac se fæder ne geswác

hine to biddenne mid wope oþþ þær se opre bисeopas

þe mid martine wæron gemacodon þæt he eode to þam liсgendan | mædene. and ormaete meniu

þærute andbiddle hwaet se bисeop don wolde. [SVM 16,7] Pa astrehte martinus to moldan his lima.

| and gehalodge siððan sumne dæl eles K 128r

and dyde on þes mædenes muð. and heo mihte þa spræcan.

[SVM 16,8] and ealle hire lima endemes cucodon.

and heo ða hál arás þam folce onlocigendum

[SVM 17,1] XU. ða wæs sum heahþegen gehaten tetradius.

and his þeowa manna an wæs þearle awed.

þa bed he þone halgan þæt he his hand him onsette.

Martinus þa hét þa þone man him to lædan.

ac nan man ne dorste to þam deoflosecan gán

forþande he wundorlice wedde. mid þam muþe.

and elcne wolde teran þe him in toeode.

[SVM 17,2-3] Tetradius þa sylf com. and gesohte þone halgan

biddende eadmoldlice þæt he to þam earman eode.

þa cwæð se halga wer þæt he to his huse gan nolde

hæþenes mannes and manfulles lifes.
beseeching the bishop that he would bless her.
“I believe,” he said, “that she will live through you!”

Then Martin said that his abilities would not suffice for such a deed; but the father did not cease to entreat him with weeping until the other bishops who were with Martin compelled him to go to the recumbent girl, and a vast crowd awaited there outside what the bishop would do.

Then Martin stretched out his limbs on the ground, and next hallowed a portion of oil, and put it on the girl’s mouth, and then she was able to speak, and all her limbs likewise became alive, and then she arose whole, the people watching it.

Then Martin ordered them to bring the man to him, but no man dared to go to the devil-sickened man, because he wondrously foamed at the mouth, and attempted to bite every one who went in to him.

Then Tetradius himself came and sought the saint, asking humbly that he would go to the poor man. Then the holy man said that he would not go to his house, a heathen man, and of evil life.
Se hæðena þegen þa behet þam halgan were

520 þæt he wolde cristen beon. gif se cnapa wurde hal.

[SVM 17,4] and martinus sona sitode to þam wodan.

and his hand him on asette. and gescynde þone deofol
fram þam gewitleasum men. and he weard sona hál.

Tetradius | ða sona þa he þæt geseah.

K 128v

525 gelyfde on urne drihten. and let hine cristnian.

and æfter lytllum yrste he weard gefullod.

and martinum wurdode mid wundorlicre lufe.

forþandhe he wæs ealdor witodlice his hæle.

[SVM 17,5] XUI. ON ðære ylcan tide on þam ylcan fæstene

530 eode martinus to anes mannes huse.

þa æxtod he færllice ætforan þam þrexwolde.

cwæð þæt he egeslicne feond on þam incofan gesawe.

Martinus þa het þone hetolan deofol.

þæt he | ðanon gewite. and he weard þa yrre

186v
gelæhte ænne mannan and wearð him oninnan.

of þæs þegenes hiwreadene. and he þearl þa wedde.

and began to toterenne þa þe he to mihte.

[SVM 17,6] þa fleah seo hiwreaden. and þæt folc eac swá.

ac martinus eode ðam wodan men togeanes

540 hette hine soma standan. and he stod þa gynigende.

and þywde mid muþe þæt he martinum abite.

þa dyde martinus on muð þam wodan

his agenne fingras. and het hine fretan

gif he ænige mihte hæfde. ac he wiðbræd þa ceaflas

fram þære halgan handa. swilce fram hatan | isene.

545 K 129r

527 wundorlicre ) MS wudorlicre (sic! Emended as in Skeat); K wundorlicre

529 XUI. ON ] Numeral and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged and in a red ink.

532 egeslicne ] K egeslice

519 hæðena ] Skeat suggests to read “hæðene, as in K and [L]”. 
Then the heathen thane promised the holy man
that he would be a Christian if the boy became whole.
[SVM 17,4] And Martin immediately went to the madman,
and put his hand on him and quickly drove the devil
from the witless man, and he became whole immediately.
Then Tetradius, as soon as he saw that,
believed in our Lord, and had himself christened,
and after a short time he was baptized,
and reverenced Martin with wonderful love,
because truly he was the author of his salvation.
[SVM 17,5] XVI. At the same time in the same town
Martin went to a man’s house,
when suddenly he stopped before the threshold,
and said that he saw a terrible fiend in the chamber.
Then Martin commanded the hateful devil
to depart thence, and then he became angry,
seized a man (and entered into him)
of the thane’s household, and then he raged immensely,
and began to harass those he could.
[SVM 17,6] Then the household fled and the people likewise,
but Martin went towards the madman,
and commanded him to stand immediately, and then he stood, gaping,
and threatened with his mouth to bite Martin.
Then, into the mouth of the madman Martin put
his own fingers, and told him to bite them off
if he had any power; but he withdrew his jaws
from the holy hand, as if from hot iron.

521 SVM 17,4] Ita Martinus, inposita manu pueru, inmundum ab eo spiritum eiecit. Quo uiso,
Taetradius Dominum Iesum credidit, statimque catechumenus factus, nec multo post baptizatus
est semperque Martinum salutis suae auctorem miro coluit affectu. 529 SVM 17,5] Per idem
tempus, in eodem oppido, ingressus patris familias cuiusdam domum, in limine ipso restitit,
dicens horribile in atrio domus daemonium se uidere. Cui cum ut discederet imperaret, cocum
patris familias qui in interiore parte aedium morabatur arripuit. Saeuire dentibus miser coepit, et
obuios quoque laniare. Commota domus, familia turbata, populus in fugam uersus. 538 SVM
17,6] Martinus se furenti obiecit, ac primum stare ei imperat. Sed cum dentibus freremet hian-
tique ore morsum minaretur, digitos ei Martinus in os intulit: si habes, inquit, alicquid potestatis,
hos deuora.
[SVM 17,7] Da adraefde se halga wer þone hetolan deofol of þam gedrehton menn. ac he ne moste faran þurh þone muð ut þhe martinus hre pode. 
ac fullice ferde þurh his forðgang ut.  
[SVM 18,1] XUII. Betwux þam þe se biseop on þære byrig wunode. þa cydde man geond þa burh þær þær cuman wolde to. onsigendan here. and hergian þa burh. 
Da weard eall seo burhwaru wundorlice afyrt. for þæs heres ogan. þa het martinus sona 
550 him læden to ænne wodne man. and he weard him to gelæd. Se halga wer þa het þone wodan seegan 
gif hit sod wäre be þam onsigendan here. 
[SVM 18,2] Þa andette se deofol þurh þæs gedrehtan muð þæt sixtyne deofle wæron þe worhton þisne hlisan. 
555 and toseowon geond þæt folc. þet hi afligdon martinum burh þone ogan swa of þære byrig. and hit eall waren leas be þam onsigendan here 
þa se fula gast þis sæde þa wæron hi orsorge. 
[SVM 18,3] XUIII. Martinus hwilon ferde mid micelre meniu to parisian byrig. and þa þa he binnan þæt get com. 187r 
þa wæs þær sum hreofa wundorlice tohroren 
eallum mannum anþrælic. ac martinus hine cyste. K 129v 
and his bletsunge hine selde. and he sona weard hal. 
[SVM 18,4] and com þæs on mergen to martine blyðe 
mid gehalre hyde. his hæle ðancigende. 
Oft wurdon eac gehælede fela untrume men

549 ut K út 550 XUII. Betwux Numer, punctus, and the initial are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged. 554 othan K othan 564 XUIII. Martinus] The numeral and punctus are in a brown ink: the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink. 571 untrume] K untruma

549 forðgang] The noun occurs usually in the sense ‘going forth / away (from a place)’ (DOE s.v. forþ-gang 1.), here ‘excretory passage, the anus’ (DOE ibid. (5)).
Then the holy man drove away the hostile devil from the afflicted man, but he could not go out through the mouth which Martin had touched, but foully went out through his anus.

During the time when the bishop lived in the city, it was reported throughout the town that there would come to it an approaching army to harry the city. Then all the citizens became wondrously terrified for fear of the army; then Martin requested at once to be brought to a possessed man, and he was brought to him. Then the holy man commanded the possessed to say if it were true about the approaching army.

Then the devil confessed, by the mouth of the afflicted, that there were sixteen devils who created this rumour, and sowed it amongst the people, so they would drive Martin away by means of that terror thus from the city; and it was all false about the approaching army; when the foul spirit had said this, then they were carefree.

Martin at one time went with a great crowd to the city of Paris, and when he came within the gate then there was a leper, wondrously decayed, horrible to all men, but Martin kissed him, and gave him his blessing, and he became whole immediately, and came the next morning to Martin, blissfully, with healthy skin, thanking [him] for his healing. Often, many sick men were also healed.
þurh his reafes ñæda. þe fela men of atugon.
and bundon on þa seocan. and him wæs bet sona.

[SDDS 8,9] Eac swilce of his bedstrewe man band on anne wodne.

þa gewat se deofol him of. and he his gewit underfeng.

[SVM 19,1] XUIII. Arborius wæs gehaten sum heahþegen on þam lande.
swiðe geleaful man. and his dohtor læg on fefore
þearle gebrocod. þa brohte man sume dæg
an ærendgewrit to þam ylcan þegene

[SVM 19,2] Pa wearð se fæder swa onbryrd. ðet he sona behét
gode hire márgþhad and hi to martine brohte.
ðet he his agene mihte on þam mædene oncneowe.

[SVM 19,3] Sum wer hatte paulin us þe wel þeah on gode syððan.
þa wurdon his eagan yfele gehefegode.
mid toswollenum breawum. and swiðlicum myste

[SVM 25,4-5] He wæs swiðe welig man. ac he wearð swa onbryrd

576 XUIII. Arborius] Numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged, slightly ornamented and in red ink. 578 hatost J K hatast 581 hal J K hál 583 gode J K goda
586 onsettan J K onsettan 589 toswollenum J K toswollenum

591 swingan] The Latin has penicillo, but it is unclear what kind of device this denotes. Skeat translates pencil, but Lewis and Short’s (1879) Latin Dictionary offers s.v. penicillum II, “A roll of lint, a tent, for wounds”; swingan could derive from swinge (BT s.v. swinge), meaning “a stripe, stroke” (I.), so maybe Ælfric had ‘a stripe of gauze’ in mind.
by fringes of his garment which many men pulled off, and bound on the sick, and soon they were better.

Moreover, men bound some of his bedstraw on a madman, then the devil departed from him and he regained his reason.

Moreover, men bound some of his bedstraw on a madman, where he was hottest, and she became whole immediately.

Neither would he that any other man should give her the veil but the holy Martin.

Then Martin treated them with gauze, and all the soreness departed from him immediately and the mist with it, through Martin’s touch.

He was a very wealthy man, but he was so inspired

574 SDS 8,9 Vna earum post dies paucos partem straminis, quam sibi pro benedictione co- legerat, energumeno, quem spiritus erroris agitabat, de ceruice suspendit. Nec mora, dicto citius eiecto daemone persona curata est. 576 SVM 19,1 Arborius autem, uir praefectorius, sancti admodum et fidelis ingenii, cum filia eius grauissimis quartanae febribus ureretur, epistulam Martiani, quae casu ad eum delata fuerat, pectori puellae in ipso accentu ardoris inseruit, statimque fugata febris est. 582 SVM 19,2 Quae res apud Arborium in tantum ululit, ut statim puellam Deo ouerit et perpetuae uirginitati dicarit. Profectusque ad Martinum, puellam ei, praesens uirtutum eius testimonium, quae per absentem licet curata esset, obtulit, neque ab alio eam quam a Martino habitu uirginitatis imposito passus est consecrari. 587 SVM 19,3 Paulinus magni uir postmodum futurus exempli, cum oculum grauiter dolere coepisset et iam pupillam eius crassior nubes superducta texisset, oculum ei Martinus penicillo contigit pristinanique ei sanitatem, sublato omni dolore, restituit. 594 SVM 25,4-5 Sermo autem illius non alius apud nos fuit quam mundi inlecebras et saeculi onera relinquenda, ut Dominum Iesum liberi expeditique sequeremur; praestantissimumque nobis praeisentium temporum inlustri uiri Paulini, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, exemplum ingerebat, qui, summis opibus abiectis Christum secutus, solus paene his temporibus euangelica praecepta complessset; 5. illum nobis sequendum, illum clamabat imitandum; beatumque esse praesens saeculum tantae fidei uirtutisque documento, cum, secundum sententiam Domini, diues et possidens multa, uendendo omnia et dando pauperibus, quod erat factu impossibile possibile fecisset exemplo.
æt he ealle his æhta endemes beceapode.
and dælde eall þearfum | for his drihtnes lufon.
Þa herode martinus þæs mannes dæda swyde.
and oþrum to bysne sealde oft secgende be him.
æt he on þam timan gefylde fægere þone cwye.
þe ure drihten cwæð. to sumum rican men.
far and syle ealle þine æhta. and dæl þæt wurð þearfum.
þonne hæfðst þu goldhord on heofonan rice.
[SVM 19,4] XX. ON sumere tide martinus stah to anre upflora.
þa waron þære hlæddre stapas ælfeđe on æt.
and toburston færinga æt he feol adune.
and mid manegum wundrum gewæht wearð swiðe.
swa æt he seoc læg on his synderlican inne.
On þære nihte him com an engel to him
sylfum onlocigendum. and his lima smyrode.
mid halwendre sealfæ. and he sona | þæs on mergen
hal forðeode. swilce he untrum nære.
[SVM 20,1-2] XXI. Maximus se casere þe wæs on martinus dæge.
gelaðede foroft þone arwurðan wer
þa ða he him wið spræc æt he wære his gemetta.
þa forhæfde he hine æfre fram his gebeorscipe.
cwæð. þæt he ne mihte his gemetta beon
þe anne casere ofsloh. and oþerne aflynde.

600 þæt he ealle his æhta endemes beceapode.
and dælde eall þearfum | for his drihtnes lufon.
þa herode martinus þæs mannes dæda swyde.
and oþrum to bysne sealde oft secgende be him.
æt he on þam timan gefylde fægere þone cwye.
þe ure drihten cwæð. to sumum rican men.
far and syle ealle þine æhta. and dæl þæt wurð þearfum.
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hal forðeode. swilce he untrum nære.
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þa ða he him wið spræc æt he wære his gemetta.
þa forhæfde he hine æfre fram his gebeorscipe.
cwæð. þæt he ne mihte his gemetta beon
þe anne casere ofsloh. and oþerne aflynde.
that he equally sold all his possessions
and distributed all to the poor for love of his Lord.
Then Martin greatly praised the man’s deeds,
and proposed them to others as an example, often saying of him
that he at that time had beautifully fulfilled the saying
which our Lord spoke to some rich man:
‘Go, and sell all your goods, and bestow the worth to the poor,
and then you shall have treasure in the kingdom of heaven.’

[SVM 19,4] XX. At one time Martin ascended to an upper floor;
then the ladder’s steps had become weak before,
and suddenly broke, so that he fell down,
and was greatly weakened by many wounds,
so that he lay sick in his private room.
In that night an angel came to him,
he himself watched, and anointed his limbs
with wholesome salve, and soon, the next morning, he
went on soundly, as if he had never been ill.

[SVM 20,1-2] XXI. Maximus the emperor, who lived in Martin’s days,
invited the venerable man very often,
so as to speak with him, [and] that he would be his guest.
But he himself always refrained from his banquet,
saying that he could not be his guest
who had slain one emperor and banished another.

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603 SVM 19,4 ] Ipse autem, cum casu quodam esset de cenaculo deuolutus et, per confragosos scalae gradus decidens, multis uulneribus esset affectus, cum examinis iaceret in cellula et inmodicis doloribus cruciaretur, nocte ei angelus uisus est eluere uulnera et salubri unguedine contusi corporis superlinire luores. Atque ita, postero die, restitutus est sanitati, ut nihil umquam pertulisse incommode putaretur. 612 SVM 20,1-2 ] Atque ut minora tantum inseram quamua, ut est nostrorum aetas temporum, quibus iam depravata omnia atque corrupta sunt, paene praeципium sit adulationi regiae sacerdotalem non cessisse constantiam -, cum ad imperatorem Maximum, ferocis ingenii uirum et bellorum ciuilium uictoria elatum, plures ex diuersis orbis partibus episcopi conuenissent et foeda circa principem omnium adulatio notaretur seque degenere inconstantia regiae clientelae sacerdotalis dignitas subdidisset, in solo Martino apostolica auctoritas permanebat. 2. Nam et si pro aliquibus regi supplicandum fuit, imperauit potius quam roguit, et a conuiuo eius frequenter rogatus abstinuit, dicens se mensae eius participem esse non posse, qui imperatores unum regno, alterum uita expulisset.
[SVM 20,3-5] þa andwyrdre maximus martine and cwæð. 
æt he næfre sylfwilnes þone anweald ne underfenge.

ac wære fram his cempum gegorene unfances
to ðam cynedome. and wîd cwæðan ne mihte.
and þæt he ongean godes willan winnan ne mihte.
and forþy mid wæpnum hine werian sceolde.
cwæð eac þæt nan man nære fram him ofslagen

buton þam anum þe him onfeohtende wæron.

þa wearð martinus mid þæs caseres beladunge.
and eac þurh his bene. gebiged to his gereordunge.
He nolde næfre lyftettan ne mid olecunge spræcan
| ne furðon to þam casere swa swa his geferan dydon.

swa swa he on þam ylan gereorde geswutelode mid dæde.
He sæt to þam casere. and hi swyðe blyðe wæron | K ends imperfectly
for martines gereordunge. and man bær þam casere
swa swa hit gewunelic wæs win on anre blede.
þa het he þone byrle beodon martine ærest.

wolde after ðam bisecope his bletunge drincan.
[SVM 20,6] Martinus þa dranc. and his mæspreoste sealde
healfne dæl þæs wætan þæt he wæs on þære blede.
forþæþe he wiste þæt he wurÞpost wæs.
after him to drincenne. and hi ealle þæs wundrodon.

and mærsodon his anrædnysse geond ealne þone hired.
[SVM 20,8] He sæde þa þam casere swa swa him becom siddan.
þæt gif he ferde to gefeohte swa he gemynte

631 blyðe wæron] The text in MS K ends after wæron with the folio; the rest of the text was bound again into the MS, and continues on the folio later numbered as fol. 93r; one folio must have been lost during the process of binding, therefore the text of one entire folio is missing in K; K’s text continues below, l. 673
Then Maximus answered Martin, and said that he had never received the government of his own will, but was chosen by his soldiers, against his will, to the kingdom, and could not refuse; and that he could not strive against God’s will, and therefore had to defend himself with weapons; [he] said also that no man had been slain by him save only the one who was fighting against him. Then Martin was, by the emperor’s vindication and also by his plea, persuaded [to go] to his banquet. He would never pay court, nor speak with flattery, not even to the emperor, so as his companions did; even as he in the same feast manifested in a deed. He sat by the emperor, and they were very glad about Martin’s feasting, and it was brought to the emperor even as it was customary, wine in a goblet. Then he asked the cup-bearer to offer it to Martin first, [he] wished to drink after the bishop’s blessing. Then Martin drank, and gave to his mass-priest the half part of the liquid which was in the goblet, because he knew that he was worthiest to drink after him; and they all wondered at that, and celebrated his resolution amongst all the household. Then he said to the emperor, even as it happened to him afterwards, that if he went to battle, as he intended,
Ælfric confuses the two emperors Valentinian I and Valentinian II; Biggs (1996: 300), who noticed this, explains: “Valentinian I ruled from 364-375, and although Valentinian II became Augustus in name in 375, in reality he did not begin exercising power until after the death of Maximus in 387. Ælfric, however, is apparently unaware that he is conflating two emperors of the same name and that he has in fact reversed the chronology. Without this information, Ælfric’s version makes good sense: he relates how Martin prophesies that a first emperor will be conquered by a second and then continues with a story about this second emperor.”
against Valentinian, whom he had banished before
from his kingdom, that he would gain a victory,
but after a short time he would fall slain;
[SVM 20,9] and it happened just as Martin had prophesied to him.
He went to fight against that emperor afterwards,
and in the first assault he put Valentinian to flight,
but after about a year’s time he caught Maximus
within a city called Aquileia,
and there slew him, and afterwards succeeded to his kingdom.
[SDS 5,5] XXII. Once Martin travelled to Valentinian the emperor,
wished to speak with him for some need,
but his proud mind and his wicked consort,
who lived misled in the Arian heresy,
would not permit the holy bishop
to have entrance to announce his errand;
but the impious man commanded to lock him out,
because he knew that he would ask that
which he would not grant, and insulted the saint.
Then Martin came again for the same discourse
to the stubborn emperor, but they shut him out;
[SDS 5,6] and he thereupon turned to his accustomed resource;
he clothed himself with haircloth, and bestrewed himself with ashes,
and continued fasting with unceasing prayers,
[SDS 5,7-9] oð þæt an scinende engel on þam seofonan dæge him com to. and cwæð þæt he to þam casere ferde. and him ælc get sceolde beon open togeanes. and þæs modigan caseres mod beon geliðegod. Se bisceop þa ferde swa swa him bebead se engel. and him weard geopenod ælc get togeanes. oð þæt he færlice stod ætforan þam casere. Þa yrsode se casere | for his ingange.  
and holde hine wylcumian. ac þær wearþ godes miht swá þæt heofonlic fyr hangode ofer his setl. and þæt setl ontende. and hine sylfne wolde gif he þe hraðor ne arise. aworpenre readynsse. and þone bisceop cyste. abliged þurh god. þone he ær geteohhode mid teonan to forseonne. He behet þa geswicennyse sona þam bisceope. and he him æcles þinges tiþode. ærþpanþe he hine bæde þæs þe he frymdig wæs. and him freondlice tospæc. and him fela gifa bead. ac he heora onfon nolde. [SVM 21,1] XX.III. Oft martinus geseah englas him to cuman swa þæt hi hiwcuðlice to þam halgan spræcon. [SDS 13,8] and on sumne sæl sum engel him sæde hwæt þa oþre bisceopas on heora sinoþe spræcon and se halga da wiste hwæt hi þær ræddon

677 hraðor | K raðer 684 XX.III. Oft ] The numeral and both punctus are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink. 685 hi hiwcuðlice | K hi him cuðlice
[SDS 5,7-9] until a shining angel on the seventh day came to him, and told him go to the emperor, and every gate should be open in his way, and the stubborn emperor’s mind should be softened.

Then the bishop went even as the angel told him to, and every gate was opened in his way until he suddenly stood before the emperor. Then the emperor was angry at his entrance, and would not welcome him, but there appeared a miracle of God, in that heavenly fire hung over his throne, and inflamed the throne, and would have [inflamed] himself if he had not risen quickly, his anger being cast away, and kissed the bishop, having been terrified by God, whom he had before determined to scorn with insult.

Then he promised amendment to the bishop immediately, and granted him everything which he asked him for before he asked him, and spoke friendly to him and offered him many gifts, though he would not receive them. [SVM 21,1] XXIII. Often Martin saw angels come to him so that they spoke familiarly to the saint; [SDS 13,8] and on one occasion one angel told him what the other bishops had spoken in their synod, and then the saint knew what they had decided there,

þurh þæs engles segene. þeah þe he sylf þær ne cóme.

[SDS 13,6] Þa halgan apostolas petrum and paulum he geseah gelome.
swa swa he sæde him sylf sulpicio | þam writere
þe hine axian dorste ælces þinges þe he wolde.
[SDS 13,1-3] Se ylca sulpicius and sum oðer broðor
sæton sume dæg swiðe | afyrhte

ætforan martines Inne. and he hi þærute nyste.
þa gehyrdon hi motian wið martine lange.
and he wæs ana ár innan þam huse belocen.
Eft þa ða he uteode þa axode sulpicius.
and hine eademlicice bæd þet he him geopenian sceolde

hwa him wiðspræce. [SDS 13,4-5] þa wandode he lange
him þet to secgenne. ac he sæde swaþeah.
ic halþe eow nu. þet ge hit nanum ne secgan.
Maria cristes modor com to me hider.
mid twam oprum mædenum tecla and agne.
and na on þisum anum dæge ac oft rádllice ær
hi comon to me. and he sæde him eac
hwile heora wlitu was. and hu hi wæron gescrydde.
[SDS 13,6] XXIII. Eac swilce þa deofla mid heora searocræftum
him comon gelome to. and he onconeow hi æfre.

695 Inne] So in MS. 708 XXIII. Eac] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged.

704 tecla] St Thecla, an early martyr of the first century and pupil of St Paul the Apostle; see CE s.v. Thecla of Iconium.
704 agne] St Agnes, a fourth-century Roman virgin martyr; see NEB s.v. Saint Agnes.
708 Eac ...] Ælfric interspersed information from SVM 21,1-2 in this section.
by the angel’s saying, though he did no go there himself.

690 [SDS 13,6] The holy apostles Peter and Paul he saw frequently, even as he said himself to Sulpicius the writer, who dared to ask him anything that he wished.

[SDS 13,1-3] The same Sulpicius and one other brother sat one day, greatly afraid,

695 before Martin’s room, and he did not know they were outside; then they heard conversation with Martin for a long time, and he had been locked in alone in the house before. Afterwards, when he came out, then Sulpicius asked and humbly asked of him that he would reveal to him

who had been speaking with him; [SDS 13,4-5] then he hesitated long to tell him that, but he said nevertheless, “I entreat you now that you tell it to no one.

Mary, Christ’s mother, came to me here with two other virgins, Thecla and Agnes,

700 and not on this one day but often before readily they have come to me.” And he told him also what their appearance had been and how they were clothed.

[SDS 13,6] XXIV. Likewise also the devils with their treacherous arts came to him frequently, and he always recognized them,

690 SDS 13,6] Nec uero illo tantum die, sed frequenter se ab eis confessus est uisitari: Petrum etiam et Paulum Apostolos uideri a se saepius non negauit. Iam uero daemones, prout ad eum quisque uenisset, suis nominibus increpabat. Mercurium maxime patiebatur infestum, Iouem brutum atque hebetem esse dicebat. 693 SDS 13,1-3] Ceterum hoc, quod dicturus sum, Sulpici, hoc te – me autem intuebatur – teste perhibeo. Quodam die, ego et iste Sulpicius pro foribus illius excubantes, iam per aliquot horas cum silentio sedebamus, ingenti horrore et tremore, ac si ante angeli tabernaculum mandatas excubias duceremus, cum quidem nos, clauso cellulae suae ostio, ibi esse nesciret. 2. Interim conloquientium murmur audimus et mox horrore quodam circumfundimur ac stupore, nec ignorare potuimus nescio quid fuisset diuinum. 3. Post duas fere horas ad nos Martinus egreditur. Ac tum eum iste Sulpicius, sicut apud eum nemo familiaris loquebatur, coepit orare ut pie quaerentibus indicaret, quid illud diuinum fuisset horribilis quod fatebamus nos ambo sensisse, uel cum quibus fuisset in cellula conlocutus: teneum enim nos scilicet et uix intellectum sermocinantium sonum pro foribus audisse. 700 SDS 13,4-5] Tum ille, diu multum que cunctatus – sed nihil erat quod ei Sulpicius non extorqueret inuito (incredibiliora forte dicturus sum, sed Christo teste non mentior, nisi quia quidam est tam sacrilegus, ut Martinum aestimet fuisse mentitum). 5. «Dicam, inquit, uobis, sed uos nulli quaeso dicatis: Agnes, Thecla et Maria me cum fuerant.» Referebat autem nobis uultum atque habitum singularum. 708 SDS 13,6] Nec uero illo tantum die, sed frequenter se ab eis confessus est uisitari: Petrum etiam et Paulum Apostolos uideri a se saepius non negauit. Iam uero daemones, prout ad eum quisque uenisset, suis nominibus increpabat. Mercurium maxime patiebatur infestum, Iouem brutum atque hebetem esse dicebat.
forþanþe him nan deofol ne mihte bediglian hine sylfne. ne on agenre edwiste ne on þrum hiwe.

[SVM 22,1-2] Mid þusend searocraeftum wolde se swicola deofol ðone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican.
and hine gesewenlicne on manegum scinhwum

bam halgan æteowde. on þæra hæþenra goda hiwe.
hwilon on ioues hiwe. þe is gehaten þór.
hwilon on mercuries. þe men hatað oþon.
hwilon on ueneris þære fulan gyden.
þe men hatað fricg. and on manegum oþrum hiwum

Mid þusend searocraeftum wolde se swicola deofol þone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican.
and hine gesewenlicne on manegum scinhwum

Martinus þær togeanes mearcode hine sylfne
symle mid rodetaen. and sang his gebedu
unforht þurhwunigende. and æfre on god truwigende.

Pa þa se deofol | geseah þet he hine bedydrian ne mihte
mid his searocraeftum. þa sæde he him hospword.
and mid manegum talum hine tynde foroft.
ac he næs gestirod for his leasu talum.

[SVM 22,3] Sume munecas eac þe on þam mynstre wunodon sædan to soðan þet hi swutollice gehyrdon.

hu se deofol þreade mid dyrstigu stemnu
ðone halgm martinum. forþam þe he hæfde mid him
sume underfangene. þe synfulle wæron.
and æfter heora fulluhte fela to yfele dydon.
and sæde openlice hwæt heora ælces syn wære.


731 halgm] (sic), also K

712 Mid ... talum] Cf. the discussion of the Roman Gods in this passage above, p. 130.
because no devil could hide himself from him,
neither in his own substance, nor in any other form.
With a thousand treacherous arts the deceitful devil would
entice the holy man in some way,
and visible in diverse illusions
showed himself to the saint, in the shape of heathen gods,
sometimes in Jove’s form, who is called Thor,
sometimes in Mercury’s, whom one calls Odin,
sometimes in Venus’, the foul goddess,
whom one calls Frigg, and in many other shapes
the devil transformed himself in the bishop’s sight.
Martin marked himself against this
always with the sign of the cross, and sang his prayers,
enduring fearlessly, and ever trusting in God.
When the devil saw that he could not delude him
with his treacherous arts, then he spoke to him words of contempt,
and often insulted him with many disputes,
but he was not vexed by his deceitful disputes.
Some monks who lived in the monastery also
told truthfully that they had clearly heard
how the devil threatened with presumptuous words
the holy Martin, because he had with him
some included [brothers] who were sinful,
and did many evil things after their baptism,
and said openly what the sin of each of them had been.
Then Martin answered the wicked devil,

710 SVM 22,1-2  Frequenter autem diabolus, dum mille nocendi artibus sanctum uirum conabatur
inludere, uisibilem se ei forma diuersissimis ingerebat. Nam interdum in Iouis personam, plerumque
Mercuri, saepe etiam se Veneris ac Mineruae transfiguraturn uultruis offerebat; aduersus quem
semper interritus signo se crucis et uorationis auxilio protegebat. 2. Audiebantur plerumque
couicia quibus illum turbu daemonum protetris uocibus increpabat; sed omnia falsa et uana
cognoscens, non mouebatur obiectis. 728 SVM 22,3 ] Testabantur etiam aliqui ex fratribus
audisse se daemonem protetris Martinum uocibus increpantem cur intra monasterium aliquos
ex fratribus, qui olim baptismum diuersis erroribus perdidissent, concures posse recepisset, ex-
ponentem crimina singulorum; 735 SVM 22,4 ] Martinum diabolo repugnantem respondisse
constanter antiqua delicia melioris uitae conversazione purgari, et per misericordiam Domini
absoluiendos esse peccatis qui peccare desierint. Contra dicente diabolo non pertinere ad ueniam
criminosos, et semel lapsis nullam a Domino praestari posse clementiam, tune in hanc uocem
fertur exclamasse Martinus:
and cwæð þæt þa ealdan synna mid heora gecyrrednysse.
and betteran drohtnunge. mihton beon adylgode.
and þæt godes mildeheortnysse hi mihton beon alysde. K 94v
fram heora synnum. þa þa gi heswicon yfeles.

Se deofol þa clypode and cwæð him togeanes.
þæt þa leahterfullan næron nanre miltsunge wurde.
and þa þæt ænige aslidan. þæt hi eft ne sceldon æt drihtne habban ænigne miltsunge.
[SVM 22,5] Pa cwæð martinus to þam manfullan eft ðus.

þæah þu earming woldest on þisum endnextan timan
manna ehtnysse geswican. and þine dæda behreowsian.
ic on god truwode. þæt ic þe millsunge behete.
Eala hu halig dyrstignysse be drihtnes arfestnysse
he geswutelode his swidlican lufe
750 þæah þe he þa fremminge forðbringan ne mihte.
[SVM 24,4] XXU. ON sumne sæl eft sibæan com se swicola deofol
in to þam halgan were. þæt he on his gebedum was.
mid purpuræ gesceryd. and mid kynelicum gyrlum.
mid gyldenum cynehelme. and mid goldfellenum sceon.
755 and mid blyþre ansyne. on micelre beorhtnysse.
[SVM 24,5] Pa ne cwæð. hi heora naðor nan word to æfrum 190r
to langere hwile. and þa embe lang cwæð
se deofol ærest to þam drihtnes men.
Ocnaw nu martine þone ðe þu gesihst. K 95r
760 ic eom crist. þe astah to þisre worulde.
and ic wolde geswutelian me sylfne ærest þe.
[SVM 24,6] Martinus þa suwode. and se swicola eft cwæð.
and said that the old sins – by their conversion
and better life – might be deleted
and through God’s mercy they might be absolved
from their sins when they ceased from evil.

Then the devil cried and answered back to him
that the wicked were not worthy of any mercy,
and when they once relapsed, that afterwards they should not
have any mercy from the Lord.

[ SVM 22,5] Then Martin spoke again to the wicked [one] thus:

“If you, wretched, would in this end time
cease from the persecution of men and repent your deeds,
I am confident in God that I might promise you mercy.”

Oh, how holy boldness by God’s mercy
he manifested in his great love,
even though he could not accomplish the act.

[ SVM 24,4] XXV. Again some time after this the deceitful devil came
to the holy man where he was in his prayers,
clothed in purple, and with kingly garments,
with a golden crown and with gold leaf shoes,
and with a blithe countenance in great brightness.

[ SVM 24,5] Then neither of them spoke any word to the other
for a long while, and then after a long time spoke
the devil first to the Lord’s man:
“Acknowledge now, Martin, him whom you behold.
I am Christ, who came down to this world,
and I wished to show myself to you first.”

[ SVM 24,6] Then Martin kept quiet, and the deceitful [one] said again:

744 SVM 22,5 ] Si tu ipse, miserabilis, ab hominum insectatione desisteres et te factorum tuo-
rum, uel hoc tempere cum dies iudicii in proximo est, paeniteret, ego tibi, uere confusus in
Domino Jesu Christo, misericordiam pollicerer. O quam sancta de Domini pietate praesumptio, 751 SVM 24,4 ] Non praetere-
undum autem uidetur quanta Martinum sub isdem diebus diabolus arte temptauerit. Quodam
enim die, praemissa prae se et circumiectus ipse luce purpurea, quo facilius claritate adsumpti ful-
goris inluderet, ueste etiam regia indutus, diademate ex gemmis auroque redimitus, calceis auro
inlitis, sereno ore, laeta facie, ut nihil minus quam diabolus putaretur, orantii cellula adstitit. 756 SVM 24,5 ] Camque Martinus primo aspectu eius fuisset hebetatus, diu murum silentium
ambo tenuerunt. Tum prior diabolus: agnosce, inquit, Martine, quem cernis: Christus ego sum; descensurus ad terram prius me manifestare tibi ului. 762 SVM 24,6 ] Ad haec cum Martinus
taceret nec quidquam responsi referret, iterate ausus est diabolus professionis audaciam: Martine,
quid dubitas? Crede, cum uideas! Christus ego sum.
Hwæt twynað þe martine. gelyf. ic eom crist.

[SVM 24,7] Da underget se halga wer þurh haligne gast.

765 þæt hit se sylfa deofol wæs. na his drihten. and cwap. Ne sæde na ure drihten þæt he mid cynehelme.

766 oððe mid purpuran gescryd. cuman wolde to us. and ic ne gelyfe þæt he to us cume

buton on þam ylcan hiwe þe he on þrowode.

770 and butan he æteowige þa ylcan dolhswæde þære halgan rode þe he on ahangen wæs.

[SVM 24,8] Se deofol þærrihte fordwán swa swa smic.

of þæs halgan gesihðe. and þæt hus afylde

mid ormætum stence. þæt man eðe mihte witan

775 þæt hit se deofol wæs. þe hine dwelian wolde.

and his sæde martinus Sulpicio þam writere.

[SVM 21,2] XXUI. ON sumne sæl com se deofol. mid swyðlicre grimetunge.

in to þam halgan were. and hæfde ænne oxan horn on hande.

and cwap to martine. Hwæt is þin miht nu

780 ða ænne man ic ofsloh of þinre hiwædene nu.

and wæs his swyðre hand swilce geblodegod.

[SVM 21,3-4] Da clypode martinus his munecas him to.

and sæde hwæt se deofol him swutolode. K 95v

and het georne secan hwa þær ofslagen wære.

785 Wæs ða an hyrman to wuda afaren.

777 XXUI. ON] Numeral and punctus are in a brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink. 783 hwæt ] K hwat 783 swutolode ] K swutolode
“What makes you doubt, Martin? Believe, I am Christ.”

Then the holy man perceived, by the Holy Ghost, that it was the same devil, not his Lord, and said:

“Our Lord did not say that He with a crown, or in purple clothes would come to us, and I do not believe that He come to us save in the same form in which He suffered, and unless He show the same scars of the holy cross on which He was hung.”

The devil vanished straightaway like smoke from the saint’s sight, and the house was filled with an immense stench, so that men could easily know that it was the devil who had wished to deceive him; and Martin told this to Sulpicius the writer.

On one occasion the devil came with horrible roaring to the holy man, and had in his hand a horn of an ox, and said to Martin, “Where is your power now, when I have slain a man of your household now?”, and his right hand was as if blood-stained.

Then Martin called his monks to him, and told what the devil had revealed to him, and had them search carefully who was there slain. There was a servant, [who had] gone to the wood,
se læg gewundod  be þam wege samcucu .
and he þa sæde þa  þa he his oxan ræpte .
þa scóc an his heafod .  and mid þam horne hine þyde .
on þæt ge|weald swiðe .  and he þa sona gewat . 190v
[ SVM 21,5] Fela þing wiste  se halga wer on ær
lange ær hi gelumpon .  and þam geleaffullum munecum
sæde þa þing  þe him geswutelode wæron .
and hit syþþan swa ºeode  swa he him ær sæde .
[SVM 23,1-2] XXUII . ANatolius hatte  sum hiwigende munuc
iunglicre ylde  se wunode same hwile
wið martines mynster  mid anum mæran ealdre
clarus gehaten .  and behyddhe his yfelynysse .
[SVM 23,3-4] He æteowde þa wiðutan  ealle eadmodnyss .
and unsæððignysse .  and sæde ða æt nextan
þæt him englas wið sprecon .  and gewunelice foroft .
Eft þa on fyrste  þa he furðor dwelode .
he sæde þæt he dæghwamlice  betwux drihtne .
and him ferdon heofonlice englas .  and he sylf an witega
unleaslice wære .  ac him gelyfde clarus .
He gehet him þa godes yrre .  and yfela þreala
hwi he rolde gelyfand  þæt he halig wære .
[SVM 23,5] and cwæð ða æt  nextan .  Þæt him cuman sceolde  K 96r
on þære ylcan nihte  from þam ælmihtigan gode
heofonlic reaf .  and he mid þam gescryd
betwux him wunigende  godes mihte æteowde .

778  þyde J  þyddde  794  XXUII . ANatolius ] The numeral and punctus are in brown ink, the
initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.  805  yfela ] K yfela
and he lay wounded by the way, half-dead, 
and then he told that when he was yoking his oxen, 
one shook its head and struck him with its horn 
with great force; and then he died soon.

[SVM 21,5] The holy man knew of many things before, 
long before they happened, and to the faithful monks 
he told the things which had been revealed to him, 
and afterwards it always happened as he had told them.

[SVM 23,1-2] XXVII. Anatolius was the name of one professing monk, 
of young age, who lived for some time 
close to Martin’s monastery with an illustrious elder 
called Clarus, and hid his evilness.

[SVM 23,3-4] Outwardly he showed all humility 
and innocence, and at last he said 
that angels had spoken with him, and commonly very often. 
Then after some time, when he erred more, 
he said that daily – between the Lord and himself – 
heavenly angels travelled, and he himself a prophet 
truly would be, but yet Clarus believed him.

Then he promised him God’s anger and evil punishments 
if he would not believe that he was holy; 
[SVM 23,5] and at last said that there should come to him 
in the same night from the almighty God 
a heavenly robe; and he, clothed with it, 
living amongst them, would manifest God’s power.

790 SVM 21,5 ] In Martino illud mirabile erat quod non solum hoc, quod supra rettulimus, 
sed multa istius modi, si quotiens accidissent, longe antea praeuidebat aut sibi nuntiata fratibus 
indicabat. 794 SVM 23,1-2 ] Clarus quidam adulescens nobilissimus, mox presbyter, nunc felici 
beatus excessu, cum, relictis omnibus, se ad Martinum contulisset, breui tempore ad summum 
 ridei uirtutumque omnium culmen enituit. 2. Itaque cum haud longe sibi ab episcopi monasterio 
tabernaculum constituisse multique apud eum fratres commorarentur, iuuenis quidam ad eum 
Anatolius nomine, sub professione monachi omnem humiliatem atque innocentiam mentitus, 
accessit habituatique aliquandiu in commune cum ceteris. 798 SVM 23,3-4 ] Dein, procedente 
tempore, angelos apud se loqui solere dicebat. Cum fidem nullus adhiberet, signis quibusdam 
plerisque ad credendum coartabat. Postremo eo usque processit ut inter se ac Deum nuntios 
discurre praedicaret, iamque se unum ex profetis haberì uolebat. 4. Clarus tamen nequaquam 
ad credendum cogi poterat. Ille ci iram Domini et praeentes plagas, cur sancto non crederet, 
comminari. 807 SVM 23,5 ] Postremum in hanc uocem erupisse fertur: ecce hac nocte uestem 
mihi candidam Dominus de caelo dabit, qua indutus in medio uestrum diversabor; idque uobis 
signum erit me Dei esse uirtutem, qui Dei ueste donatus sim.
Hwæt þa on middre nihte wearð þæt münstær astyrod.
and wearð micel gehlyd. hlihhendra deofla.
and þæs muneces cyte mid leohhte wearþ afyllæd.
and he eode sylf ut mid þam scinnendan reafe.
and anum oprum munecæ þa mærþa æteowde.
Þær comon þa má. and clarus æt nextæn.
and sceawodon mid leohhtæ þone scinnendan gyrlæn.
hit wæs swiðe hnesce. scinnende swa swa purpura.
ac hi ne mihtæn tocnawæn hwilces cynnes hit wære.

815
and anu m þæs munecæ þa mærþa æteowde.
þæt comon þa má. and clarus æt nextæn.
and sceawodon mid leohhtæ þone scinnendan gyrlæn.
hit wæs swiðe hnesce. scinnende swa swa purpura.
ac hi ne mihtæn tocnawæn hwilces cynnes hit wære.

820
hú hi ne mihtæn undergoþæn buton hit | wære reaf. 191r
ne mid heora grapunge. ne mid heora sceawunge.
[SVM 23,9] þa gewærad him on mergæn þæt hi þone munuc læddæn
to þam hælagæn martæn. ac se munuc nolde.
cwææd þæt he ne moste to martæn cuman.
forþænde he wiste þæt he mid feondlicæm cæfte
ne mihte bedyddæn martæs gesiðæn.
Hi þa hine tugæn unþæances þiderweard.
and þæt reaf sonæ of heora gesiðæ Fordwæn.
and wæs ðæa geswætelod his scæft. and hiwæn. K 96v

830
Þas mihta we tellæ to martæs geearnungæm.
þæt se deofol ne mihte his gedwimæ bedigliæn
gif he become ætforæn his gesiðæ.
[SVM 24,1] On þam ylcan timæn wæron opre gedwolæn
antæcristæs limæ mid arælasæ hiwænæ.

835
sum wæs on hispanæ þæ ðe forþæon þæt landfolæ.

818 hnesæ K Knesæ 821 grapunge J Kgrapunge 821 sceawunge K Ksceawunge 830 mihta K mihtæ

835 sum wæs on hispanæ }Ælfric omits the name; in SVM the false prophet is named Anatolius, see SVM 23,2. This passage alludes to BS Mt 7.15, where Christ warns of false prophets (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 89 n. 137).
Lo, then at midnight the monastery was aroused,
and there was a great noise of mocking devils,
and the monk’s cell was filled with light,
and he himself went out with the shining robe,
and showed the glorious sights to another monk.

Then there came more, and Clarus at last,
and examined the shining garment by the light;
it was very soft, shining like purple,
but they could not make out of what kind it would be,
nor could they perceive more than that it was a robe,
either by their touch, nor by their sight.

Then it happened to him in the morning that they led the monk
to the holy Martin, but the monk would not,
saying that he could not go to Martin,
because he knew that he with his diabolic craft
could not deceive Martin’s vision.

Then they dragged him there against his will,
and at once the robe vanished from their sight,
and then his sorcery and hypocrisy was manifested.

Those mighty deeds we count among Martin’s merits,
that the devil could not conceal his delusions
if he came before Martin’s sight.

At that same time there were other deceivers,
limbs of the antichrist, with infamous pretension;
one was in Spain who seduced the people of the country,
and mid manegum gedwimorum ði bedyrode lange.
and cwæð. ðæt he wære helias se witega.
[SVM 24,2] He cwæð. eft syþþan ðæt he crist sylf wære.
and þa sum bisceop for his bilewitnisse.
840
gelyþde þam hiwere. and hine to him gebæd.
and he wearð for þam gedwylde adraefed of his anwealde.
[SVM 24,3] Sum oþer gedwola wæs eac on eastdæle.
se cwæð. ðæt he wære iohannes se fulluhtere.
eac swilce lease witegan ær þisre worulde geendunge
on gehwilce land cumað. and þone geleafan amyrðæ.
oþ ðæt antecrist sylf endenext becyndæ.
[SEP 10] XXUIII Martinus com hwilon to middes wintres timan.
to anum preostlife. and hi gelogodon þa his bæd
on þæs mynstres spræchuse. and þær micel fyr wæs gebet.
850 ða woldon ða preostas him wurdlice beddian.
and þær micel streaw to his beddinga.
and þær fyres ne gymdon | þe on þære flora wæs.
[SEP 11] Eft þa þa se halga wer com. | þa towærp he ðæt streaw
191v
eall of þære beddincge. forþanþe he oftost læg
855 uppon anre hæræ on þære baran flora.
ða onscunede he þa softnisse. þære sellcudan beddinge.
and læg on þære flora. swa swa we her beforan sædon.
ðæt inn wæs swyþ þe nearo. and þær lagon stoccas.
and þa on middre nihte þa men fastost slepon.
860 þa wearð ðæt fyr ontend swyðe færlicum bryne.

847 XXUIII Martinus | The numeral is in brown ink, the initial is in red ink and slightly enlarged.
848 bed | K bed | 853 streaw | K streaw | 856 onscunedæ | K onscunode
849 spræchuse ] Ælfric translates the Latin secretarium, which corresponds to a sacristy, where church vestments and other precious items are stored, and where the church service is prepared (see the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, s.v. ‘sacristy’). Note in this section the bolted door which prevents Martin from his flight from the fire.
and long beguiled them with many delusions, and said he would be Elias the prophet.

[SVM 24,2] Again afterwards he said he would be Christ himself, and some bishop, because of his simplicity, believed the pretender and prayed to him, and he was driven from his government for that heresy.

[SVM 24,3] There was also one other heretic in the Eastern part, who said he would be John the Baptist; so likewise false prophets before this world’s ending shall come in every land and mar the faith until the antichrist himself shall come at last.

[SEP 10] XXVIII. Once Martin came at the time of midwinter to a priest’s house, and so they prepared his bed in the monastery’s secretarium, and a great fire was lit there.

Then the priests wished to bed him worthily, and brought much straw for his bedding, and disregarded the fire which was on the floor.

[SEP 11] Afterwards, when the holy man came, then he threw the straw out of the bedding altogether, because he most often lay upon a hair-cloth on the bare floor.

Thus he shunned the softness of the unaccustomed bedding, and lay on the floor, even as we have said here before.
The room was very narrow and logs were lying there, and at midnight, when men were fastest asleep, then the fire was kindled with a very sudden burning

\[838\] SVM 24,2 Quod cum plerique temere credidissent, addidit ut se Christum esse diceret; in quo etiam adeo inlusit ut eum quidam episcopus Rufus nomine ut Deum adoraret: propter quod eum postea episcopatu deiectum vidimus. 842 SVM 24,3 Plerique etiam nobis ex fratribus retulerunt eodem tempore in Oriente quendam extitisse qui se Iohannen esse iactauerit. Ex quo coniceremus possimus, istius modi pseudoprofetis existentibus, Antichristi adventum imminere, qui iam in istis mysterium iniquitatis operatur. 847 SEP 10 Cum ad dioecesim quandam pro sollemni consuetudine, sicut episcopis visitter ecclesias suas moris est, media fere hieme Martinus ueniit, mansionem ei in secretario ecclesiae sibi parauerit multumque ignem scabro iam et pertenui pauimento subdiderunt; lectum ei plurimo stramine extruxerunt. Dein, cum se Martinus cubitum conlocasset, issuetam mollitatem strati male blandient horrescit, quippe qui nuda humo, uno tantum cilicio supericeto, acubare consueuerat. 853 SEP 11 Itaque quasi accepta inuria stramentum omne proiecit; casu super fornaculam partem paleae illius, quam removersat, aggessit. ipse, ut erat moris, nuda humo ex lassitudine itineris urguisse re- quieuit. Ad medium fere noctem per interruptum, ut supra diximus, pauimentum ignis aestuans arentes palae adprehendit.
and þæt litle hus mid þam lige afylde.

and þær næs nan man mid him on þam huse.
and he on þam færlícæn gelimpe gelæhte þa dura.
and ne mihte þa scyttelsas unsyttan swa hræde.
and se lig him wand wælhrœowllice onbutan
swa þet him forburnon on þam bæce his reaf.
and he for ðam bryne utbrecan ne mihte.
He bêpohete þa hine sylfne. and geseah þet he ne mihte
þurh nænne fleam. þam fyre ætwíndan.
ac þurh godes mihte he hit moste oferswyðan.
[SEP 13] Forlét þa dura ða. and tomiddes þam lige
to þam ælmihtigan gode anmodlice clypode.
and on þære frecednysse fæstmod þurhwunode.
and þær wearð þa geworden micel wundor þurh god.
swa þet hine forbeah on ælce healfe þet fyre.
and he orsorh abád. on þam bryne middan.
þurh drihtnes mihte swilce he on deaweære.
þa wurdon his munecas awrehte mid þam fyre.
þær þær hi lagon. þa þa hi þone lig gesawon
and tobræcan þa dura. and tobrudon þet fyre.
and martinum gelæhten of þam lige middan.
Hi wendon þet he ware witodlice forþærnd.
on swa langsúnum bryne þonne þet bræstliçendig fyr
on slæpe hi awrehte.

Cited in Mitchell (OES § 2567) as one example where “temporal/causal þonne clauses referring to the past in which a ‘perfect meaning’ is the only satisfactory one.”
and filled the little house with the flame.

[SEP 12] Then Martin was awakened by the flame, and there was no man in the house with him, and in the sudden accident he seized the door, and could not un-shoot the bolts quickly enough, and the flame wound fiercely about him so that his robe burned on his back, and he could not break out because of the heat. Then he bethought himself, and saw that he could not by any kind of flight escape the fire, but through God’s power he might overcome it.

[SEP 13] Then he left the door, and in the midst of the flame cried persistently to the almighty God and continued steadfast in the peril, and then a great miracle happened through God, in that the fire avoided him on either side, and he remained secure in the midst of the heat, through the Lord’s power, as if he were in dew. Then his monks were awakened by the fire where they lay; when they saw the flame and broke open the doors and parted the fire, and dragged Martin from the midst of the flame, they thought that he had truly been burned in so long a burning, when the crackling fire awakened them from sleep, [SEP 14] and he said afterwards that he had felt the burning of the fire about him

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862 SEP 12] Martinus somno excitus re inopinata, ancipiti periculo et maxime, ut referebat, di-abolo insidiante adque urguente praeuentus, tardius quam debuit ad orationis consilium congruit auxilium. Nam erumpere foras cupiens, cum pessele quem ostio obdiderat diu multumque luctatus, gratissimum circa se sensit incendium, ita ut uestem, qua indutus erat, ignis absumpserit. 872 SEP 13] Tandem in se reversus, non in fuga, sed in Domino sciens esse praesidium, scutum fidei et orationis arripiens mediis flammis torus ad Dominum conuersus incubuit. Tum uero diuini-tus igne submoto, innoxio sibi orbe flammarum, orabat. Monachi autem qui pro foribus erant, crepitante et conluctante incendii sono, obseratas efiringunt fores, demotoque igne de mediis flammis Martinum auferunt, cum iam penitus esse consumptus tam diuturno incendio putaretur. 885 SEP 14] Ceterum, uerbis meis Dominus est testis, mihi ipse referebat et non sine gemitu fatebatur in hoc se diaboli arte deceptum, ut excussus e somno consilium non haberet quo per fidem et orationem periculo repugnaret; denique tam diu circa se sacuisse ignem, quamdiu erumpere ostium turbatus mente temptauerit.
swa lange swa he wan   wið þære dura scyttelsas .
[SEP 15] Sona swa he hine bletsode .   and gebæd hine to gode .
þa beah eall se lig    abutan him aweg .

890   and him þuhte swilce he wære    on wynsumum deawe .
He sæde eac foroft    mid incundre geomerunge .
þæt se swicola deofol   hine beswáç fornean .
þa þa he of þam slaæpe asceacen    weard swa færlice .
þæt he bone ræd ne cuþe   þæt he hine swa hraþe gebæde .

895   ac to late began    hine gebiddan . to gode
þæt he hine alysde .   of þæs liges frecednysse .
Be þam meg undergitan    se þe | þas bóc ræt .
þæt martinus næs   þurh þa micelan frecednysse
to forwyrdre gecostnod .   ac was afandod

900 [BS 2 Cor 11.25] swa swa se apostol paulus   on his pistole sæde .
þæt he sylf wunode   on sægrunde middan
ofer dæg and   ofer niht .    ungederod þurh god .
[SDS 1,1] XXUIII . Martinus eode    mid his munecum sume dæg
to cyrcanwerd    on wintres timan .

905 þa com þær sum þearfa    healf nacod him togeanes
biddende georne   þæt he him sumne clæð sealde .
[SDS 1,2] Þa het martinus   his ercediacon sona
þæt he butan yldinge   þone þearfan scrydde .
and eode efter his wunon    into þam spræchuse .

910 and þæt wunode ana    of þæt he wolde mæssian .
[SDS 1,4] Þa nolde se ercediacon    þone þearfan scrydan .

887 dura ] K duru 903 XXUIII . Martinus ] The numeral and punctus are in a brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.

900 BS 2 Cor 11.25 ] There is no mentioning of St Paul in Severus, so Ælfric must have inserted the section, or he found it in his original.
so long as he was striving with the bolts of the doors. [SEP 15] As soon as he blessed himself and prayed to God, all the flame about him bent away, and it seemed to him as if he were in a pleasant dew. He said also very often with inward lamentation that the wily devil had almost deceived him, when he was so suddenly shaken out of sleep that he did not know the wisdom of praying soon enough, but too late began to beseech God that He would deliver him from the peril of the fire. May it be understood by him who reads this book that Martin was not through that great peril tempted to his destruction, but was tried, [BS 2 Cor 11.25] even as the apostle Paul said in his epistle, that he himself abode in the midst of the sea-depths a day and a night, unharmed through God. [SDS 1,1] XXIX. One day Martin went with his monks towards the church in wintertime; then a pauper came there towards him, half-naked, begging earnestly that he would give him some clothing. [SDS 1,2] Then Martin bade his archdeacon immediately that he should without delay clothe the pauper, and went after his wont into the secretarium, and stayed there alone until he would say mass. [SDS 1,4] But the archdeacon would not clothe the pauper,

and se þearfa bestæl in to martine.
and to him bemænde þæt him were þearle cól.
[SDS 1,5] Martinus þa sona hine sylfe unscrydde
under his ceppan digellice. and dyde on þone þearfan
his agen reaf. and het hine útgán.
Pa æfter lytum fyrlste com se ercediacon.
and cwæð þæt hit tima ware þæt he into cyrcan eode.
þam folce to messigenne. and godes mærsume dón.
[SDS 1,6] Martinus him cwæð to þæt he || ne mihte na gán 192v / K 98v
æror to cyrcan. ær se þearfa ware gescryd.
[SDS 1,7] and se ercediacon ne underget. þæt he wiðinnan his ceppan
nacod þær sæt. and sæde þæt he nyste
hwær se þearfa ware. and þa cwæð martinus.
925 sy þæt reaf gebroht hraðe hider to me.
ne ateorað us na þearfa to scrydenne.
[SDS 1,8] Se ercediacon þa yrsigende eode.
and brohte an reaf ungerydelic him to
wáclic and lytel. mid lytlan wurðe geboht.
and mid fullum yrre æt his fotum lede and cwæð.
Hér ís reaf. and her nis nan þearfa.
[SDS 1,9] Þa næs se halga wer for his wordum astyród.
ac het hine anbidian þærute sume hwile.
wolde þæt he nyste þæt he nacod ware.
935 He scrydde hine ða mid þam ylcæn reafe.

915 ceppan] K ceppan 920 gán] K has gán, but gán was probably intended by the scribe, the attempt of a stroke is discernible 931 is] K is
913 were] Added also by Skeat.
and the pauper stole in to Martin,
and before him bemoaned that he would be very cold.

Then Martin immediately unclothed himself
under his cape secretly, and put on the pauper
his own robe, and bade him go out.
Then after a short time the archdeacon came
and said that it would be time that he should go into church
to say mass for the people and do honour to God.

Then Martin said to him that he could not go
sooner to church before the pauper would be clothed,
and the archdeacon did not perceive that he under his cape
there sat naked and said that he did not know
where the pauper was, and then Martin said,
“Let the robe be brought quickly here to me,
it will not trouble us to clothe a pauper.”

Then the archdeacon, becoming angry, went
and impatiently brought him a robe,
mean and small, bought with little cost,
and with great ire laid it at his feet and said:
“Here is a garment, and here is no pauper.”

Then the holy man was not upset by his words,
but bade him wait outside for him for a while,
wishing him not to know that he was naked.

Then he clothed himself with the same robe,
Æt þære ylcan mæssan þry munecas gesawon.

and an þære preosta. and án of þam nunnum.

bufan martinus heafde swilce an byrnende cliwen.

swa þet se lig abråd bone loc up feor.

and ne moste na má manna þas mihte geseon.

[SDS 2,3] XXX. ON þam ylcan timan an wær wæs geuntrumod
euantius gehaten. swyðe yfele gelread.

| and wende him his deaðes swyðor þonne his lifes. K 99r

He wæs swyðe cristen. and sende þa to martine

bæd his neosunge. and se biseop ferde sona

to þam seocan menny ac he sona onget

martines mihte ærþam þe he to midwege come.

and wearð sona gehæled þurh þæs halgan mihte.

[SDS 2,4-5] XXXI. Eft þæs on mergen þa martinus fundode.

þa wearð an cnapa of þæs þegenes hiwredene.

þurh næddran geslit nealice adyd.

swa þet þet attor smeh geond ealne þone lichaman.

and wæs eall | toblawen. on anre bytte gelicnysse. 193r

Se hlaford þa euantius gelæhte þone cnapan.

and bær to martine micclum truwigende

þet him unacamendlic näre þone cnapan to gehælenn.

Se halga wer þa sona sette his hand on þone cnapan.
and went to church and soon said mass. During the same mass three of the monks saw – and one of the priests, and one of the nuns – above Martin’s head something like a burning clew, in that the flame drew the hair up far, and no more men might see this miracle.

He was a good Christian, and sent for Martin then bade his visitation, and the bishop immediately went to the sick man, but he soon perceived Martin’s power before he had come midway, and was healed soon through the saint’s power, and went towards him and received him reverently.

Then the lord, Evantius, took the boy and carried him to Martin, greatly trusting that it would not be impossible for him to heal the boy. Then right away the holy man laid his hand on the boy,

Quo quidem die – mira dicturus sum –, cum iam altarium, sicut est sollemne, benedicere, globum ignis de capite illius uidere, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret. 2. Et licet celeberrimo factum die in magna populi multitudine uiderimus, una tantum de uirginibus et unus de presbyteris, tres tantum uidere de monachis. Ceteri cur non uiderint, non potest nostri esse iudicii. Per idem fere tempus, cum Euanthius auunculus meus, uir, licet saeculi negotiis occuppatus admodum Christianus, grauiissima aegritudine extremo mortis periculo coepisset uergere, Martinum eucuat. Nec cunctatus ille properauit. Prius tamen quam medium uiae spatium uir beatus euolueret, uirututem aduentiens sentit aegrotus, receptaque continuo sanitate uenientibus nobis obuiam ipse processit. Altera die, redire cupientem magna prece tenuit, cum interim unum et familia puerum letali ictu serpens perculit. Quem, iam examinem ui ueneni, ipse Euanthius suis uenis inflata ante pedes sancti ui, nihil illi impossible confusi, exposuit. Iamque se malum serpens per omnia membra diffuderat: 5. cerneris omnibus uenis inflatatam cutem et ad utris instar tensa uitalia. Martinus porrecta manu uniuersa pueri membra pertractans, digitum prope ipsum uulnusulcum quo bestia uirus infuderat fixit.
and hreipode eall his lima. and æfter þam sette
his finger on þa wunda. þe se wurm toslát.
[SIDS 2,6-7] Hi gesawon ða ealle þet þet attor fleow ut
of eallum his limum. þurh þa lytlan wunde.
swylce of anre ædran mid his agenum blode.

and se snapa | gesund | up arás.
and hi þa martinum micclum herodon.
[SIDS 3,1] XXXII. Se halga wer ferde hwilon þet folc to lærenne
geond his bisceoprice þa abidon his geferan
for sumere neode bæftan. and he sylf råd forð.

[SIDS 3,2] þa comon him togeanes þara cempena fær.
on cynelicum cræte. and hi ne cuþon martinum.
Martinus rad him wið ungerydelice gescryd
mid sweartum claþum. þa scyddon þa mulas
þe þet cræt tugon durh his tocyme afyrhte.

[SIDS 3,3] and tomengdon þa getogu. þet hi teon ne mihton.
Da wurdon ða cempan wodlice astyrode.
[SIDS 3,4] and gelæhton martinum. and hine lange swunong.
mid swallow. and mid stafum. and he suwode æfre
swilce he ne gefredde heora swingla nateshwon.

and hi þæs þe woddran ænron him togeanes.
and hetelícicr beoton þone halgan wer.
[SIDS 3,5] Da comon his geferan and fundon hine liçgenne
and touched all his limbs, and after that laid his fingers on the wound which the worm had bitten. [SDS 2,6-7] Then they all saw that the venom flowed out of all his limbs through the little wound as if from a vein, with his own blood; and the boy arose sound, and then they greatly praised Martin. [SDS 3,1] XXXII. Once the holy man journeyed to teach the people throughout his bishopric, and his companions remained behind for some need, and he himself rode on. [SDS 3,2] Then suddenly a company of soldiers came towards him in a royal cart, and they did not know Martin. Martin rode towards them, poorly clothed in black clothes; then the mules shied which drew the cart, frightened at his coming, [SDS 3,3] and entangled the traces, so that they could not pull. Then the soldiers became furiously upset [SDS 3,4] and seized Martin, and scourged him a long while with whips and with staves, and he was silent the whole time, as if he did not feel their blows at all, and for this they were all the more mad at him, and more furiously beat the holy man. [SDS 3,5] Then came his companions and found him lying.

960 and touched all his limbs, and after that laid his fingers on the wound which the worm had bitten.
965 and the boy arose sound,
and then they greatly praised Martin.
970 [SDS 3,2] Then suddenly a company of soldiers came towards him in a royal cart, and they did not know Martin.
975 [SDS 3,3] and entangled the traces, so that they could not pull. Then the soldiers became furiously upset [SDS 3,4] and seized Martin, and scourged him a long while with whips and with staves, and he was silent the whole time, as if he did not feel their blows at all, and for this they were all the more mad at him, and more furiously beat the holy man. [SDS 3,5] Then came his companions and found him lying.
on blodigum limum. and tobeatenum lichaman.
and hofon hine up on his assan sola.

985
and aweg efston þa stowe onscunigende.
Da cempan þa woldon mid þam cræte forð.
[SDS 3,6] ac þa mulas ealle endemes astifodon
to þære | eorþan afæstnode. swylce hi ærene | wæron.  K 100r / 193v
Hi beoton þa mid swipum. and mid saglum.
þa mulas ealle endemes. ac hi æfre stodon
on þan ylcan stede swilce anlicnyssa.
[SDS 3,7] þa cempan þa æt nextan onscunigende þurh þa nytena
þæt hi mid godcundre mihte gefæstnode wæron.
[SDS 3,8] and begunnon to axienne æt oþrum wegfarendum
hwæt se man wære þe hi swa wælreowlcne beoton.

990
Hi beoton þa mid swipum. and mid saglum.
þa mulas ealle endemes. ac hi æfre stodon
on þan ylcan stede swilce anlicnyssa.
[SDS 3,7] þa cempan þa æt nextan onscunigende þurh þa nytena
þæt hi mid godcundre mihte gefæstnode wæron.
[SDS 3,8] and begunnon to axienne æt oþrum wegfarendum
hwæt se man wære þe hi swa wælreowlcne beoton.

995
Him wearð þa ges´æd þæt wære martinus.
[SDS 3,9] and hi sona urnal ealle him æfterwerd.
mid duste bestreowode. and dreoriglice wepende
þæt hi þone halgan wer swa huxlice tawoden.
and lagon æt his fotum mid feorhte astrehete.
biddende his milsunge. þæt hi moston foran.
and cwædon þæt hi sylfe wæron swyðor þæs wyrþe.
þæt hi stodon astifode on stana gelicynysse.
oþþe þæt seo eorðe hi ealle forswulge.
1000
Martinus þa mildsode þam mannum þærihte.
and lét hi foran forð mid heora cræte.

989 saglum]  K has saglum (cf. Skeat) and above l. 1010 æfterwerd ]  K æfterweard 999 tawoden ]
K tawoden / tawoden (it is not discernible whether the scribe intended o or a, in both instances)
1000 lagon ]  K lagon / logon not discernible whether scribe intended o or a  1000 feorhte ]  K
forhte / ferhte  1006 heora ]  K hera
with bleeding limbs and beaten body,
and soon lifted him up on his ass,
and hastened away, shunning the place.
Then the soldiers wished to go on with the cart,
but all the mules alike stiffened,
fastened to the earth as if they were brazen.
Then they beat with whips and rods
all the mules alike, but they stood always
in the same place, like statues.
Then at length the soldiers understood because of the beasts
that they had been fastened by divine power,
who the man would be whom they had so cruelly beaten.
Then it was told them that it would be Martin,
and they all immediately ran after him,
bestrewed with dust, and mournfully weeping
that they had so disgracefully ill-treated the holy man,
and lay at his feet, stretched out in fear,
begging for his mercy, that they might proceed,
and saying that they themselves rather deserved
to stand stiffened in the likeness of stones,
or that the earth should swallow them all.
Then Martin pitied the men right away,
and let them go forth with their cart,

987 SDS 3,6 ] Quae cum omnia solo fixa ac si aenea signa riguissent, adtollemissit altius uocem
magistris, flagris hinc atque inde resonantibus, nihil penitus mouebantur. Consurgunt deinde
omnes pariter in uerbera; consumit Gallicas mularum poena mastigias; 992 SDS 3,7 ] tota
rapitur silua de proximo, trabibus iumenta tunduntur. Sed nihil penitus saeuae manus agebant:
uno atque eodem in loco stabant fixa simulacra. Quid agerent infelices homines nesciebant, nec
iam ultra dissimulare poterant quin, quamlibet brutis pectoribus, agnoscerent diuino numine
se teneri. 994 SDS 3,8 ] Tandem ergo, in se regressi, coeperunt quaerere quis ille esset quem
in eodem loco ante paululum cecidissent, cum percontantes cognoscunt ex uiantibus Martinum
a se tam crudeliter uerberatum. Tum uero apparent omnibus causa manifesta; nec ignorare iam
poterant quin ob illius utri inuariam tenerentur. 997 SDS 3,9 ] Igitor omnes rapidas nos passibus
consequuntur. Conscribi facti ac meriti, pudore confusi, flentes et pulvere, quo se ipsi foedauerant,
caput atque ora conspersi, ante Martini se genua prouoluunt, ueniam precantes et ut eos abire
sineret postulantes: satis se uel sola conscientia dedisse poenarum, satisque intellexisse quomodo
ipsos uiuos absorbere terra potuisse, uel ipsi putius amissis sensibus in immobilem saxorum nat-
uram rigescere debuisse, sicut adfixa locis quibus seterant uimenta uidisset: orare se atque
obsecrare ut indulgeret sceleris ueniam et copiam praestaret abeundi.
and heora mulas þa mihton gan sona
þe ær stodon astifode on stana gelicynsse .
[SDS 3,10] Se halga wer swaþeah wiste  þæt hi wæron gefæstnode .
ærþan þe hi | him to comon .  and þæt he cydde his geferum .  
K 100v
forðanþe he fela þing  feorran oft wiste
ærþanþe hit gewurde  þurh witigendlicne gast .
[SDS 4,4] XXX III . Se halga wer ferde  mid his fare hwilon .
þa com him færinga  to micel folc manna .
1015 and þone feld afyldon  þær martinus ferde
swilce for wundrunga  þæs halgan weres .
Þa wæron ealle hæðena .  and þone hælend ne cuþe
nan man of þære wic  þe hi of wæron .
1020 and drihtnes word bodode  þam dysegum hæþenum .
and mid gelomum sicctungum  sarlice mænde .
þæt swa micel meniu  þone ælmihtigan god ne cuþe .
[SDS 4,6] Wæs ða godes foresceawung .  þæt an wif brohte ðyder
hire deadan suna líc  þe little ær forðferde .
1025 and astrehtum handum  to þam halgan were cwæd .
We witon leof  þæt ðu eart  unleslice godes freond .
gehæl me minne sunu  forþan þe he is me ancenned .
[SDS 4,7] and þæt hæþene folc  fylste eac þam wife .
Þa genam se halga wer  on his handa þæt lic .
1030 and þa þa he up aras  gebededum | gebede  K 101r

K 101r

comon ] K coman / comon  1013 XXX III . Sc ] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink.  1014 færinga ] K færinga; (Skeat has ferunga (sic!))  1018 wæron ] K comon
and then their mules were able to go immediately, which before had stood stiff in the likeness of stones.

[SDS 3,10] The holy man knew, however, that they had been fastened before they had come to him, and related that to his companions, because he often knew many a thing from afar before it happened, through the spirit of prophecy.

[SDS 4,4] XXXIII. Once the holy man was travelling with his company, when suddenly there came a great crowd of men to him, and filled the field where Martin went along as if out of astonishment at the holy man. They were all heathens, and did not know the Saviour, not any man of the town where they were from.

[SDS 4,5] Then Martin perceived that he should perform a miracle, and preached the Lord’s word to the foolish heathen, and with frequent sighings grievously lamented that such great crowd would not know the almighty God.

[SDS 4,6] It was God’s providence that a woman brought thither her dead son’s body who had departed shortly before, and with outstretched hands said to the holy man: “We know, dear man, that you are truly God’s friend, heal my son for me, for he is my only-begotten [son],”.

[SDS 4,7] and the heathen people also helped the woman. Then the holy man took the body in his hand, and with bended knees prayed to God, and when he arose, his prayer being ended,
he ageaf þone cnapan cucenne his meder.
[SDS 4,8] Þa heþenan þa clypodon mid healicre stemne. 
and cwædon mid geleafan þæt crist ware sod god.
1035 and feollon heapmælum ealle to þas halgan were soneum.
biddende hine georne þær he dyde hí chrístene.
He eac ne wandode on þam widgillan felda
þa heþenan to crístiæronne þa þa hi on crist ryfrdon.
ac he hi ealle sone samtingas gecristnode.
1040 [SDS 9,1] XXXIII. Eft on sumne sæl þær martinus siddode
mid his geferum. þa com þær færlícere yrnan
an þærle wid cu. and þa þe hyre fyligdon
clypodon to þam halgan were þet he hine warnian sceolde.
forþan þe heo hnat yfele ælcene þe heo gemette.
1045 [SDS 9,2] Heo cóm þa yrndende mid egeslicum eagum.
ac se halga wer sone hét hí ætstandan.
and heo þærrihte gehyrsumode his hæse and stod.
[SDS 9,3] Þa geseah se halga wer þet þær sæt an deofol
on þære cu hrycge. and cwæd to þam scuccan.
1050 Gewit þu wælhreowa aweg of þam nyten
and þis unsæððige hryþer geswíc to dreccenne.
Se manfulla gast þa martine gehyrsumode.
[SDS 9,4] and heo oncneow sone K 101v
þet heo alysed wæs. and læg æpenod
1055 ætforan his fotum. of þære ægelnu
þa het se halga wer þet heo geþwenda to þære heorde.
and heo swa bilewite swa scep. beah to þære dræfe.

1040 XXXIII. Eft] The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink. 1042 wod] K wód 1045 Heo] K He
he gave the boy back to his mother alive.

[SDS 4,8] Then the heathen cried with a loud voice, and said with faith that Christ would be the true God, and in crowds all fell at the holy man’s knees, earnestly praying him that he would make them Christians. Nor did he hesitate in the wide field to christen the heathen, since they believed in Christ, but he christened them all immediately.

[SDS 9,1] XXXIV. Again on a certain occasion, when Martin was travelling with his companions, then suddenly there came running a raving mad cow, and those who followed it cried to the holy man, that he should beware, because it thrust badly every one whom it met.

[SDS 9,2] Then it came running with horrible eyes, but the holy man instantly commanded her to stand still, and right away it obeyed his command and stood still.

[SDS 9,3] Then the holy man saw that a devil sat there on the cow’s back, and said to the demon: “Depart, you cruel one, away from the animal, and cease to vex this innocent cow.” Then the evil spirit obeyed Martin, and departed from the cow, [SDS 9,4] and it knew immediately that she was rescued, and lay outstretched before his feet, with received calmness. Then the holy man commanded it to go back to the herd, and it, as innocent as a sheep, turned towards the drove.

1033 SDS 4,8] Tum uero multitudo omnis, in caelum clamore sublato, Christum Deum fatheri; postremo, cuncti cateuati ad genua heii ruere coeperunt, fideliter postulantes ut eos faceret Christianos. 1040 SDS 9,1] Per idem fere tempus, Martino a Treueris reuertenti fit obuiam uacca quam daemon agitabat. Quae, relicto grege suo in homines ferebatur et iam multis noxie petulca confoderat. Verum ubi nobis coepit esse contigua, hi qui eam eminus sequebantur praedicere magna uoce coeperunt ut caueremus. 1045 SDS 9,2] Sed postquam ad nos toruis furibunda luminibus propius accessit, Martinus elevata obuiam manu pecudem consistere iberet: quae mox ad uerbum illius stare coepit immobile. 1048 SDS 9,3] cum interea uidit Martinus dorso illius daemonem supercedentem. Quem increpans, — «Discede, inquit, funeste, de pecude et innoxium animal agitare desiste.» Paruit nequam spiritus et recessit. 1053 SDS 9,4] Nec defuit sensus in bucula, quin se intellegeret liberatam: ante pedes sancti, recepta quiete, prosternitur; dein, iubente Martino, gregem suum petiti sequi agmini ceterarum oue placidior iun miscuit.
XXX.U. Martin

The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged slightly and the M’s legs are rounded.

The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.
XXXV. Once Martin also met some hunters; their dogs were then vigorously pursuing a hare over the broad field, and it doubled repeatedly, [it] thought to escape death through the doubling. Then the saint felt pity because of the hare’s peril and commanded the hounds to stop running, and to let the hare escape by flight.

Then the dogs stood, at the first word, as if their feet were fastened to the earth, and the hare went away from the dogs unharmed.

XXXVI. There was one worldly soldier who wished to be a monk, and laid down his weapons in God’s congregation, and turned to the monastic life before men, and built for himself a cell in privacy as if he could easily be an anchorite, and Martin had consecrated his wife to a nun’s life in a certain convent.

Then the devil sent such a thought into the monk that he wished to have his wife with him as a companion, and he went to Martin and revealed his reasoning to him. Then the holy man said that it was unbecoming that that woman should live with him again...

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Miles quidam cingulum in ecclesia, monachum professus, abiecerat; cellulam sibi eminus in remoto quasi eremita uicturus erexerat. Interea, astutus inimicus uariis cogitationibus brutum pectus agitabat, ut coniugem suam, quam Martinus in monasterio puellarum esse praeceperat, uoluntate mutata secum potius uellet habitare. Adit ergo Martinum fortis eremita et quid haberet animi confitetur. Ille uero uellementer abnuere feminam uiro rursus, iam monacho non marito, incongrua ratione misconeri. Postremo cum miles insisteret, adfirmans nihil hoc proposito esse nocitum, se solo coniugis uti uelle solacio, porro ne rursus se in sua revoluuerent non esse metuendum; se esse militem Christi, illam quoque in eadem militiae sacramenta iurasse: pateretur episcopus sanctos, sexum suum fidei merito ne-scientes, pariter militare.
1080 síððan he munuc wæs. and forwynde him þæs.
He swaleah burhwenode on his anwilnysse.
and cwæð þæt hit ne sceolde his munuchade derian
þæh þe he hire frofres and fultumes bruce.
þæt he eft nolde gecyrran to his earrum leahtrum.

1085 Þa þa he lange burhwenode on þære anwilnysse.
[SDS 11,3] þa cwæð se halga wer to þam hohtullan munece.
Sege me. ic þe axige gif þu æfre wære
oððe on gefeohte oþþe on ænigum truman?
[SDS 11,4] He cwæð þæt he ware witodlice foroft
ægþer ge on truman ge eac on gefeohte.

1090 Martinus þa cwæð to þam munece eft.
Gesawe þu ænig wif þa ðu wære on gefeohte
fohtan forð mid eow atogenum swurde?
[SDS 11,5] Þa scamode þam munece. and he swide þancode
þæt he mid gesceade oferswyðed wæs.
and þæt he his gedwylde ne moste. for | martyne folgian.
[SDS 11,6] Se halga wer þa cwæð. wif ne sceal na faran
to wera fyrdwicum. ac wunian æt ham.
forsewenlic biþ þæt werod þæt wifmenn feohtad.

1095 [SDS 11,7] feohete se cempa on fyrdicum truman.
and wif hi gehealde binnan wealle trymmince.
and heo hæfð hire wuldor gif heo hylt hire clænnysse
bæftan hire were. and þæt biþ hire miht.
and gefylled sige þæt heo geswen ne beo ute.

1100 [SDT 2,3] XXX.UII. Se halga bisceop wæs hwilon on carnótina byrig.

1083 þæah | Mitchell (OES § 3407-8) discusses the conjunction, which here seems to be in apposition with hit.

1096 martyne | K martine 1105 XXX.UII. Se | The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.
after he became a monk, and refused him this. Nevertheless, he continued in his self-will, and said that it should not harm his monkhood, though he should enjoy her comfort and support, [and] that he would not turn again to his former sins.

When he had long continued in this obstinacy, [SDS 11,3] then the holy man said to the persistent monk: “Tell me, I ask you, if you have ever been either in battle or in any cohort?”

[SDS 11,4] He said that he had truly been very often both in a cohort and also in battle.

Then Martin said to the monk again: “Did you see any woman when you were in battle, fighting with you, with drawn sword?”

[SDS 11,5] Then the monk was ashamed, and he thanked dearly, that he had been overcome by reason, and that he had been prevented from following his error because of Martin.

[SDS 11,6] Then the holy man said: “A woman should not go to men’s camps but remain at home; that army is contemptible in which women fight;

[SDS 11,7] let the soldier fight in the military cohort, and let the woman remain within the protection of the wall, and she shall have her glory if she maintains her chastity without her husband, and that shall be her strength, and perfect victory, that she be not seen outside.”

[SDT 2,3] XXXVII. The holy bishop was once in the city of Chartres

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1086  SDS 11,3  Tum Martinus (uerba uobis ipsa dicturus sum): – «Dic mihi, inquit, si umquam in bello fuisti, si in acie constitisti.» At ille respondens: – «Frequenter, inquit, in acie steti et in bello frequenter interfui.» 1089 SDS 11,4  Ad haec Martinus: – «Dic mihi ergo: numquid in illa acie, quae armata in proelium parabatur, aut iam adversus hostilem exercitum, contato comminus pede, destricto ense pugnabat, ullam feminam stare aut pugnare uidisti?» 1094 SDS 11,5  Tum demum miles confusus erubuit, gratias agens errori suo se non fuisse permissum, nec aspera increpatione uerborum, sed uera et rationabili secundum personam militis comparatione correctum. 1097 SDS 11,6  Martinus autem conuersus ad nos, sicut eum frequens fratrum turba uallauerat: – «Mulier, inquit, uiuorum castra non adeat, acies militum separata consistat; procul femina in suo degens tabernaculo sit remota: contemptibilem enim reddit exercitum, si uiuorum cohortibus turba feminea miscetur. 1100 SDS 11,7  Miles in acie, miles pugnet in campo; mulier se intra murorum munimenta continet. Habet et illa gloriam suam, si pudicitiam uiro absente seruauerit, cuius haec prima uirtus et consummata uictoria est non uideri.» 1105 SDT 2,3  Res in Carnutena gesta est ciuitate. Paterfamilias quidam duodecennem filiam ab utero mutam Martino coepit offerre, poscens ut linguam ligatam meritis suis sanctis uir beatus solueret.
mid twam oþrum bisceopum.  þa brohte sum man
his dohtor him to.  seo wæs dumb geboren
twelf wintre meden.  and martinum bæd
þet he þurh his geearnunge hire tungan unlysde.

[SDT 2,4] Þa wandode se bisceop.  ac hine bædon þa opre.
[SDT 2,5] and fylston þam fæder þet gefremode his bene.
Martinus þa hét þa meniu utgán.
buton þam bisceopum anum.  and hire agenre fæder.
astrehte hine sylfne þa.  swa swa his gewune wæs.

[SDT 2,6] and bletside ele.  and on hire mudder.
and mid his fingrum heold forewerde hire tungan.
[SDT 2,7] and befrán hi þa siddan hwæt hire fæder hatte.  K 103r
Þæt meden sæde sona hire fæder naman.
and hæfte hire spræce mid halre tungan.
[SDT 3,2] XXX UIII. Se halga wer bletside anum wife hwilon ele
on anum tæte þe we anpolan hataþ
to seocra manna neode.  swa swa heo sylf bæd.
and after þære bletsunge man bær þone ele hire.  195v
[SDT 3,3-4] Þa wæs se ele wexende ofer ealne þone weg.
swa þet he oferfeow.  and þeah ful to hire com.

1113 agenre] So in MS; also in K 1114 gewune] K gewuna 1115 syndrigum] k sundrigum 1121 XXX UIII. se] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged. 1122 anpolan] K anpollan
with two other bishops, when one man brought
his daughter to him, who was born dumb,
a girl of twelve winters, and besought Martin
that he, through his merits, would release her tongue.

Then the bishop hesitated, but the others begged him,
and helped the father that he should fulfill his request.
Then Martin bade the crowd go out,
save the bishops only and her own father;
then he outstretched himself, as was his wont,
in private prayers, and arose afterwards,
and blessed oil and poured it in her mouth,
and with his fingers held the tip of her tongue,
and after that asked her what her father was called.
The girl said her father’s name at once,
and had gained her speech with a hale tongue.

The holy man once blessed oil for one woman
in a vessel which we call ampulla,
for the need of sick men, so as she herself had asked,
and after the blessing the oil was brought to her.

Ille, cedens episcopis qui tum forte latus illius ambiebant, Valentino atque Vic-
tricio, inparem se esse tantae moli, sed illis quasi sanctioribus nihil impossible fatebatur. 1111 SDT
2,5] At illi, pias preces una cum patre supplici uoce iungentes, orare Martinum ut sperata
praestaret. Nec cunctatus ultra – utrumque praeclarum, et ostendendo humilitatem nec differ-
endo pietatem –, iubet circumstantis populi multitudinem submoueri; episcopis tantum et puell-
ae patre adsistentibus, in orationem suo illo more prosternitur. 1116 SDT 2,6] Dein pusillum
olei cum exorcismo praefatione benedicit, atque ita in os puellae sanctificatum liquorem, cum et
linguam illius digitis teneret, infudit. 1118 SDT 2,7] Nec fefellit sanctum uirtutis euentus:
patris nomen interrogat, mox illa respondit. Proclamat pater cum gaudio pariter et lacrimis,
Martini genua complexus, et hanc primam se filiae audisse uocem, cunctis stupemens, benedetur.
1121 SDT 3,2] Auitiani comitis uxor mihi mississe Martino oleum, quod ad diuersas morborum
causas necessarium, sicut est consuetudo, benediceret; ampullam uiream istius modi fuisset, ut
rotunda in uentrem cresceret ore producto, sed oris extantis concauum non repletum, quia ita
moris sit uascula conplere ut pars summa umbonibus obstruendis libera relinquatur. 1125 SDT
3,3-4] Testabatur presbyter uidisse se oleum sub Martini benedictione creuisse, quod, exun-
dante copia superne, diffueret eademque, dum ad matremfamilias uasculum referrebat, ferbuise
uiurate. 4. Nam inter manus pueri portantis ita semper exundasse oleum, ut omne illius uesti-
mentum copia superfusi liquoris operiret; matronam ita usque ad summum labrum plenum uas-
culum recepisse, ut presbyter hodieque fataur obdendi puzzuli, quo claudi diligentius seruanda
consuerunt, in uito illo spatum non fuisse.
[SDT 3,5] Óþerne ele he gebletsode on anre glæsan anpollan.
and gesette þone ele on anum egðyrle.
and þa afylde sum cnapa þet faet unwærlice
uppon þone marmstán. ac hit ne mhte toberstan.

[SDT 3,6] ne martines bletsung ne moste losían.
XXXIX Eac swylyce oþre menn on martines naman
wundra gefremodon swa swa se writere sêde
[SDT 3,7] þet sum hund burce hetelice on anne man.
þa het he on martines naman þone hund adumbian.
[SDT 3,8] and he sona suwode. swylyce he dumb wære.
[SDT 14,1] XL. Sume scypmen reowan on þære tyreniscan sê.
swa man farð to rome. and þa fœrlice com
swa mycel unweder him to. þet hi him ne wendon | þæs lifes. K 103v
1140 þa wæs on þære fare sum egyptisc mangære
ungefullod þa git. ac he mid fæstum truwan cwæð.
Eala þu martines god geneara us nu.
and seo sá sona swyðe smylte weard.
ablunnenre hreohnysse. and hi blide ferdon.
[SDT 4,1] XLI. Auitianus hatte sum hetol ealdorman.
wælhreow on his weorcum. se gewrað fela manna.

1132 XXXIX Eac ] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.
1136 swylyce he dumb] K swylyce dumb 1137 XL. Sume ] The numeral, punctus, and initial
are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged. 1145 XLI. Auitianus ] The numeral, punctus, and
initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.

1145 Auitianus ] A courtier (earl) at emperor Maximus' court, see Fontaine: 301 n. 7.
Other oil he blessed in an ampulla of glass, and set down the oil in a window, and then some boy unwarily knocked the vessel over onto the marble, but it could not break nor could it lose Martin’s blessing.

Likewise, other men in Martin’s name performed miracles, as the writer [Severus] said, then he commanded the dog in Martin’s name to hush, and was instantly silent, as if he were dumb.

Some shipmen were rowing on the Tyrrhenian Sea, as one sails to Rome, and suddenly there came such a great storm to them that they had no hope of life.

There was one Egyptian merchant in the vessel, unbaptized yet, but with a firm trust he said; “Oh you, God of Martin, protect us now!”, and instantly the sea became perfectly calm, the roughness ceasing, and they went on joyfully.
and on racenteagum gebrohte to þære byrig turonia
wolde hi þæs on mergen mislice acwellan
ætforan þære burhware. [SDT 4,2] þa wearð hit þam bisceope cuð.

1150 Þa smeade se halga wer hu he heora gehelpan mihte.
and eode to middre nihte ana to his gatum.
and þa þa he inn ne mihte. he anbidode þærute.
Wearð þa se caldorman awreht farlice þurh godes engel.
and he him granlice to cwæð. List ðu and rest þe
and godes þeowa lid æt þinum gatum.
[SDT 4,3] and he arás þa afyrht. and cwæð to his mannun.
þæt martinus were wiðutan his gatum.
and he gán to. and undón þa gata.
þæt se godes þeowa swylcne teonan leng ne þolode.
[SDT 4,4] Hi eodon þa út to þam inran gæte.
and sædon heora hlaforde þæt hi þær næne ne gesawon.
and cwædon þæt he sceolde on slæpe beon bepæht.
K 104r
Auitianus þa eode eft to his bedde.
and wearð eft of slæpe egeslice awreht.
[SDT 4,5] Hi þa eode elcodon. ac he eode sylf
to þam yttran gete. and efne he gemette
martinum þærute swa him geswutelod wæs.
He wearð þa ablicged. and to þam halgan were cwæð.
[SDT 4,6] Hwæt la leof hlaford. hwi dest þu swa?

geatum 1169 yttran] K uttran
and brought them in chains to the city of Tours,
intending to kill them cruelly in the morning
in the presence of the citizens; [SDT 4,2] then it became known to the bishop.

Then the holy man considered how he might help them,
and went alone to his gates at midnight,
and then when he could not get in he waited there outside.
Then the count was suddenly awakened by God’s angel;
and he said to him sternly: “You lie and rest,
and God’s servant lies at your gates.”;
[SDT 4,3] and then he arose terrified, and said to his men
that Martin was outside his gates,
and commanded them to go to and to undo the gates,
that the servant of God would not suffer such insult any longer.

Then they went out to the inner gate,
and told their lord that they did not see anyone there,
and said that he must have been deceived in sleep.
Then Avitianus went back to his bed
and was again awfully awakened from sleep,
and cried out to his men and said that Martin would stand
before his gates, and therefore [he] could
have no rest, neither of mind nor of body.

Then they still delayed, but he went himself
to the outer gate, and indeed he found
Martin there outside, as it had been revealed to him.

He was astonished then, and said to the holy man:
[SDT 4,6] “What ho, oh dear lord, why do you do thus?

Ne þearft þu nan word cwæðan. ne nanes þinges biddan.
ic wat hwæs þu gewilnast. ac gewend þe nu ham.

þe læs þe gode for yrre for þinum teonan me fordó.
[SDT 4,7] Se halga wer þa ham gewende sona.
and se ealdorman het on þære ylcan nihte
lætan ealle aweg. þa þa he wolde acwellan.
and he syll ferde afyrht of þære byrig.

[SDT 8,1] XLII. His wælhreownysse he cydde on gehwilcum burgum.
and symble he blissode on ungesæligra manna slæge.
ac ætforan martine he wæs mildheort.
and ne dorste on turonia don nane wælhreownysse.
[SDT 8,2] Se halga martinus com to him hwilon.

Se bisceop him andwyrde. Ne behealde ic na þe.
ac þone sweartan deofol þe sit on þinum hneccan
ic þe of ableow. [SDT 8,3] and se deofol swa aweg gewat.
| and his hiwcuðe setl sona þa forlét.
Auitianus soslice siðpan wæs mildheortra
of þam dæge æfre þe se deofol him fram wearð.

Auitianus soslice siðpan wæs mildheortra
of þam dæge æfre þe se deofol him fram wearð.

The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink. 1187 ormæte  K ormæte
You need not speak a word, nor ask for anything, 
I know what you desire, but turn home now, 
est God’s anger destroy me for your trouble.”

[SDT 4,7] Then the holy man turned home soon, 
and the commander gave order in the same night 
to let all those go away whom he had intended to kill, 
and he himself departed with fear from the city.

[SDT 8,1] XLII. He manifested his cruelty in every city, 
and always delighted in the slaughter of unfortunate men, 
but before Martin he appeared mild, 
and did not dare to commit any cruelty in Tours. 
[SDT 8,2] The holy Martin came to him once, 
and when he was going into his secretarium, 
he saw then a huge black devil sitting heavily on his back, and he blew upon him. 
Then Avitianus thought that he blew upon him, 
and said to the holy man: “Why do you look at me thus, saint?”

The bishop answered him; “I do not look at you, 
but at the black devil which sits on your neck; 
I blew him off of you.”, [SDT 8,3] and the devil departed thus, 
and instantly left his familiar seat. 
Avitianus truly was merciful afterwards, 
forever from the day the devil departed from him, 
either because he knew that he had been performing his will, 
or because the foul spirit was driven away from him 
through Martin’s power, and he was greatly ashamed

1176 SDT 4,7 Post discessum autem sancti, aduocat officiales suos, iubet omnes custodias relaxari, et mox ipse profisciscitur. Ita fugato Auitiano, laetata est ciuitas et liberata. 1180 SDT 8,1 Sed ut ad Auitianum recurram, qui, cum in omnibus locis cunctisque in urbis ederet crudelitatis sua in infanda monumenta, Turonis tantum innocens erat: et illa bestia, quae humano sanguine et infelicium mortibus alebat, mitem se atque tranquillum beato uiro praestabat. 1184 SDT 8,2 Memini quodam die ad eum uenisse Martinum. Quia ubi secretarium eius ingressus est, uidit post tergum ipsius daemonem mirae magnituidinis adsidentem. Quem eminus (ut uerbo, quia ita necesse est, parum Latino loquamur) exsufflans, Auitianus, se exsufflari existimans: — «Quid me, inquit, sancte, sic accipis?» Tum Martinus: — «Non te, inquit, sed eum qui ceruici tuae taeter incumbit.» 1192 SDT 8,3 Cessit diabolus et reliquit familiare subsellium; satisque constat post illum diem Auitianum mitiorem fuise, seu quod intellexit egisse se semper adidentis sibi diaboli voluntatem, seu quod immundus spiritus, ab illius concessu per Martinum fugatus, priuatus est postestate grassandi, cum erubesceret minister auctore nec ministrum auctor urgueret.
æs deofles manrædenne þe he on wæs of þæt.

[SDT 6,2] XLIII . Twa mila hæfte martinus fram his mynstre to turonian byrig þær se bisceopstol wæs. 
and swa oft swa he þyder ferde swa forhtodon þa deofla on gewitsecum mannum forþan de hi wiston his tocyme. 
and þa deofolseocan sora mid swidlicre grýmetunge forhtigende wærnon. | swa swa þa fordemdan þeofas. K 105r 
on þæs deman tocyme ofdrædde forhtigad. 
Donne wæs þam preostum cuð martinus tocyme ðurh þære deofla grýmetunge. þeah de hi hit ær nyston. 
[SDT 6,3] Swa oft swa he wolde adraefan deofla of þam witseocum. 
swa astrehte he hine sylfne on þære cyrcan flora. 
mid hæran gescryd. and mid axum bestreowod licende on his gebedum belocenum durum. 
[SDT 6,4] and þa deofla siþan of þam geswenctum mannum mid wundorlicum geberum wurdon him sora fram. 
[SDT 6,5] þæt se cwyde mihte beon on martine gefylled. 
þæt halige menn selon englum deman. 
[SDT 7,1] XLIII . Sum tún wæs on þam timan on þære senonican scíre þælce geare oftost wæs awest þurh hagol. swa þæt heora áeceræ ær wæron áproxene 
ær ænig ryftere þæt gerip gaderode.

1200 XLIII . Twa] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged. 
1217 XLIII . Sun] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged. 
1216 halige ... deman] Severus is referring to a phrase in BS 1 Cor 6.3.
of the devil’s serfdom in which he had been until then.

1200 [SDT 6,2] XLIII. Martin had two miles [to go] from his monastery to the city of Tours, where his episcopal see was, and as often as he went there the devils trembled in possessed men, because they knew of his coming, and soon the possessed men, with horrible roaring, were frightened, even as condemned thieves frightfully fear the judge’s coming.

Thus Martin’s coming was made known to the priests through the devil’s roaring, though they had not known it not before.

1205 [SDT 6,3] As often as he wished to cast out devils from the insane, thus he stretched out himself on the floor of the church, clothed with hair-cloth and bestrewed with ashes, lying in his prayers with locked doors,

1210 [SDT 6,4] and afterwards the devils of the afflicted men were soon driven away from them in a wonderful manner,

1215 [SDT 6,5] [so] that the saying might be fulfilled in Martin, that holy men shall judge angels.

1217 [SDT 7,1] XLIIII. At that time there was a town in the province of the Senones which most often was devastated by hail every year, so that their fields were spoiled before any reaper had gathered the harvest.
Martinus Þa gebæd þone mildheorton drihten for Þam geswenctum mannum. and syþþan of Þam dege geond twentig wintra fyrst Þe he wunode | on life ne com on Þam earde ðæn hagol syþdan. [SDT 7,3] Ac on Þam forman geare Þe he forðfaren wæs. com eft se hagol and hi yfele geswencte. Þet Þæs middaneard ongete martines forðsið. and his deað beweope Þe on his life blissode. [SDT 8,4] XLV. Sum deofolgild wæs swide feste getimbrod. and mid wundorlicum weorcstanum geworht cæftlice. and Þær manega gebroðra bogadan syþsan on martines timan. [SDT 8,5] Þa bead he anom mæspreoste marcellus gehaten Þe Þær wununge hæfde Þet he scelde towurpan Þet wundorlice deofolgild. Eft Þa se hæhta wer com. and Þet weorc stod gehál. Þa ciddhe Þam mæspreoste. [SDT 8,6] and he him cwæð to andsware Þet naht e þæt ne mihte ðænig cæmplic meniu swilc weorc tobreccan mid swa wundorlicum hæfe. Þe ne scelldon preostas Þæ þæt wærôn unstrange. ðæt untrume muneças. swa mycel weorc tobreccan. [SDT 8,7] Þa gewende martinus to his gewunelicum fultume. and wacode elt Þa niht on his gebedum ana. and sona Þæs on mergen. wearð swa micel storm.
Then the town-council sent a trusty messenger
to the holy Martin, praying for his help.
[SDT 7,2] Then Martin entreated the merciful Lord
on account of the afflicted men, and from that day on
for the time of twenty winters, while he remained in life,
there did not come any hail in that land afterwards.
[SDT 7,3] But in the first year after he was dead
the hail came again, and afflicted them evilly,
[sic] that this earth might know of Martin’s departure
and weep for his death, as it had rejoiced in his life.
[SDT 8,4] XLV. One idol was very firmly built,
and craftily wrought with admirable hewn stones,
and many brothers dwelt there afterwards,
in Martin’s time; [SDT 8,5] then he ordered a mass-priest
called Marcellus, who had his dwelling there,
that he should destroy that wondrous temple.
 Afterwards, when the holy man came and the work stood whole,
he chided the mass-priest, [SDT 8,6] and he said to him in answer
that any body of soldiers could not easily
break in pieces such a work of such wondrous weight,
neither could priests who were weak,
nor infirm monks break in pieces so great a work.
[SDT 8,7] Then Martin turned to his accustomed aid,
and watched all that night alone in his prayers,
and soon after in the morning there was so great a storm
æt eall æt ormæte weorc weard towend grundlunga.
[SDT 9,1] XLVI. | He wolde eac towurpan ænne wundorlicne swer
K 106r
ormætes hefes. ḥet ḥæþengild on stod.
ac he næfde ḥæs cræftes. ḥet he hine tocwysan mihte.
He gewende ḥa ēft to his gewunelicum gebēdum.
[SDT 9,2] and ḥær com gesewnlic eall swylc oþer swer
ufan of heofonum. and ḥe oþerne tosloh.
þeah ḥe he ormæte wære. ḥet he eall weard to duste.
Hit wære hwonlic geþuht ḥet ḥam halgan were
heofonlic mægen ungesewnlic þeowde.
butan mennisce eagan mihton eac geseon.
[SDT 9,3] XLUII. Sum wif wæs on blodryne þeard geswenct.
þa hreplode heo his reaf swa man ræt on þam godspelle
be sumum oþrum wife. and heo weard sona hal.
[SDT 9,4] XLUIII. Se halga martinus mid his muneçum stód hwilon
on þære éá ofre. and efne þær swam
an nādære wīð heora. ḥa cwæð se halga wer.
1c de beode on godes naman ḥet ḥu buge ongean.
[SDT 10,1-2] XL IX. ON easterdagu he wolde etan fisc gif he hæfde.

1247 XLVI. | He] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.
1248 ḥæþengild] K ḥæþengild 1258 XLUII. Sum ] The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.
1261 XLUIII. Se] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.
1268 Nædran ] K Næddran 1269 XLIIX. ON] The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.

1251 swylc] Mitchell (OES § 3323) discusses the usage of swylce (or swelce) as an indefinite or adverb/conjunction; here,
Mitchell claims, Skeat’s translation is wrong, and should be ‘a second such pillar, in all respects similar’. 1259 Sum wif ... ] The episode is indeed inspired by an episode in the New Testament (BS Mt 9.20-2, Mk 5.25-9, Lc 8.43-4), in which Christ likewise heals a woman afflicted with an issue of blood.
that all that enormous work was destroyed to the ground.

[SDT 9,1] XLVI. He also wanted to destroy a wondrous pillar
of immense weight on which the idol stood,
but he did not have the strength so as to be able to shatter it.

Then he turned again to his accustomed prayers,
[SDT 9,2] and there came visibly, just like it were another pillar
from above out of heaven, and demolished the other,
as though it were immense, so that it completely turned into dust.

It would seem slight that for the holy man
heavenly power should serve invisibly,
unless human eyes could also perceive
that heavenly power attends upon the holy Martin.

[SDT 9,3] XLVII. Some woman was severely afflicted with an issue of blood;
then she touched his garment, [just] like we read in the gospel
concerning some other woman, and she became whole immediately.

[SDT 9,4] XLVIII. The holy Martin once stood with his monks
on the riverbank, and truly there swam
a snake towards them. Then the holy man said:
“I command you in God’s name, that you turn back!”,
and the evil worm instantly turned, according to his word,
to the other bank, and they all wondered at that,
and then Martin said with great sadness:
“Snakes hear me, and men will not hear me.”

[SDT 10,1-2] XLIX. On Easter Days he intended to eat fish, if he had it;

1247 SDT 9,1] Aliam eius non dissimilem in simili opere uirtutem, Refrigerio adstipulante, per-
hibebo. Columnam immensae molis, cui idolum superstabat, parabat euertere, sed nulla erat fac-
ultas qua id daretur effectui. Tum ad orationem suo more conuertitur. 1251 SDT 9,2] Visam
certum est parilem quodammodo columnam ruere de caelo, quae impacta idolo totam illam in-
expugnabilem molem soluit in puluerem: parum scilicet, si inuisibiliter caeli uirtutibus utere-
tur, nisi ipsae uirtutes uisibiliter seruire Martino humanis oculis cernerentur. 1258 SDT 9,3]
Idem autem Refrigerius mihi testis est, mulierem profluuio sanguinis laborantem, cum Martini
uestem exemplo mulieris illius euangelicae contigisset, sub momento temporis fuisse sanatam.
1261 SDT 9,4] Serpens flumen secans in ripam, in qua constiteramus, adnabat: «In nomine,
inquit, Domini iubeo te redire.» Mox se mala bestia ad uerbum sancti retorsit et in ulteriorum
ripar, nobis inspectantibus, transmeauit. Quod cum omnes non sine miraculo cerneremus, al-
tius ingemens air: «Serpentes me audiunt, et homines non audiunt!» 1269 SDT 10,1-2] Piscem Paschae diebus edere consuetus, paulo ante horam refectionis interrogat an haberetur in
promptu. 2. Tum Cato diaconus, ad quem monasterii administratio pertinebat, doctus ipse pis-
cari, negat per totum diem sibi ullam cessisse capturam; sed neque alios piscatores, qui uendere
solebant, quicquam agere quisisse. uade, inquit, mitte linum tuum, captura proueniet.
on sumu easterdæge axode he þone profost hwæðer he fisc hæfde to þam freolsdæge.
and he to andsware cwæð. þæt hi ealle ne mihton ne fisceras. ne he sylf gefón ænne sprot.
Da cwæð se halga wer. [SDT 10,3] wurp ut nu þin net.
and þe fixnød becymð. and he cunnode þæs sona.
[SDT 10,4] Wærp þa út his net. and þær wearð oninnan an ormaete leax. and he hine up ateah bær ham to myn stre. and þam halgan gearcode.
[SDT 14,3] L. Licontius wæs gehaten sum geleafful þegen.
þa gelamp his mannun. þæt hi lagon calle on unasegndlicum broce. and he sende gewrit to martine sona sumes helpes biddende.
[SDT 14,4] Pa onget se halga wer þet hi wærón geþreade mid godcundre mihte. and þet he mihte earfodlice þære bene him getiðian. ac he ne aulan na swaþeah. mid seofonnihte fæstene him fore þingiende. oð þæt he beget þæs þe he biddende wæs.
[SDT 14,5] Licontius þa com and cydde þam halgan mid micelre þancunge. þæt his hiwraeden wæs
fram þam mænigfealdum brocan | þurh martinum alysed. K 107r
and brohte þam halgan an hund punda | to lace. 198r
Se halga wer þa nolde habban þone scæt. 
ne hine eac ne forseah. [SDT 14,6] ac sealde þæt feoh eall
1270 then on some Easter Day he asked the deacon whether he had fish for the feast-day, and he said in answer that they all could not – neither the fishermen, nor himself – catch one sprat. Then the holy man said: [SDT 10,3] “Cast out your net now, and the fish will come.”, and he tried that immediately. [SDT 10,4] Then [he] cast out his net, and there was inside an enormous salmon, and he drew it up, carried it home to the monastery and prepared it for the saint. [SDT 14,3] Licontius was the name of one believing thane; then it happened to his family that they all lay [sick] of an unspeakable disease, and he sent a letter to Martin right away, praying for some help. [SDT 14,4] Then the holy man perceived that they were afflicted by divine power, and that he could [only] with difficulty grant them the request, but he ceased not, nevertheless, to intercede for them with a seven nights’ fast, until he obtained that for which he was praying. [SDT 14,5] Then Licontius came and told the saint, with many thanks, that his household had been delivered from the manifold disease through Martin, and brought the saint one hundred pounds [of silver] as an offering. Then the holy man would not have the treasure, yet he also did not forsake it, [SDT 14,6] but gave all that money

for gehergodum mannum. and þa ðe on hæftnedum wæron.
and hi ut alysde of þære yrmðe swa.
Pa bædon þa gebroþra þone bisceop georne.
þet he þæs feos sumne dæl dyde into mynstre.
cwædon þet him gneære wære heora wist. and scrud.
Pa cwæð se halga wer him to andsware.

fede us ure cyrce. and scryde us ure cyrce.
and we of þysum sceatte naht us sylfum ne heoldon.
[SDT 14,7] Hwæt wille we lencg writan be martines wundrum
þonne sulpicius sæde. þet hi synd ungerime.
and nan spræc ne mæg his mihta areccan.

[SDS 4,1] forþan þe he maran mihte hæfde on his munuchade.
þonne on bisceophade. be ðam þe he sylf sæde.
[n.s.] ac we willað nu secgan be his forðsiðe.
[SET 6] LI. Martinus se eadiga wiste his geendunga
lange ðæ he forðferde of þysum life to criste.
and he cydde his forðsið sumum his gebroþrum.
Pa wæron on þam timan | æt condatensem mynstre
þa preostas ungehwære. and he þider síðode
wolde hi gesibbian ær his forðside.
and on sibbe forlætan. godes gelaþunge.

[SET 7] He ferde ða þiderwerd mid sumum gebroðrum.
þa geseah he scealfran swimman on anum flode.
and gelome doppetan adune to grunde

1308 LI. Martinus | The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged
and the legs are rounded. 1311 xt] K at 1317 doppetan] K doppettan
to afflicted men, and to those who were in captivity,
and thus redeemed them out of misery.

Then the brothers earnestly besought the bishop
that he would keep some part of the money in the monastery,
saying that it would be scanty for them, their food and clothing.

Then the holy man said to them in answer:

“Let our church feed us, and let our church clothe us,
and we will keep nothing of this treasure for ourselves.”

[SDT 14,7] What shall we write any longer about Martin’s miracles,
since Sulpicius said that they were numberless,
and no discourse could reckon his miracles,

[SDS 4,1] because he had greater power in his monkhood
than in bishophood, according to what he himself said,
[n.s.] but we will now speak about his departure.

[SET 6] LI. The blessed Martin knew of his ending
long before he departed from this life to Christ,
and he announced his departure to some of his brothers.

There were at that time at the monastery at Candes
some priests in discord, and he travelled there,
[and] wanted to reconcile them before his departure,
and to leave God’s congregation in peace.

[SET 7] Then he travelled there with some brothers;
when he saw some divers swimming in a river,
and repeatedly dipping down to the bottom,
èhtende þere fixa mid fræcra grædignysse.
Pa cwæð se halga wer to his geferum þus.

1320 Þas fugelas habbað feonda gelicynsse
þe syrwiað æfre embe ða unwaran.
and grædiglice fod. and gefangene fordoð.
and of þam gefangenum gefyllede ne beoð.

[SET 8] Pa bebead martinus þam mæðleasum scælfrum.

1325 þæt hi geswicon þæs fixnòdes. and sipédon to westene.
and þa fugelas gewiton aweg sôna to holte.
ealle | endemes. swa swa sé árwurða hét.
Mid þære ylcan hæse he afligde þa scælfran.
mid þære þe he deofla adraðfe of mannum.

and wunode þær sume hwile and gesibbode þa preostas.
Eft ða he ham wolde þa woreð he geuntrumod.
and sæde his gebroðrum þet he sceolde forðfaren.

[SET 10] Pa wurdon hi ealle geunrotsode swiðe.

1330 and mid micelre heofunge hine befrinane.
Eala þu fader hwi forlætst þu us.
oððe hwam betæhest þu us forlætene.
witodlice becumad to þinre eowde
reafigende wulfas. and hwa bewerad hi.

1335 Witodlice we witon þet þu gewilnast to criste.
ac þe synd gehealdene þine meda gewisse.
gemiltsa la ure swiðor þe þu forlætst.
[SET 11] Þa wearð se halga wer mid þysum wordum astyrod.

1319 geferum ] K ferum 1330 LII . Martinus ] The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink and its legs are rounded. 1334 geunrotsode ] K unrotsode 1336 forlætst ] K forlæts
pursuing the fish with bold greediness.
Then the holy man said thus to his companions:

1320 “These birds have a likeness to the fiends
who ever plot against the unwary,
and greedily catch, and destroy those caught,
and are not satisfied by the catch.”

SET 8 Then Martin commanded the immoderate divers
to desist from fishing and go to the desert;
and the birds immediately went away to the wood,
all together, even as the venerable [man] had commanded.
He put the divers to flight by the same command
with which he drove devils out of men.

SET 9 LI. Afterwards, Martin came to the monastery,
and abode there some while, and reconciled the priests.
When he wished to go home again, then he became sick,
and told his brethren that he should die.

SET 10 Then they all became very troubled,
and with great lamentation asked him:
“Oh, you father, why do you forsake us,
or to whom do you commit us forsaken?
There will certainly come to your flock
ravening wolves, and who will defend it?

SET 11 Then the holy man was moved by these words,
and clypode mid wope. and cwaed to his drihtne.

Drihten min hælend. gif ic nydbehete eom
git þinum folce. ne forsace ic na
gyt to swincene gewurde þin willa.
[SET 13] Ne ic ne beladige mine ateorigendlican ylde.
ic þine þenunga estful gefylde. under þinum tacnum
ic campige swa lange swa þu sylf hætst.
[SET 14] He lag þa swa forþ ane feawa daga
mid fefore gewæht. þurhwunigende on gebedum.
on stiþre hæran liegende. mid axum bestreowod.
[SET 15] Pa bædon þa gebroðra þet hi his bæd moston
mid waccre strewunge | huru underlegan. K 108v
ða cwaed se halga wer to þam wependum gebroðrum.
Ne gedafnað cristenum menn. buton þet he on duste swelte.
gif ic eow òtre bysne selle. þonne syngie ic.
He ne lét na of gebedum his unoferswiðdan gast.
ac he ætre openum eagem. and upahafenum handum.
his gebeda ne geswác. þa woldon þa preostas
þet he lage on òtre sidan. and gelihte hine swa.
þa cwaed se halga eft. Geþafiað ic bidde 199r
þet ic heofonan sceawige swíðor þonne eordan.
and min gast sy asend on his sidfæte to drihtne.
[SET 16] He gesæ ða standan swiþe gehende þone deofol.
and cried with weeping and said to his Lord:
1345 “Lord, my Saviour, if I am necessary
yet to Thy people, I shall not forsake
still to labour; Thy will be done;
[SET 13] I shall not make excuses on account of my failing age.
I have fulfilled Thy service devoutly; under Thy sign
I shall fight so long as Thou Thyself shalt command.”
[SET 14] Then he lay thus for a few days,
weakened with fever, continuing in prayers,
lying on harsh hair-cloth, bestrewed with ashes.
[SET 15] Then the brethren entreated that they might his bed
underlay at least with softer bedding.
Then the holy man said to the weeping brethren:
“It is not becoming for a Christian man, save that he die in dust;
if I provide you with any other example, then I would sin.”
He did not cease from prayers with his unconquered spirit
but always with open eyes and uplifted hands he
did not stop his prayers. Then the priests wished
that he should lie on the other side, and thus relieve himself.
Then the saint spoke again, “Allow me, I pray,
that I may look towards heaven rather than towards the earth,
and that my spirit be sent on its journey to the Lord.”
[SET 16] Then he saw the devil standing close by,

1348 SET 13] sic oravit dicens: «Grauis quidem est, Domine, corporeae pugna militiae et iam
satis est quod hucusque certau; sed si adhuc in eodem labore pro castris tuis stare me praecipis,
non recuso nec fatiscentem causabor aetatem. Munia tua devotus inplebo, sub signis tuis, quoad-
usque ipse tu iusseris, militabo, et, quamuis optata sit seni remissio post laborem, est tamen
animus uictor annorum et cedere nescius senectuti. Quodsi et iam parcis aetati, bonum mihi est,
Domine, uoluntas tua; hos uero, quibus timeo, ipse custodies.»
1351 SET 14 ] O uirum inef-
fabilem, nec labore uictum nec morte uincendum, qui in nullam se partem pronior inclinauerit,
 nec mori timuerit nec uiiere recusavit! Itaque cum iam per aliquot dies ui lebrum tenetur, non
tamen ab opere Dei cessabant: pernoctans in orationibus et uigilis fatiscentes artus spiritui seruire
cogebat, nobili illo strato suo in cinere et cilicio recubans. 1354 SET 15 ] Et cum a discipulis
rogaretur ut saltim utila sibi sineret stramenta subponi: Non decret, inquit, christianum nisi in
cinere mori; ego si aliu uobis exemplum reliquio, peccau.» 1355 SET 15 ] Oculis tamen ac manibus in caelum
semper intentis, inuictum ab orazione spiritum non relaxabat; et cum a presbyteris, qui tune ad
eum convenerant, rogaretur ut corpusculum lateris mutatione releuaret: «Sinite, inquit, sinite
me, fratres, caelum potius respicere quam terram, ut suo iam itinere iturus a Dominum spiritus
dirigatur.»
1366 SET 16 ] Haec locutus diabolum uidit propter adsistere. «Quid hic, inquit,
adstas, cruenta bestia? nihil in me, funeste, reperies: Abrahamae me sinus recipit.»
and he hine orsorhlice  axian ongan.

Hwæt stendst þu her  wælhlreowa deor.

ne gemest þu on me  þu manfulla ænig þincg.

Ic beo underfangen  on abrahames wununge.

[SET 17] and æfter þysum wordum  gewät seo sawl.
of þam geswenctan lichaman  gesælig to heofonum.

[GHF 1,48] On sunnan mergen he gewät  þa þa he wæs on ylde.
an and hundeahtaging wintre.  and æfter cristes þrowunge.

feower hund wintre.  and twelf on getele.

and fela | manna  þa gehyrdon on his forðside

singendra engla  swiðe hlude stemna

upon heanyse  geond þa heofonas sweægende.

swa hit on bocum sægð.  þe he him synd awritene.

[SET 17] His lic wearð gesewen  sona on wuldre
beorhtre þonne glæs.  hwittre þonne meolc.

and his andwlita scan  swiðor þonne leoth.

þa iu gewuldrod  to þam towerdan æriste.

[SET 18] Eala hwilc heofung  holdra geleaffulra
hlude þa sweægende.  and swiðost þære muneca

and mynecena wóp  on martines deaðe.

---

1368 stendst ] K stenst
and fearlessly he began to ask him:
“What so you stand here for, cruel beast?
You will not find anything in me, you evil one.

I shall be received in Abraham’s dwelling.”

[SET 17] And after these words the soul departed from the afflicted body, happily to heaven.

[GHF 1,48] On Sunday morning he departed when of age he was eighty-one winters, and after Christ’s passion four hundred and twelve winters by number;
and then many men heard at his departure very loud voices of angels singing sounding upon high through the heavens,
as it is said in books which are written about him.

[SET 17] His body soon appeared in glory,
brighter than glass, whiter than milk,
and his face shone more than light,
then already glorified for the future resurrection.

[SET 18] Alas, what lament of the devoted [and] faithful
was loudly sounding then, and most of all the monks’
and nuns’ weeping at Martin’s death.
[GVM 1,4] LIII. *Sum biseop seuerinus on þære byrig colonia haliges lifes man gehyrde on ærne mergen swide hludne sang on heofonum. and þa gelangode he him to his ercediacon. and axode hine hwæþer he þa stemne gehyrde. þaes heofonlican dreams. He andwyrde and cwæð. Þet he his nan þincg ne gehyrde. Þa het se biseop þet he heorcnode geornlicor. he stod þa and hlyste. on his stæfe hliniende. and ne mihte nan þing þære myrhþe gehyran. þa astrehton hi hi begen biddende þone ælmihtigan þet he | moste | gehyran þone heofonlican dream. K 109v / 199v he hlyste þa siððan. and sæde þet he gehyrde singendra stemne. swegen on heofonum. and nyste swa þeah hwæt ða stemna waron. Seuerinus ða cwæð. ic þe sece be þam. martinus se eadiga of þysum middanearde gewát. and nu englas singende his sawla ferið mid him to heofonum. and se hetela deofol mid his unrihtwisum gastum. hine wolde gelettan. ac he gewat gescynd awæg fram þam halgan. and nan þing his agenes on him ne gemette. Hwæt bið be us synfullum. nu se swicola deofol swa mærne sacerd derian wolde.
LIII. One bishop Severinus in the city of Cologne, a man of holy life, heard in the early morning a very loud singing in the heavens, and then he summoned to him his archdeacon, and asked him whether he had heard the voice of the heavenly rejoicing. He answered and said that he did not hear anything of it. Then the bishop bade him to listen more carefully; then he stood and listened, leaning on his staff, and could not hear that mirth. Then they both prostrated themselves, praying the Almighty that he might hear the heavenly rejoicing; then he listened again, and said that he heard voices of singers, sounding in heaven, and did not know, however, what the voices were. Then Severinus said: “I tell you about this; the blessed Martin departed from this world, and now singing angels carry his soul with them to heaven, and the malicious devil with his unrighteous spirits wanted to hinder him, but he departed ashamedly, away from the saint, and did not find anything of his own in him. What will become of us sinful [ones], now that the guileful devil thought to tempt so great a priest?”

Beatus autem Severinus Colonensis civitatis episcopus, vir honestae vitae et per cuncta laudabilis, dum die dominico loca sancta ex consuetudine cum suis clericis circuiret, illa hora qua vir beatus obiit audivit chorum canentium in sublimi. Vocatoque archidiacono, interrogat, si aures eius percuterent voces, quas ille adventus audiret. Respondit: ‘Nequaquam’.

The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.

I.e. St Ambrose, bishop of Milan (339-397); see NEB s.v. *Saint Ambrose.*
Then the archdeacon immediately sent for Tours, to Martin’s episcopal see, and commanded to inquire about him; then it was truly told him that he had rendered his soul at the same hour in which they had heard the singing. [GVM 1,5] LIV. On the same day Ambrose the bishop, in the city of Milan, when he was standing at mass, then he fell asleep, even as God wished, and no man readily dared to awaken him. After two hours, however, they awakened him, and said that the time had been passing away, and that the people were exceedingly wearied. Then the holy bishop said; “Do not be vexed, it benefitted me greatly that I could sleep thus, because my Lord has revealed to me a great wonder. Know that my brother, the holy Martin, has departed from [his] body, and I prepared his body in the customary service, and when you awakened me, then his headcloth was not entirely arranged.” They were astonished at his words and deeds, and learned after a while that the venerable Martin had departed on that day on which Ambrose said [he did], [and] that he had been at the holy man’s [funeral] service.
Eala eadig is se wer þe on his fordside
halgena getel. healice sang.
and engla werod blissode. and ealle heofonware
him togeanes ferdon. and se fula deofol
on his dyrstignyse þurh drihten weard gescynd.
Seo halige gelæðung on mihte is gestrangod.
and godes sacerdas synd gewuldrode
mid þære onwrigennyse martines forðsides.
þonne se halga [michahel] mid englum underfeng.
and maria seo eadiga mid mædenlicum werodum.
and neorxnewang gehylt bliðne mid halgum.
[GHF 1,48] LV Da þæs halgan weres lic læg inne þa git.
þa com þær micel meniu of manegum burgum.
and þæt pictauisce folc swa swa þæt turonisce.
and þær weard geflit betwux þam twam folcum.
Da pictauiscan cwædon þe ðyder geccumene wæron.
He wæs ure munuc. and eac ure abbod.
we willad hine habban forþan þe we hine alændon ær.
þa þæs halgan weres lic læg inne þa git.
1440 þonne se halga [michahel] mid englum underfeng.
and maria seo eadiga mid mædenlicum werodum.
and neorxnewang gehylt bliðne mid halgum.
[GHF 1,48] LV. Da þæs halgan weres lic læg inne þa git.
þa com þær micel meniu of manegum burgum.
and þæt pictauisce folc swa swa þæt turonisce.
and þær weard geflit betwux þam twam folcum.
Da pictauiscan cwædon þe ðyder geccumene wæron.
He wæs ure munuc. and eac ure abbod.
we willad hine habban forþan þe we hine alændon ær.
þa þæs halgan weres lic læg inne þa git.
1445 ge wæron on his gereordum. and mid his gebletsungum gestrangode.
and mid mænigfealdum wundrum wæron gegladode.
sy eow eall þis genoh. lætað nu huru us
his sawleasæn lichaman ferian mid us.
þa andswaredon þa. þa turoniscan þus.
Oh, blessed is the man for whom at his departing
the communion of saints sang on high,
and the host of angels rejoiced, and all heaven-dwellers
1435 came towards him, and the foul devil
in his presumption was put to shame by the Lord.
The holy church is strengthened in power,
and God's priests are glorified
by the revelation of Martin's departure,
whom the holy Michael received with angels
and the blessed Mary with the communion of virgins,
and [whom] paradise holds happy among saints.
[GHF 1,48] LV. When the holy man’s body was still lying within,
then there came a great crowd, from many cities,
and the Poitevins people as well as the people of Tours,
and there was a dispute between the two peoples.
Then the Poitevins, who had come there, said:
“He was our monk and also our abbot;
we desire to have him because we had lent him before;
you have enjoyed his conversation and benefitted from his teaching,
you have had discourse with him and been strengthened by his blessings,
and have been delighted by various miracles;
all this be enough for you; let us now at least
convey his soulless body with us.”
1455 Then the Turonians answered thus:
Gif ge secgād  þæt us synd genoh his wundra.
bonne wite gé  þæt he worhte ma wunda mid eow
bonne he mid us dyde.  and þeah we fela forhebbon.
eow he ærde witodlice  twegen deade men.
and us buton ænne.  and swa swa he ofte sæde.
þæt he maran mihte  on munuc|hade hæfde.
bonne on bisceophade.  and we habbað nu neode
þæt he dead gefylle  þæt he ne dyde on life.
Eow he wæs ætbroden.  and us fram gode forgifan.

1460  and æfter þa ealdan gesetnyssse  he sceal habban | byrgene
on þære ylcan byrig  þær he bisceop wæs.
Gif ge for minstres þingon.  and þæt he mid eow wæs
hine habban willað.  þonne wite ge þis
þæt he on mediolana  ærest mynster hæfde.

1465  Betwux þisum gewinne  weard se dag geendod.
and butu ða burhwaru  besæton pone halgan.
and wolden ða pictauiscan  mid gewinne on mergen
niman ðone halgan  neadunga æt þam oþrum.
Þa on middre nihte  swa swa martinus wolde.

1470  wurdon ða pictauiscan  swa wunderlice on slepe
þæt of ealre þære meniu  an man ne wacode.
Þa gesawon ða tueroniscan  hu ða oþre slepon.
and genamon þæt lic  þe þær læg on flora.
and to scipe bæron  mid swidlicre blisse.

1475  and efston mid reowte  on þære ea uigenna.
and swa forð on liger  swyðe hlude singende.
oð þæt hi becomon  to þære byrig tuonia.

1480  forgifan  So in MS; K has forgifen  1481  hlude  K lude
“If you say that his miracles are enough for us, then be aware that he performed more miracles with you than he did with us, and though we pass over many, for you he truly raised two dead men, and for us only one, and just as he often said, that he had more power in monkhood than in bishophood, and we have need now that he should accomplish dead that which he did not in life. From you he was taken away and given to us by God, and after the old custom he shall have a sepulchre in the same city where he was bishop. If you – for the sake of the monastery and because he was with you – wish to have him, then be aware of this, that he first had a monastery in Milan.”

During this dispute the day came to an end, and the citizens of both towns guarded the saint, and the Poitevins intended in the morning by force [and] out of necessity to take the saint from the others. Then at midnight, just as Martin wished, the Poitevins were so wondrously asleep that amongst all in the crowd not one man watched. Then the Turonians saw how the others slept, and took the body which lay there on the floor, and carried it to the ship with great joy, and made haste by rowing on the river Vienne, and thus onwards into the Loire, singing very loudly, until they came to the city of Tours.
The study by Wilcox (2006) is concerned with a particular drawing (a head/face) between the Life and the Life of St Thomas on this folio in MS K; Wilcox suggests (p. 258) it might have served to generate the reader’s contemplation after reading the Life. Page 228 in Doane and Wolf (2006) shows this folio from MS K.

1489 Syx and twentig.] See von Mengden (2010: 27) on “complex numerals”; the inversion of the two “mono-morphemic” numerals to form a “complex numeral” is typical for OE, compare Modern English twenty-six.
Then the others were awakened by the singing, and nothing of their treasure – which they should have guarded – they did have, but they returned home in great shame, that it had thus happened to them. [AVM 662A-B] Then the holy body was laid in a sepulchre in the same city where he had been bishop, with great solemnity, and afterwards there were performed many miracles because of his merits. [GHF 1,48] Twenty-six winters he was bishop there, and the city had been without a bishop for a long time before Martin was consecrated as bishop, because of the heathenism which the people practised then.

Glory and praise be to the benevolent Creator Who so embellished His holy priest with miracles, Who rules in eternity, almighty Lord, amen. [n.s.] Once I translated this, as best as I could, but now, constricted by many biddings, more fully. Oh, St Martin, celebrated for your merits, help me wretched, poor in merits. I shall dispense what you disclaim, I who am harming myself, I shall live chaster, already if I am forgiven.

1483 ] De quorum vocibus Pectavi expergefacti, nihil de thesauro quem costodiebant habentes, cum magna confusione ad propria sunt reversi. 1487 AVM 662A-B ] XI. Turonis sepelitur. — Cujus sanctum corpus a clericis civitatem, et populorum turbis, cum laudibus et hymnis ad Turonicam portatur civitatem, ibique in polyandro publico sepultus est, ubi postmodum beatus antistes Perpetuus laudabili opere, et venerabili cultu construxit ecclesiam tanti Patris condig-nam meritis: in qua etiam usque hodie multa miraculorum signa, plurimæ sanitatum virtutes, consolationes morientium, pietates larantium, praebente Domino nostro Jesu Christo, fierent so-lent, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto in unitate majestatis divinae, per omnia saecula. 1491 GHF 1,48 ] episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, [...] Quod si quis requirit, cur post transitum Catiani episcopi unus tantum, id est Litorius, usque ad sanctum Martinum fuisse episcopus, noverit, quia, obsistentibus paganis, diu civitas Toronica sine benedictione sacerdotale fuit.
General Commentary

The entries in this mainly literary and cultural commentary are in the order of the Latin source material. This commentary addresses issues which apply to two or more Old English Martiniana; literary comments restricted to one of the Old English texts appear below the edited text (lowest apparatus). References to the edited texts are through the siglum of the base texts (B, E, F, J) and line number; for MSS C and D turn to the parallel text edition in the appendix (I).

SVM 2,1

_El. 5; Fl. 4; Jl. 12_: Pannonia (C pannana, D/E pannania, F pannonia, J pannoniscre scire) was a Roman province, in the west of today’s Hungary; cf. the section on Martin’s upbringing above, p. 7.

_El. 6; Fl. 5; Jl. 12_: Pannonia’s capital was Sabaria (F Sabaria, J sabaria), which appears in C/D/E as arrea; today the city is called Szombathely, Hungary. The origin of arrea is unknown. Szarmach (1981: 63,6-7) simply notes that arrea stands “for Latin Sabaria, is modern Stein-am-Anger” (which is the modern German name for Szombathely). Fontaine (431f.) does not discuss it.

_El. 7; Fl. 3; Jl. 14_: SVM has parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, a litotes that translates ’His parents were, according to the judgment of the world, of no mean rank’ (transl. Roberts). Ælfric’s æþelborenum seems to be imprecise as a translation, but as Vermillion (1980: 92-3, cf. 77-8) point out, “this follows the tradition in hagiography of ascribing noble birth to a saint”; it is a feature that is very common among “medieval hagiographers” (Masi 183-4). Masi has found more saints as examples for this in LS, and has not found a single counter-example.

_El. 6; Fl. 6; Jl. 13_: E ticinam, the city Pavia, at the river Ticino, where Martin spent his youth, cf. above p. 9. SVM has ticinum, a city at the river Ticino, which Charlemagne renamed Papia, hence modern Pavia (Hamilton: 51,6); the Anonymous Homily names the town, whereas Ælfric tends to omit details such as place-names in the Homily; cf. discussion above, p. 149.
SVM 2,2

EL. 8; FL. 11; JL. 16: Notice here that Ælfric’s prefers the word *cempan* to *þegn*, which is the common word in the anonymous homilies. For the implications see above pp. 132f.; Masi (185) notes that Ælfric already stylizes Martin as a soldier. The idea of the *miles christi* is of course Severus’, but it seems from this mentioning so early in the text that Ælfric seeks to amplify the stylization.

EL. 9; FL. 8; JL. 16: *alderman* (lit. ‘older man’) translates SVM’s *tribunus*, a ‘batallion commander’ (Hamilton: 52,9)), cf. above p. 8 on the rank and on Martin’s father, and cp. D and E; note that only MS C includes the Latin term.

EL. 11; JL. 19: *constantines* (C) refers to the Roman emperor Constantius II., who reigned 337-61 AD, from 350 as sole emperor.

EL. 11; JL. 20: *iulianus* (C) / *iulius* (D) / *iuliam* (E) / *iuliane* (J) refers to the pagan Roman emperor Julius, later often called ‘the Apostate’ for his violent backlash to paganism, reigned from 360, after his uncle Constantine II. made him “junior emperor”; after Constantin’s death in 361 he reigned as sole emperor until his own death in 363 (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 77 n. 26).

SVM 2,3

EL. 16; FL. 15; JL. 24: Martin demands (*bæd / postulauit*) to be accepted as a catechumen, i.e. a candidate/pupil for baptism. Masi (186) points to the fact that Martin’s eight years long catechumenate was unusually long. Usually, it comprised a three years period of “fasting, prayer, and spiritual preparation for baptism” (ibid.). Martin was later baptized at the age of eighteen, after his vision of Christ. Furthermore, Masi notes that it was obviously no problem for Martin as a ten-year-old to be accepted as catechumen.

SVM 2,4

EL. 18; FL. 17; JL. 31: on eallum his life on godes þeowdome gecyrred (C): Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 30) notes that in SVM the passage involves a clear allusion to the *puer-senex*-topos, implying that Martin possessed wisdom even as a youth.

SVM 2,5

EL. 20; FL. 18; JL. 32: See the discussion above, p. 149, on the omission of details in the OE versions. Huber Rebenich (2010 78 n. 31) notes that emperor’s commandment in order to secure the strength of his armed forces fails to indicate the incident’s date, since this measure does not represent a singular event.
SVM 2,8

_E l. 36; J l. 58:_ Lit. ‘Do not think of tomorrow’, after BS Mt 6.34; according to Hamilton (55,37) _cogitabat_ (‘he thought’) was changed into _cogitare_ (imperative) by the OE homilist, “in order to accommodate the sense of the imperative which is demanded by the OE context.”; note that D and E feature Latin quotes interspersed in the OE text, where C has none.

SVM 3,1

_E l. 43; J l. 62:_ I.e. Amiens, France, then in the Roman province _Belgica secunda_, cf. above p. 10. As Masi (187) notes, “The site was marked by an oratory”. Gregory of Tours writes about it (GVM 17): _In portam Ambianensi, in qua quondam vir beatus algentem clamide decisa contexit, oratorium a fidelibus est aedificatum, in quo nunc puellae religiosae deserviunt, sancti antestitis ob honorem parumper facultatis habentis, nisi quod eas devotorum alit saepe devo- tio._

SVM 3,5

_E l. 75; F l. 61; 92:_ E has _twam læs twéntig_, as in D _twæm læs þe twentig_, whereas C and F and J have _eahtayne_. The Latin has _duodeuiginti_, so D/E represent a loan-translation, whereas C and Ælfric present the common OE numeral. There are groups of Latin MSS which give 20 years (_uiginti_) as the age of Martin’s baptism, so Mullins (2011: 171) suggests that the Old English texts derive from the Frankish rather than from the Italian branch of the Latin Martiniana; cf. the discussion in Masi (189), and Delehaye (1920: 19-33).

SVM 3,6

_E l. 76; F l. 61; 95:_ C/D/E have ‘three years’ (C/D _þreo gear_, E _i.ii. gér_), Ælfric has ‘two years’ (J _twu gear_), which corresponds to the Latin _biennium._

SVM 4,1

_F l. 63; J l. 97:_ Julian’s campaign, which can be dated to the year 356 AD, was to confront Germanic tribes who had penetrated Roman territory by crossing the river Rhine (Suso Frank 1997: 28-9).

SVM 5,1

_E l. 79; F l. 82; J l. 135:_ I.e. St Hilary (ca. 315-67), Bishop of Poitiers and St Martin’s teacher and mentor; Hilary was historically significant for his major
role in opposition against Arrianism, see Huber-Rebenich (2010: 79 n. 46); cf. Masi (191).

**SVM 5,4**

*Fl. 89; Jl. 153:* Martin crossed the Alps; in both instances Ælfric describes the setting simply as “in the mountains”. Masi (191) notes on the episode that in SVM the robber “merely poised the ax”, while Ælfric states Martin received a blow (slōh). In the *Life* someone else holds the robber back who is about to strike Martin.

**SVM 6,4**

*Fl. 117; Jl. 186:* Arianism was a popular Christian school of thought deriving from the Alexandrian presbyter Arius (ca. 260-336); the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD) condemned it as heretic, nevertheless it was still popular in central Europe for centuries (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 80 n. 50; cf. Masi: 192).

**SVM 7,1**

*Fl. 130; Jl. 209:* Masi (193) notes that the incident is about a catechumen in SVM, not simply a ‘heathen man’. In the *Life* it is a *gecristnod man*. Notice also the difference between Ælfric’s report of the episode in the two accounts, as well as in the Anonymous Homily. Cf. Dalbey (1984: 425f.) who discusses this episode.

**SVM 7,3**

*E l. 105; Fl. 135; Jl. 218:* This particular act of healing was inspired by an Old Testament passage in BS 2nd *Book of Kings* 4.33-7, and BS Mt 9.23-25, and *Apostles* 9.40; see Huber-Rebenich (2010: 81 n. 61), and Masi (194), and (Fontaine, p. 619). Masi also found similar deeds by other saints in the *CH I: 55.74* (Apostle John) and in the *LS I: 166* (St Benedict).

**SVM 8,1**

*E l. 116; Jl. 242:* In E (and D) the phrasing is rather misleading, since the relative pronoun *he* could refer both to *lupicinus* and to *tīne*. Lupicinus’ identity could not be discerned exactly, since the name was frequent in the region (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 81 n. 62).
SVM 9,1

*E l. 131; F l. 151: turnum* is claimed in the *Martyrology* to be the English name (*we nemnað turnum*); the *Anonymous Homily* calls the town *turna* (MS E, see edition, l. 131) and *turnan* (MS D); Ælfric’s *Homily* has *Turonisce* (for ‘the people of Tours’, l. 439), in Ælfric’s *Life* it appears six times as *turonia* (e.g. l. 265). Bede mentions Tours once, as *Turnan* (Miller 1959: 316); there are no other appearances of the forms in OE literature (DOEWC); apparently, the martyrlogist and the anonymous homilist are closer to Bede, whereas Ælfric apparently worked from a Latin text, and disregarded the English form of the name, and was therefore possibly ignorant of the other OE texts.

*F l. 151; J l. 257:* Martin was – as was usual at the time – elected by the people; the election had to be ratified afterwards by the neighboring bishops (Masi: 194). Notice that Ælfric avoids to mention Martin’s shabby appearance in both accounts.

SVM 10,3

*F l. 168; J l. 314:* i.e. the monastery at Marmoutier, founded ca. 375 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 82 n. 72).

*F l. 167; J l. 315:* One Roman mile comprised about 1.5 kilometers (see Huber-Rebenich 2010: 82 n. 71).

SVM 10,6

*F l. 173; J l. 329:* As opposed to Egyptian monks who had earned money by basketry or other handicraft, Martin’s monks concentrate on the production of manuscripts, which provided another important role model for later western monasticism (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 83 ns. 76+77).

SVM 10,8-9

*F l. 179; J l. 337:* See Huber-Rebenich (2010: 83 n. 80 and p. 110) on the popularity of asceticism among the Gallic nobility.

SVM 13,5

*F l. 260; J l. 406:* Masi (195) notes that in SVM the event is said to take place in the land of the “Aedui”, the chief city being Augustudunum (Autun, France). Ælfric does not mention it, which is consistent with regard to his apparent
policy of omitting historical details so as to avoid confusion among his audience. In the Life, Ælfric shortens and simplifies the section (see Masi: 195 and cf. SVM).

SVM 13,9

_El. 145; Fl. 243; Jl. 428:_ Huber-Rebenich (2010: 84 ns. 90+91) notes that the substitution (rather than the suppression) of a pagan cult with a Christian became a common practice by the fifth century.

SVM 14,2

_El. 157; Fl. 251; Jl. 440:_ Huber-Rebenich (2010: 84 n. 92) points to the noticeable preponderance of military terms in the description of Martin’s fight against the fire.

SVM 16,2

_Fl. 273; Jl. 489:_ Martin was in Trier in the years 385/386 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 97). Masi (195) notes that there is a similar episode in the New Testament at BS Lc 8.49-56, with minor difference such as the employment of oil. Masi (196) also notes that in SVM, this episode appears later (SVM 20), and the happened at Trèves, France. Masi further notes that the episode is quite similar in Ælfric’s two accounts.

SVM 17,4

_Fl. 276; Jl. 522:_ (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 89) notes that the laying on of hands as a ritual act had already been popular in the third century, and is connected to BS _Apostles_ 6.6.

SVM 17,5

_Fl. 282; Jl. 529:_ See Masi (196) for more information on Martin’s role as exorcist; Masi points to similar episodes in the _LS_ I: 98 (St Julian) and to the connection to BS Mt 10.1-3, and Mt 8.28-32, and Mk 5.1-20, and Mk 1.23-8.

SVM 18,3-4

_El. 198; Fl. 291; Jl. 567:_ This was probably inspired by the episodes in BS Mt 8.3, and Mk 1.41f., where Christ heals lepers through physical contact, but not by a kiss (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 85 n. 110). Masi (197) also notes that Christ did not kiss a maiden to heal her; Masi speculates that the healing kiss derives
from folk tales. In the *Life*, Ælfric reports that the incident happened in Paris (J l. 565). Gregory of Tours (GHF 8,33) reports that an oratory was erected at the spot where this miracle happened.

**SVM 26,4-6**

*Fl. 316; Jl. 754*: Huber-Rebenich (2010: 90 n. 147) notes that the devil’s dress and outward appearance is reminiscent of the vestments typical of the late Roman emperors, cf. Vielberg (2006: 189).
Part III

Appendices
The following two editions of texts are appended to this work and represent a reproduction of their manuscript texts rather than an edition. Therefore, they are not equipped with a linguistic or literary commentary. The comments below the text are reduced to information on the manuscript material, scribal corrections, ornamentation, emendation, etc. The abbreviations employed correspond to those of the edition.

Appendix I: Parallel Text Edition of the Anonymous Homily for Martinmas from Manuscripts C, D and E

The following table juxtaposes the texts from manuscripts C, D, and E. The first, or left, of the four columns contains the reference to the Latin source. I have presented a brief study of the homily’s language in MS E before the edition. I refrain from presenting much on text’s language in MSS C and D here because it has already been studied in detail. The homily’s text has previously been edited from MS C in Scragg (1992), Peterson (1951), and Szarmach (1981). References to these editions give page and line numbers. The manuscript’s language has been studied extensively by Donald G. Scragg in his dissertation (1970, “The Language of the Vercelli Homilies”, Diss. Univ. of Manchester, UK); see pp. 412f. for the study of the language of the homily for Martinmas. This homily shares with the four preceding homilies an accumulation of non-WS forms, esp. Anglian/Mercian. Scragg (1992) concisely addresses the MS’s language again in the introduction to his edition of MS C (see pp. xliii-lxxi). Szarmach (1981: xxii) presents some of Scragg’s results. Schabram’s (1965) study addresses the Mercian vocabulary. See Sauer (2013) on the subject of word-formation in the Vercelli Homilies. The reader will note a frequent occurrence of a capital <i> in <in>, a phenomenon which occurs also in D. The text has been translated into modern English by Laird Edman (see Nicholson 1991: 117-26).

Previous editions of our text from MS D are Morris (1874-80, repr. 1967), Hamilton (1979), and Kelly (2003). Morris (1967: 211f.) and Kelly (2003: 147f.) present a modern English translation on facing pages; Hamilton (1979: 71f.) presents another modern English translation behind the edition of the OE text. He also presents a translation from MS E of the homily’s ending, which is missing in D. The Blickling Homilies have attracted much scholarly attention; among the most important studies on their language are Zupitza (1882), Hardy (1899), Napier (1904), and Swaen (1940). See Menner (1949) for a close study of date and dialect. The language is late West-Saxon (lWS), but the number of Mercian forms points at an Mercian original. The text in D features a great
number of Latin loanwords. Morris (vii-viii) names as examples: *templ*, *bisceop*, *munec*, *diacon*, *apostol*, *engle*, *martire*, *casere*, *ælmessan*, *messepreost*, *gecristnod*, *mynster*, *fefor*, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>source</th>
<th>MS C</th>
<th>MS D</th>
<th>MS E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>DE SANO MARTINO CONFESSORE</td>
<td>TO SANTON MARTINO MÆSSAN</td>
<td>[untitled]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men ña leofestan¹ []</td>
<td>Magon we nu hwylcum hwego wordum ascgan be þære arwyrðnæsse þyss halgan tide. <em>and</em> be þære arwyrðan gebyrde². <em>and</em> be þæs halgan bisceopes þysses eadigan weres þe we nu In andwearndnesse his tid weordið and maersið þe martinus was haten [] was he gode swiðe gecoren on his þæwum</td>
<td>HER we magon hwylcum hwega wórdum secgan. be ðære arwyrðan gebýrd. <em>and</em> be þam halgan life <em>and</em> fordore þæs eadigan weres sanctus martines. de we nu on anwearndese his tid wybordið [] was dét gode swiðe gecoren man on his ðéendum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVM 2,1</td>
<td>was he in pannana þære mægðe ærest on woruld cumen. In arrea ðam tune. was he hwædre In italia afed. In þære byrig [] was he for worulde swiðe godre gebyrde [] waron his fæder <em>and</em> his modor buta hæðen.</td>
<td>he was on pannania þære mægðe ærest on woruld gecumen in arrea þæm túne. was he hwædre in italia afed. in ticinan þære byrig [127v] was he for worlde swiðe æþelra gebyrda ond gödra. waron his yldran hwædre fæder ond modor buta hæðne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The MS has ñ.
²Sisam (1976) suggests that the visible erasure was to erase *tide* and replace it with *gebyrde*.
³So in MS.
⁴MS has *tane*, probably a scribal error.
⁵So in MS.
Wæs his fæder ærest cyninges þegn, and þæt neðstan geþah þæt he wæs tribunus þæt is ealdorman cyninges þegna. Þæt seolde he sanctus martinus nýde beon sona on his goegóðhâde on geferædedne cyninges þegna. and he was on constantines6 dagem on þæt he wæs ældorman. Þæt seolde sanctus martinus nýde beon on his goegóðhâde on þære æresta dâgu. and þæt he eft on iuliam þæs kæseres. nálæs þæt he his willum on þam wyroldfolgoðe wærei. Ac he sône on his goegóðe godes ðeowdóm micel swíðor lufode þonne þæt he wæs tyn wintre and þa he wæsi.x.10 wintre þæt he wæsi x. wíntræ. and hine his yldran to woruldfolgoðe. and þæt fleah he to godes cirican11. and þæt hine man þæt gecriðnede. þæt bið sio onginnes and se æresta dæl þære hælgan fulwihte. 

Wæs his fæder ærest cyninges þegn. ond þæt neðstan geðah þæt he wæs cyninges þegna ældorman. Þa seolde he sanctus martinus nýde beon sona on his goegóðhâde on þære æresta æresta dæl on constanțínes8 dagum. and þæt he eft on iuliam þæs kæseres. nalæs þæt he his willum on þam wyroldfolgoðe wærei. Ac he sône on his goegóðe godes ðeowdóm micel swíðor lufode þonne þæt he wæs tyn wintre and þa he wæsi.x. wíntræ. and hine his yldran to woruldfolgoðe. and þæt fleah he to godes cirican11. and þæt hine man þæt gecriðnede. þæt bið sio onginnes and se æresta dæl þære hælgan fulwihte. 

6The MS has constanțínes (sic).
7The MS has an erased but legible on þæt before willum.
8The MS has constanțínes (sic!).
9Swæn (272) suggests for D’s þreas that ‘affliction, vexation’ would be a better translation than Morris’ ‘vanities’; only in connection to idlan it can be read as ‘vanities’, cf. Hamilton (52,13).
10Scragg (1970: 258) observed that cardinal numbers appear frequently as Roman numerals in MS C.
11For the WS spelling cf. GrSB §22 Anm. 2, and GrSB §206.2; 207. For the phonology cf. GrC §433.
12The MS has hi; I emended in accordance with C and E as well as Morris and Hamilton.
13Hamilton (53,16) notes that the homilist emphasizes the piety of Martin even before his baptism, and that the phrasing in C is even more explicit about this.
SVM 2,4 and þa wæs wundorlice nū14 on allum his life on godes þeowdom geçyrdi.

SVM 2,5 [95v] þa he was xv. wintra þa genyddon hie hine his yldran to þan þet he sceolde wæpnum onfón and on cyninges þegna gelerræddenne beón.

SVM 2,5 Da he he was fiftene wintre18 þa nyddan hine his yldran to þæm þæt19 he sceolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón and on cyninges þegna geferædenne beón.

SVM 2,6 þa he wæro. þreo gear ær his fulwihte þæt he woruldlicum20 wæpen wæg and he hine hwædre wið eallum þæm healicium synnum geheold þa þe woruldmen fremmað in missenlicum þingum.

SVM 2,7 hæfde he mycle lufan and ealle sweteness to ælcum men. and he væs geþyldig. and eaðmod. and gemetfæst on allum þingum on allum21 his life.

and he þa sôna mid ealle his life ymb godes þeowdom abisgod wæs.

dæ he wæs fiftene wintre da nyddan hine his yldran to þæm þæt he sceolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón. and on cyninges þegna geferædena béon.

Pa was feower gear ær his fulwihte þæt he wæpnum wæg and he hine [128r] hwædre wið eallum þæm healicium wæpnum geheold þa þæt he sceolde woroldmen fremmað on menniscum þingum.

Pa wæs feower gear ær his fulwihte þæt he wæpnum wæg and he hine hwædre wið eallum þæm healicium wæpnum geheold þa þæt he sceolde woroldmen fremmað on menniscum þingum.

he hæfde micle lufan. and ealle wærnesse22 to ælcum men. and he væs geþyldig. and eaðmod. and gemetfæst. on allum his life.

and he wæs fiftene wintre da nyddan hine his yldran to þæm þæt he sceolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón. and on cyninges þegna geferædena béon.

14Cf. Scragg (1970: 187-99) for accents in MS C.
15Swaen (272) criticizes that sona is “left untranslated” by Morris.
16C and E have wundorlice, SVM has mox mirum in modum, Hamilton (53,17) emends to wunderliche.
17Hamilton (53,18) is right in pointing out that Swaen’s translation (272: “by his whole manner of life”) should be preferred over Morris” (“during his whole life”); SVM has “totius in Dei conversus”.
18Hamilton (53,19) emends to wintu as in C, which I find unnecessary, on the basis that D corresponds to E and that I regard it as a case of IOE levelling of final e.
19The MS has only þ.
20The MS has worulde licu (sic!).
21The MS has eallu (sic!); Scragg emends likewise.
22Hamilton (54,24) notes that MS C’s swetnesse is closer to SVM’s caritas.
and þeð þe he þa gyt on læwedumháde beon sceolde. and hwæðre he to þæs mycne forhæfndnesse hæfde on eallum þinem þæt he munuclif and gytt swiðor23 lifde þonne þonne mycel swiðor lifde þonne24 lifde þonne25 læwedes mannes. 

Was he for his ærstætum dædum eallum his geferum leof and wyrd. and ondryyne and hie hine ealle mid synderlice lufan leofedon. and weordodon. 

and þeð þe he þa gyt ne ware fullice25 after cierican endebyrdnesse gefullad. Ac he was gecristnod swa ic ær foresægde. hwæðre he þæt geryne þæs halgan fulwihtes mid godum dædum heold and lufade. he wolde þam winnendum fultmian and earne frefan. and hingriendum mete sellan. and nacode scrydan. and eall ðat he on his folgode begeat eall þat he for gode sealde butan þære deghwæwilican andlyfne anre þe he nede [96r] on lyfian sceolde. []

ond ðeð þe he þa gyt on læwedumháde beon sceolde. hwæðre he to þæs wærnexe hæfde on eallum þingum þæt he ehe munuclife gytt swiðor lifde þonne þonne24 lifde þonne25 læwedes mannes. Was he for his ærstætum dædum eallum his geferum leof and wyrd. and ondryyne and hie hine ealle mid synderlice lufan leofedon. and weordodon. 

ond ðeð þe he þa gyt nære fullice æfter oþerre endebyrdnesse gefulwad. Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær sægde. hwæðre he þæt geryne þære halgan fulwihtes mid godum dædum heold and lufade. he wolde þam winnendum fultmian. ond earne frefan ond hingriendum mete sellan. ond nacode scrydan. ond eall ðat he on his folgode begeat eall ðat he for gode sealde. butan ðone deghwæwilican andlyfne anre þe he nede biglyfian sceolde. [2]

and ðeð þe he ða gyt nære fullice æfter oþerre endebyrdnesse gefulwad. Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær sægde. hwæðre he þæt geryne þære halgan fulwihtes mid godum dædum heold and lufade. he wolde þam winnendum fultmian. and earne frefan and hingriendum mete sellan. and nacode scrydan. and eall ðat he on his folgode begeat eall ðat he for gode sealde. butan ðone deghwæwilican andlyfne anre þe he nede biglyfian sceolde.

23The MS has swiðo (sic!).
24The MS has þon þonne, Morris emends likewise.
25The scribe scratched out geo- from the MS (gefullice).
26MS has ware (sic!). Emended as in D.
Gemunde he þæt godes bebod þæt he sylfa on his godspelle bebeadi. swa cwæði. þæt se godes mani. ne sceolde be þurh þæt ænig þara goda forgulde. ðæt he þonne ðy dæge gedon meahtei. and ða wéninge hwæðer he eft þæs mergendæges gebidan mostei.

**27** Szarmach (63,32) emends to forgulde, based on D and E.

**28** The MS has de¸ge, which is a scribal correction.

**29** Hamilton (53,39) emends to C’s forgulde, without further notice.

**30** The MS has ˜M.

**31** The scribe corrected asecgen.

**32** Hamilton (1979: 55,41) notes that C, D and E are notably different in this passage, C and E being confused.

**33** The MS has ma (sic!).

**34** The MS has midda; Peterson (83,57) suggests to read middum; Szarmach (63,39) suggests midda <n>, which I followed.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

Pa sæt þær sum þearfa æt ðam borggeate wel neah don35 and se nacoda bad him þa for gode hrægles on ælmesan36. þa ferdon he ealle ford be him and heora næning to him gecyrran nolde ne him ænige are gedon woldon. þa ongeat he se godes man þær drihten him þone þearfendan man geheold þæt he him miltsian scolde þe þara ðætra måne. nan him arian ne wolde.

Nyste þa hwæðre hwæt he him don sceolde for þan þe he nowiht elles hæftde butan his anfealdne [96v] gerelan ac eall þær he mia hæftde eall he þæt æþ beforan ðæt geworc atæah and for gode gesæde.

SVM

3,2

Pa sæt þær sum þearfa æt ðam borggeate sæt eac nacod bad him þa for gode hrægles on ælmesan37. þa ferdan he ealle ford be him and heora næning to him gecyrran nolde ne him næning38 are gedon. ða ongeat se godes wer sanctus martinus þæt drihten him ðone þearfan geheold. þæt he him [129r] miltsian scolde ða þara ðëdra manna him39 nán arian ne wolde.

Nyste þæah hwæðre hwæt he him dön sceolde. fordæ þe he naht elles næftde butan his anfealdne geyrelan ah bealfe40 þæt he mare heæftel41 eall he þæt æþ beforan on onlic geworc atæah ond for gode gesæde.

35Peterson (83,60) suggests to read ðam. Szarmach (63,41) reads “quite near to it [the gate]”; the pronoun can refer both to the gate or to the passing soldiers, unless it is the adv. ‘then’, cf. BT þan I.

36Peterson (83,61) suggests to read hrægles and ælmesan; one could also read ‘garments as alms’, see BT s.v. on III.6.

37Meaning ‘garments and alms’. Hamilton (56,48) notes that C and E have hrægles on ælmesan (‘garments as alms’), and concludes, like Napier (305), that the scribe was mistaken; cf. note in C.

38Napier (305) suggests emendation to ænige. Hamilton (56,50) does not emend and states that the “scribe clearly intended the double negative but erred in the word form”.

39The MS has hi; Morris also emends to him.

40The letters h and f are a later correction, cf. Napier (305), Morris’ note, and Hamilton (56,54).

Szarmach (editing MS C, 1981, p. 63, l. 46) notes that D’s corrector probably thought of the preceding bealfe, thinking Martin had given half of his things away already.

41Added from C.
Geteah þa his sex and genam his sciccels þone his lodan[,] þe he him on hæfde [.ß] snæd þa þone in tū and þa healfne þam þearfan sealde and mid healf hine eft besweop [.ß] þa wæron manige men þe þæt gesawon þet hie hine on þam tældon and besmyredon þær he swa his antfealdne gyrelan tosniðan scoelde. Sume þonne eft þa de beteran modes wæron and xenige lufan to gode hæfdon hie sylfe on þon oncudon þæt hie swa ne dydon and wiston þæt hie má hæfdon þet hie æghæber ge ðam þearfan hrægl syllan meahton ge hwæðere hie sylfum genog habban.

Geteah þeah45 his sex and genam his sciccels þe he him on hæfde tosnað þa hine ontwa and healfne sealde þæm þearfan and mid healfum hine sylfne besweop. Da wæron þær manige men þe þæt gesawon þæt hie hine on þæm tældon and bismroden þær he his swa ántealdne geyrelan tosniðan scoelde. Sume þonne eft þa de beteran modes wæron and xenige lufan to gode hæfdon hie sylfe be þon oncudon þæt hie swa ne dydon and wiston þæt hie mare hæfdon þæt hie æghæber ge þæm þearfan hrægl syllan mihtan ge hweþpe44 him sylfum genog habdon45.

tæth æa his sex . and genam his sciccels þe he him onhæfde . and tosnaðda hine . on twá . and ða healf gesæalde ðam ðearfan . and mid hælfe hine besweop . ða wæron manige men . ðe þæt gesáwon . and hie hine on ðan tældon . and bismroden . þæt he his swa an[66r]léaldne gyrelan tosniðan scoelde . sume danne eft þa de beteran módes wæron . and xenige lufan to gode hæfdon . hie sylfe be þan ongétan þæt hie swa ne dydan . and wistan þæt hie mete hæfdon . þæt hie æghæber ge ðam ðearfan hrægel syllan mihtan . ge éac heom selfum genóh hæfdon .

42Peterson (83,71) suggests to read lodan (BT s.v. lodu: ’cloak, upper garment’), SVM has chlamydem. Szarmach (1981: 63,47) regards þone his lodan as an “intrusion”. Peterson’s suggestion makes sense so far as the scribal <ß> and <ð> are identical except for a stroke in the neck. Still, as Scragg (309) notes, the whole passage does not make much sense.

43Meaning ‘yet, still, however, nevertheless’ (BT s.v. þeáh); Hamilton (56,55) emends to C’s þa (‘then’).

44In accordance with Swaen (272), who comments that Morris’ gehweþre “gives no sense here”.

45Hamilton (57,63) emends to habban.
and þa wæs in þære æfterylgendan niht. Þa he se eadiga wer slepte
and þa geseah he crist sylfne mid þy ilcan hrægle gegyredne. þe he ær þam þearfan scalde. 
and þa wæs him beboden geornlice. þet hine dryhten ongeate and þet hrægl þet he ær þam þearfan scalde

Ða wæs sona on þære æfterylgendan niht. Þa he se eadiga wer slept. Þa geseah he crist sylfne. mid þi ilcan hrægle. gegywydne. Þe he ær þan þearfan geséalde. [66v] Ða wæs him beboden gyðnlice þet he hine úrne drihten ongête. and þet hrægel Þæ he ær þan þearfan geséalde. Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem.

and þa geseah he mycle engla weorod ymbe þane dryhten standende and þa gehyrde hine dryhten eac mid switolre stefne to englum cweðan martinus nu iu. cwæð þus gecristnod ær his fulwihte he mid þysse hrægle me gegyredre.

Da wæs sóna on þære æfterylgendan niht. Þa he se eadiga wer slep. Þa geseah he crist sylfne. mid þi ilcan hrægle. gegywydne. Þæ he ær þan þearfan geséalde. Þa wæs him beboden geornlice. Þet he hine úrne drihten ongête. and þet hrægl þæ he ær þam þearfan scalde. Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem.

Da geseah he mycle mænige ængla ymbe hine drihten sylfne mid swa cuðre stefne to þæm englum cwæðendne martinus nu ðu eart gecristnod ær þinum fulwihte mid þys hrægle þu me gegyredest.

66So in MS; Scragg has æfterylgendan.
47So in MS; Scragg has geornlicor.
48Morris emends to niht.
49I.e. a strong preterite form, where WS would typically have a weak form (slepte, as in C), which suggests a non-WS origin, see Hamilton: 4(1).
50Derivation from the strong verb beboden, though the derivation is not from the infinitive, but the past form beboden (Sauer 2013: 273).
51Peterson (83,86) suggests to read sweotolre.
52Scragg (309) assumes that the scribe translated adhuc (SVM); Szarmach (64,58) emends to gen.
53It seems a contradiction that Christ addresses Martin though speaking to the angels. Hamilton (57,67) notices it and inserts text from C and E to enhance clarity, though he also notices confusion in all three versions, from which he concludes that there must have been mistakes in the homilist’s original.
was in þære dæde sweotol 
ðæt ure dryhten is swiðe

gemyndig þæs cwides 
þe he syfla ær cwæð. 
Swa [97r] hwæt swa ge 
hwylcum earmum men 
to gode ge doþ [. ]
for minum naman eæne 
ge þæt me sylfen doð .
de ða wolde þone cwide getyllan
In þære godan dæde and 
hine sylfne geæðmedde 
þæt he sylfa ær gecwæði.
Swa [97r] hwæt swa ge 
hwylcum earmum men 
to gode ge doð for minum
naman eæne ond66 ge 
þæt me sylfen doð .
and he ða wolde 
dane cwide getryman on
ðære godcundan dæda 
and he hine selfne to ðan 
geæðmedde þæt he hine 
on ðæs þearfan geyrelan 
æteowde þæm eadigan 
were sancte martine .

54There is an illegible erasure after þæn , which was also noticed by Sisam (1976) and Szarmach
(64,62).
55As Hamilton (58,73) also notes, “these words do not appear in [E] and [C]”.
56Morris emends by replacing ond with ðæt ; C and E omit it.
57So in MS.
58The ge represents a scribal correction.
59There is an erasure under the last two letters or; Szarmach (64,64) suggested it might have been
er originally.
60So in MS; Peterson (84,98) suggests to delete ðære.
61The MS has winþ; I expanded in accordance with D.
62So in MS; Hamilton (59,79) suggests that the scribe employed the odd spelling to mark the
difference to the preceding godes (‘God’s’).
sæde.

was he beforan ær þæs mercifull in his dædum and geornful and biwyrd, in dryhtnes lare and on eallum þingum for gode fulfremed.

and was he beforan ær þæs martine fulfremedlice on godes æi. and on godes þeowdom getýdei. and gelærdei. eac an þon þæs sylfæ in manodei. wæs he swiðe geþungen on his þeawum and stadholfæsti. on his wordum and hluttor and clæne on his hifei. and he was æræst. and gemætæst. and mildhyrt on his dædum. and geornful. and be gewyrtum. ymbe dríhtnes lære. and on eallum göðum. for gode fulfrémēde.

63 Peterson (84,103) and Szarmach (64,68) suggest to read and gewat to sancte æs in D.

64 I.e. an erasure; Sisam (1976) reads wæs fæt.

65 Szarmach emends to eac <an> to eac, 66 The MS has milheort (sic), Scragg emends likewise.

67 Morris (216) translates 'diligent in his works concerning the Lord's lore', thereby ignoring the tironian nota, which Napier (1904) criticizes. Peterson (84,111) understands the passage as 'his name became a by-word for his divine love', though lare should be translated 'lore', from OE lær.

68 A second þæs hine has been scratched out.

69 Morris and Hamilton emend to life (as in C).

70 Hamilton (59,91) discusses Morris' translation and Napier's (305) comment on it, arguing for the following translation: “... merciful in his deeds and compassionate and, in his works concerning the Lord's teaching and in all things in the sight of God, very diligent”.

71 So in MS.
and þa gelamp æfter þan þæt72 þes eadiga wer Sanctus martinus sum mynster him getimbrede . and he on þam manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewærð . and þa gelamp sume side þæt þær cwom71 sum gecristnod man to him . þæt he wolde mid his lære . and mid his bysenum beon ontimbred and þa he ða ðær was wel manige dagas þa weard he untrum se man in þære feferadlei .

ða gelamp æfter þon þæt þes eadiga wer Sanctus martinus sum mynster getimbrede ond he on þäm manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewærð . Þa gelamp sume side þæt þær cóm sum gecristnod man to him þæt he wolde mid his lære ond mid his lífes bysene beon ontim[130v] bred 73 dagas wel manige þa weard þe untrum on wofrédle .

and þa gelamp in ða tid . þæt he Sanctus martinus was in sumre fore ealle dogor75 þa he ða eft ham cwom þæt þær untrum was and hine efnæ swa færlice dead fornæm þæt he ungefultad forðferædæ ; ðæ he þæt Sanctus martinus þæt geseah þæt þa oðre broðor ealle swa unrote leton ymbe þæt li. and hie utan stodon þa weop he and eode to him ; was him þæt swiðe mycel weorcæ7. þæt he swa ungefultad forðferæn sceolde .

dá gelamp after þan þæt þes eadiga wer Sanctus martinus sum mynster getimbrede . and he on þam manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewærð dá gelamp sume side þæt þær was wel manige dagas . þa weard he untrum on féferadlei .

SVM 7,1

and þa gelamp æfter þan þæt þes eadiga wer Sanctus martinus sum mynster getimbrede ond he on þäm manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewærð . and þa gelamp sume side þæt þær cóm sum gecristnod man to him þæt he wolde mid his lære ond mid his lífes bysene beon ontim[130v] bred þa was he þæt74 dagas wel manige þa weard he untrum on wofrédle .

SVM 7,2

Και ηα γελαμπ αετερ ηαν ἑατ72 ἂες εαιδικα ϑερ [97v] sanctus martinus sum mynster him getimbr . and he on þäm manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewærð . and þa gelamp sume side þæt þær cwom71 sum gecristnod man to him . þæt he wolde mid his lære . and mid his bysenum beon ontimbred and þa he ða ðær was wel manige dagas þa weard he untrum se man in þære feferadlei .

Ποίοι είναι οἱ προσωπικοί όνοματικοί σύντομοι της παραγράφησης; Πώς και ποιοι είναι οι θεολογικοί φράσεις; Πώς και ποιοι εξολοθρευτικοί εικονισμοί; Πώς και ποιοι είναι οι αξιολογητικοί σημαντικοί; Πώς και ποιοι είναι οι επικυρώσεις; Πώς και ποιοι είναι οι αναφορές;
Getrowde hine ða hwæðre on þone ælmihtigan gode mid ealle mode and on his mildheortnesse. ðode he ða hwæðre in þet hus þær se lichama inne læg. and het þa oðre men ealle ut gangan. and þa ða ðe du ruth beleac æfter him and he hine þa on gebed astrǣhte oter þar æswoltenes mannes leoma. þa he ða læge hwile, swa in þam gebede was ða ongeat he þet þær ðær was godcund magn andweard. and he þara dryhtnes ælmihtiges mildheortnesse unforhtlice onbad. þa was ymbe hwile. þa gefylde he [next folio missing] getrywde þa hewðre mid ealle mode on ælmihtiges godes miht and on his mildheortnesse and eode þa on þæt câtan þær se lichoma Inne was ond heht ða oðre men út gangan ond þa ða du ruth beleac æfter him and he hine ða gebed ðær se lichoma Inne and hine ða gbæd ond hine astrǣhte oter leoma þes deadan mannes þa he ða lange hwile on þæm ðær gebede was. ða ongeat he þet þær was godcundlic margen ondweard ond he þære ælmihtiges indeadum unforht. abâd þa was ymbe hwile ða gefelde he þet se deada man his leomai ealle ðær æsædei. þa wæs ymbe hwile ða gefelde he þæt se deada man his leomai ealle ðær æsædei. ða he ða sancuis martinus þæt geseah þa was he [131r] swiþe gefeonde and þa cleopode hlude mid mycelre stefne ond ælmihtigum gode þære gife þæt sæde. Þa þet þa ða oðre broðro gehyrðon þe þær ðe æter wæron ða eoden hie In to him. Þa gesaþon hie wundorlice wyrd þone man lyfiende ðone þet hie æt ðe lyf ðe æt dollar. SVM 7,3

Getrowde hine ða hwæðre on þone ælmihtigan gode mid ealle mode and on his mildheortnesse. ðode he ða hwæðre in þet hus þær se lichama inne læg. and het þa oðre men ealle ut gangan. and he ða ða du ruth beleac æfter him and he hine þa on gebed astrǣhte oter þar æswoltenes mannes leoma. þa he ða læge hwile, swa in þam gebede was ða ongeat he þet þær ðær was godcund magn andweard. and he þara dryhtnes ælmihtiges mildheortnesse unforhtlice onbad. þa was ymbe hwile. þa gefylde he [next folio missing] getrywde þa hewðre mid ealle mode on ælmihtiges godes miht and on his mildheortnesse and eode þa on þæt câtan þær se lichoma Inne was ond heht ða oðre men út gangan ond þa ða du ruth beleac æfter him and he hine ða gebed ðær se lichoma Inne ond hine ða gbæd ond hine astrǣhte oter leoma þes deadan mannes þa he ða lange hwile on þæm ðær gebede was. ða ongeat he þet þær was godcundlic margen(130,756),(876,937)

getrywde þæhwæðere mid ealle módei. o n ælmihtiges godes mihti. and his mildhéortnesse. and ðode on ða câtan ðær se lichoma inne ðaes. and hét ða oðre men út gangan. and þa ða du ruth beleac æfter him. and he him ða gebed. and astrǣhte oter ðær leóma ðæs æswoltenan mannes þa he ða læge hwile on ðan gebede was. ða ongeat he þet þær was godcundlic margen andweard. and he þære mildheortnesse unosorht abâd þa was ymbe hwile ða gefelde he þet se deada man his leomai ealle ðær æsædei. ða wæs ymbe hwile ða gefelde he þæt se deada man his leomai ealle ðær æsædei. ða he ða sancuis martinus þæt geseah þa was he swiþe gefeondei. and þa cleopode he hlúdre stéfnei. and ealmihtigum gode ðære gife ðanc sädei. Þa þæt ða oðre broðran gehyrðan de æt ðe æte wæron ða eoden hie in to him. Þa gesaþon hie wundorlice wyrd ðæne man lyfiende ðane hie æt ðe ðæro
| SVM | [missing folio] | ord hine man þa sona gefullwade ord he feala geara æfter ðon lifde. and hine man þa sóna gefullode. and he fela geara [70r] æfter ðan lifde. |
| SVM | SVM | Wæs þis ðare wundra ærest þe þes eadiga wer openlice beforan oþrum mannum geworhte ord þa æfter þisse ðæde his namo was áseolþan weord ord mare geworden ord hine eal þæt folc haligne ord mihtigne ongeat ord apostolicne on his dædum. wæs ðis ðare wundra ærest þe þes eadiga wer openlice beforan oþrum mannum geworhte. and ða æfter ðisse ðæde his namo was syððan á wyrd. and mare geworden. and hine eal þæt folc haligne. and mihtigne ongeat on his dædum. |
| SVM | SVM | Swylce eac eft gelamp oþer wundor þissum onlic he ferde sume siðe þes eadiga wer to sumes mannes túne þe lupicinus was haten. þa gehyrde he þær on túne mycelne héaf ord wó ord manige cleopodan mid mycelne stefne. swylce eac eft gelamp oðer wúndor. þisse anlicnessei. he fyrde sume sipe þes eadiga wer to ánes mannes túne. de lupicinus was geháten. ða gehyrde he þær on ðan túne mycelne héaf. and wóp. and máninge cleopodan mid miclestefne. |

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88Morris and Hamilton (61,117) emends to ðara.  
89Note the loan word here; DOE s.v. apostolic, apostolic shows that it appears almost exclusively in Bede and Ælfric.  
90Szarmach (65,C6) emends to ðara.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

SVM 8,2

[missing folio]

| ða gestōd he ond ahsode hwæt seo cleopung ware ond ðæt ær ware sum man earmlice deaðe aswolten swa þæt he hine sylfne awyrde. 
| ða ðæs mannes deað swa earmlicne gehyrde ða waes him ðæt sona swiðe sar ond myccle weorce ond ða [131v] eode he in þæt se lichoma. 
| ða genam sanctus martinus hine be his handan. 
| ond upheah arærde ond hine lædde forð to þon cafortune þæs huses ond hine eft þæm mannum hânne ond gesundne ægafe þæm þe hine ær deadne leton. 

SVM 8,3

[missing folio]

| ðas wundor ond manig oþer ælmihtig God þurh þyne eadigan wer worhte ææ þon þe he æfre bisceop ware. 
| [70v] ða gestōd he. 
| and æsode hwæt syo cleypung wære. ða sêde him man ðæt ær wære sum man earmlice deað geswolten. ðæt he hine sellne awyrde. ða ða sanctus martinus. 
| ðæs mannes deað swa earmlice gehyrde. ða waes him ðæt sóna swiðe sár. and on mycle wýrce. 
| and ða eode on ða ðyten. 
| ðær se lichama inne læg. 
| ðæs aswoltenan mannes. 
| and het ða oþre man ealle ðæter on gebede astréahte. ða he ða hwile on þæm gebede wæs. ða færinge waerd se deada man cwyc eft ond fordlocode ond teolode to arisenne. 
| ða genam sanctus martinus hine be his handan. 
| ond upheah arærde ond hine lædde forð to þon cafortune þæs huses ond hine eft þæm mannum hânne ond gesundne ægafe þæm þe hine ær deadne leton. 

n.s.

[missing folio]

| ðas wundor ond manig oþer ælmihtig God þurh þyne eadigan wer worhte ææ þon þe he æfre bisceop ware. 

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91 Swaen (272) criticizes that Morris translated 'destroyed' and did not gloss it. Swaen notes that is the preterite of ðeawyrge, 'to strangle', and counts it among the MS’s many “frequent omissions of <g> in various positions”.

92 So in MS.

93 Hamilton (62,129-30) notes that gebed must be understood as ‘prayer’, not as ‘bed’.

94 Szarmach emends to deaðe.

95 Szarmach corrects to earmlic<yn>.e.

96 Expansion in accordance with the word as in D; expanded likewise by Szarmach (ll. 20-1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SVM 9,1 - 7</th>
<th>[missing folio]</th>
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<td>n.s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVM 10,1 - 2</td>
<td>[missing folio]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.u.</td>
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</tbody>
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Ah sceóðan he þon bisceopháde onfóng In\(^{97}\) turnan ðære byrig, Nis nænig man þet þa wundor ealle asecggan mæge þa de god sceóðan þurh hine worhte. Nis ænig man þet da wundor eall aseege. da de god syddan þurh hine gewrohte. and ðeath de he da maran häd hæfde. and ãc for wyrolde ríca beon scéolde. ðanne he ær was [71v] bæwæðe,\(^{101}\) he hæfde da ilcan eadmódnese, an his hýrтан and da ilcan fórwyrnèndesse on his lichaman, æghwæðer ge on mete ge on hræglege on æghwælcum ðiŋge éfne swa he ær hæfde. hâð hæfde eac for worlde rícra beon scéolde þonne he ær ware þeh hweþpre he hæfde ða íilcan eadmódnese on his heortan and þa íilcan fórwyrnèndesse on his lichaman. æghwæðer ge on mete ge on hræglege on æghwælcum ðiŋge éfne swa he ær hæfde. and he his bisceophád swa gedéfelice for gode geheoldi. for gode. swa he hweþpre näfre þet mægen. and da forsetenesse his munuchádes and da munuchádes ånneforléti. Omnes namque unanimité cupiébant. Ond ealle men forneah da þe ðyses eadygan weres lif cúþon ðe þe forþhyrdon ealle hie þet ánmodlice wilnodan þet hie his wórd gehryan moston and ac syddan he dan býscceopháde onfóng. in turna ðære byrig. Nis ænig man þet da wundor eall aseege. da de god syddan þurh hine gewrohte. and ðeath de he da maran häd hæfde. and ãc for wyrolde ríca beon scéolde. ðanne he ær was [71v] bæwæðe,\(^{101}\) he hæfde da ilcan eadmódnese, an his hýrтан and da ilcan fórwyrnèndesse on his lichaman, æghwæðer ge on mete ge on hræglege on æghwælcum ðiŋge éfne swa he ær hæfde. and he his bisceophád swa gedéfelice for gode geheoldi. for gode. swa he hweþpre näfre þet mægen. and da forsetenesse his munuchádes and da munuchádes ånneforléti. Omnes namque unanimité cupiébant. Ond ealle men forneah da þe ðeses eadygan weres lif cúþon ðe þe forþhyrdon ealle hie þet ánmodlice wilnodan þet hie his wórd gehryan moston and

\(^{97}\)So in MS.

\(^{98}\)The MS has a gap in between the two words, for no discernible reason.

\(^{99}\)Zupitza (219) regards it an error by the copyist, and suggests to read näfre (so emended in Hamilton (62,142)).

\(^{100}\)I.e. ‘monk-hood’, cf. BT s.v. munuc-had.

\(^{101}\)MS has ni wæðere; the ni is in a different ink, apparently a later addition. According to Scragg, the ðe was overwritten.

\(^{102}\)The MS has mete; Szarmach emends to mete.

\(^{103}\)Lit. ‘And so all unanimously desired’; the quote’s origin is unknown.

\(^{104}\)Hamilton (62,145) emends to feor ge neah (as in E).

\(^{105}\)There is a “presumed” ter “written into spine” (Szarmach l. C27).

\(^{106}\)The MS has only the letter l, the full word was added by a later corrector.

\(^{107}\)Szarmach emends to hie.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

[98v] his lare luifan for þan he swa cuðe and godes gife\(^{108}\) on him wæs

SVM

\textit{and} his hlisa wæs forð swiðe mære geond ealne middangeard. \textit{and} he manig tempel \textit{and} deofolgild gebrec \textit{and} gefylde. \textit{and} he þonne þær asette godes círicean. oðde fullice þær mynster getimbreda.

SVM

\textit{and þæt} gelamp sume síde eac þæt he ongan onbærnan sum deofolgild þæt mid þam hæðenum mannum swiðe weord \textit{and} mære wæs. þa stod þær sum nyttwyrdē hus bi ðam hæðengilde þe he þær bærnan ongan þa slog se wind þone līg on þæt nyttwyrdē hus. \textit{and} him þuhte þæt hit eall forbærnan sceolde

his larum fylgean for ðon þe hie sweotollice on him ongeaton godes\(^{109}\) gife ond his blisse

Wæs he forðan swiðe mære geond middangeard \textit{and} he manig templ \textit{and} deofolgylde gebrec \textit{and} gefylde þær hepene\(^{112}\) men ðe deofulum onguldun ond þonne þær he þæt deofolgild\(^{111}\) gefylde þonne asette he þær godes círicean oðde fullice mynster getimbreda.

\textit{þæt} gelamp sume síde þæt he ongan bærnan sum deofolgild þæt mid þæm hæðnum mannum swiðe weord \textit{and} mære wæs þæt stod þæt sum nyttwyrdē hus bi þæm gilde þe he þær bærnan ongan. ða slog se wind þone līg on þæt oþer hús ond duhte\(^{112}\) þæt hit eal forbyrnan sceolde

his larum gelyfan. for ðan hie swutolice on him ongέton godes lufe \textit{and} his blisse.

wæs he forðan swiðe mære geond middangéardi. \textit{and} he manig templ. \textit{and} deofolgild tobrēc \textit{and} gefelde þæt hæðene men ðe deoflum onguldun. \textit{and} ðanne ðær he þæt deofolgylde gefelde. ðonne asette he ðær godes círicean. oðde fullice mynster getimbreda. þæt gelamp sume síde þæt he ongán bærnan sum deofolgylde þæt mid hæðenum mannum swiðe wyrd. \textit{and} mære [72v] wæs. ða stod þæt sum nyttwyrdē hús be ðan gelda ðe he ðær bærnan ongan. ða sloh se wind ðæn légt on þæt oþer hús. \textit{and} him ðuhte þæt hit eal forbýrnan sceolde.

\(^{108}\)Peterson (84,136) suggests to read for ðan þe hie sweotollice on him ongeaton godes gife.

\(^{109}\)The MS has an erasure in between the two words; the erased word is not discernible, and as Hamilton (63,148) notes “[i]t has not yielded to ultra-violet light”.

\(^{110}\)The MS has he þene, i.e. a scribal correction).

\(^{111}\)Morris misprinted deofolgeld.

\(^{112}\)Hamilton (63,155) inserts him, (as in C); also noticed by Zupitza (219) and suggested by Swaen (272).
Swylce gelamp eft oðer wundor þyssum onlic he cwom to sumum tunum ðe librassa wæs geháteni. ða wæs ðær sum geþréatod þurh sancte martines gebydei. þet he nénigum oðrum är sceþþan ne méahte. éfne þæm déofolgelde anum þe he þær bærnan ongani.

Swylce gelamp eft oðer wundor þyssum gelíci. he com to sumen túne ðe librassa was geháten. ða wæs ðær sum geld ðe he hæþenan swide wyrþedan. ða wolde he sanctus martinus ælce þinge ðæt gyld abrécan and gefyllan. ða wiðstódan him ða hæþenan men and hine mid teonum aweg adrifon.

113 One line is missing in C which D and E have; the omission is believed to be due to an accidental eyeskip by the scribe, possibly resulting from the double occurrence of ongæn/ongen (see Szarmach, ll. 97-8).
114 Szarmach (l. 99) emends to þære.
115 I added the be, like Scragg.
116 Peterson (85, 152) suggests to read neðerede.
117 The MS has gebodu (sic!).
118 I added tune, as in D.
119 The MS has da (sic!).
120 Szarmach (l. 105) emends to þinge.
In sume stowe and he hine gegyrede mid hærene hrægle swide hearde and swide unwynsome and fæste þry dagas. and þæt gode ælmihtigne þæt he þurh his godcunde miht þæt deofolgild tobræce and gefylde þæt he hit for manna teonum gebrecan ne moste.

and þæt cwomon þær semninga twegen englas to him gescyldode and geswerode and mid heregeatwum gegyrede efne swa hie to campe feran scealdon and cwædon þæt hie god selfa to him sende þæt hie scealdon þæt hæðene werod geflyman and him martine gefultumian þæt hie þæt deofolgild gebræce and gefylde.

121 So in MS.
122 Hamilton (64,168) notes (as does Swaen: 272) that Morris’ translation ignores big, lit. ‘by’, here meaning ‘nearby’.
123 Probably a scribal error due to the similarity of the letters r and w in Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Hamilton (64,169) and Morris emend to hnægle.
124 Hamilton (64,169) and Morris emend to heardum.
125 Hamilton (64,171) and Morris emend to gebæce.
126 The e is a scribal correction.
127 D has gesperode; E has gespyrode. Szarmach l. 110 suggests that C’s scribe had the same before him but misread the letter p for w (the letters wynn and p being very similar in Anglo-Saxon minuscule).
128 Scragg (1970: 413) suggests that this Kentish form is due to a scribal confusion.
129 Morris and Hamilton (64,172) emend to conon.
130 Morris and Hamilton (64,172) insert a to (as in C).
131 Morris emends to gesperode, probably because C has it; also, SVM has hastati (‘armed with a spear’ (Hamilton: 64,173)).
132 Napier (306) suggests heregeatwum, so emended by Hamilton (64,173); both refer to C and E. Swaen (272) criticizes Morris’ translation and gloss ‘provisions’, and himself glosses ‘equipment, arms, trappings’.

...
SVM 14.6

þa eodon hie eft to þam tune and þær deofulgið tobæcon and gefyldon áðæg oð grund.

SVM 14.7

and þa hæðenan men134. tolócodan135 and hie hwæðre wæron mid þy godcundið men. to-locodan135 and hie hwæðre wæron mid godcundynd men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan and hie hwæðere wæron mid godcundum men. to-locodan.

[113x275]134The MS has ñm.

135I.e. to-locodan ("watch").

136Peterson (85,177) notes that D has nawðer.

137The MS has codcunde (sic!).

138The MS has menio, i.e. a scribal correction.

139The MS has ñm.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

140The odd spelling is perhaps due to a Gleitlaut (glide) inserted in the cluster sl, see Peterson (85,188), who refers to GrSB §210 (1). Sisam (1976: 28) regards the inserted his and sclean as being from a later hand, cf. Scragg (1992: 309). Sisam (1953) conjectured it was in use in England in the 11th century. Cf. Szarmach (l. 124).

141Hamilton (65,191) remarks that C and E have egesan, which he regards a more “accurate” translation of SVM’s divino metu.

142Morris and Hamilton (66,196) emend to Gelomlice, as in C.

143Hamilton (66,199) notes that both C and E have gyld Brecon on fyldon.

144Emended in accordance with Szarmach; the MS has ge fan.
SVM 16,1

and he to þæs mihtig wæs
het he aæce untrumnesse
to hælanne and to þæs
mycle gife he dæs æt gode
onfeng. þætte [99v] ne
was ænig man to þæs
untrum þe hine gesóhte
þet he sona hælo ne
onfenge.

SVM 18,4
Ge þæt of gelamp.
þonne hwykle man his
hraegles darl to untrumnam
menn brohte þæt he
þonne þurh þæt weard hal
geworden.

SVM 20,1
In þyssu he þonne
wæs. ealles swiðost to
herigenne þæt he næfre
nænigum woruldricum
men ne cyninge sylfum
þurh lease ollünunge
swidor onbugan wolde
þonne hit riht ware. ac
t þe In cællum sód and
riht dón wolde.

SVM 26,5
þis is sódlice eadig wer ne
wæs næfre facen ne inwit
in his heortan. ne ænigne
unrihtlice demde ne ne
winitode. ne he ænigum
yfel mid yfele geald.

To þæs mihtig he þonne
wæs ælce untrumnesse
to hælelæne ond to þæs
myccele gife he þæs æt
gode onfeng þæt næning
næs to þæs untrum de
hine gesohete þæt he sona
hælo ne onfenge.

and þæt oft gelamp. þonne
hwykle man his hraegles
darl to untrumnam
men brohte þæt he ðonne
þurh þæt sona weard hal
geworden.

ge þæt oft gelamp þonne
man hwykle dan his
hraegles to untrumnam
men gebrohte þæt he ðonne
durh þæt sona was hál
geworden. and ðæs he wæs ðonne
cælra swidast [76r]
heroanne þæt he næfre ne
ænigum worldlicum men
ne cyninge sylfum durh
léase ollcunga swidor
onbugan wolde. þanne
hit riht ware. and ðæc he
þæt æghwilcum men sæd and
riht sprecone wolde and
dón.

Vere beatus uir in quo
dolosi. Þis wæs soðlice
eadig wer ne wæs æfre
facen ne inwid on his
heortan ne he ænigne
man unrihtlice fordæme
de nænigum yfel wiþ yfele
geald.

and to þæs mihtig
he ðanne wæs ælce
untrumnesse to hælanne.
and to ðæs mycel gyfe he
ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt
næs ænig to ðæs untrum
de hine gesohete þæt he
sóna hælo ne beæte.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

ne hine ænig man yrne
ne gramheortne ne
geseah ac he was In
anum mode and efne
heofonlice blisse and
gefean. man meate
meaht æ in his mode geseon
and on his andwlit anongtan.
and ne gehyrde ænig man
aht elles of his möde
butan cristes lot and nytte
spræce ne aht elles on his
heortan butan æræstnesse
and mildheortnesse. and
sibbe. and eadmmodnesse.

SVM 27,1 - 2
ne hine nænig man yrne
ne grammòdéne ne fundei.
Ac he was æ on anum
mòde ond efne heofonlice
blisse ond geféan mon
mihte æ on his möde
ongtan ne gehyrde nænig
man on anu his möde
ond efne heofonlice
blisse and geféan mon
mihte æ on his möde
ongtan ne gehyrde nænig
man on

ne hine nænig man yrne
ne grammódne ne fundei.
Ac he was æ on anum
mòde ond efne heofonlice
blisse ond geféan mon
mihte æ on his möde
ongtan ne gehyrde nænig
man on

SET 6
Swylce eac þes eadiga
wer sanctus. martinus
mycle ær beforan þe
he þone dag wiste
his forðfore
ond him drihten þæt
gecyþed hæfde and
he þa his broðrum
sæged. þær hit þa ætrihte
ware þær he of þisse
worulde scoelde ða wiste
[100r] he sumne hired
on his bisceopscyre
þa þe unglþpweare and
ungenþysume him
betweonum wæron.
þær ferde he þyder mid
his þegnum. þeah de he
wiste þær hit þa æt his
deædæge ware. þær he
huru wolde þær he ealle
in sybbe wæron ær he of
worulde ferde

SVM 76v
Swylce eac þes eadiga
wer sanctus. martinus
mycle ær beforan þe
he þone dag wiste
his forðfore
ond him drihten þæt
gecyþed hæfde and
he þa his broðrum
sæged. þær hit þa ætrihte
ware þær he of þisse
worulde scoelde ða wiste
[100r] he sumne hired
on his bisceopscyre
þa þe unglþpweare and
ungenþysume him
betweonum wæron.
þær ferde he þyder mid
his þegnum. þeah de he
wiste þær hit þa æt his
deædæge ware. þær he
huru wolde þær he ealle
in sybbe wæron ær he of
worulde ferde

SWM 77r
Swylce eac þes eadiga
wer sanctus. martinus
mycle ær beforan þe
he þone dag wiste
his forðfore
ond him drihten þæt
gecyþed hæfde and
he þa his broðrum
sæged. þær hit þa ætrihte
ware þær he of þisse
worulde scoelde ða wiste
[100r] he sumne hired
on his bisceopscyre
þa þe unglþpweare and
ungenþysume him
betweonum wæron.
þær ferde he þyder mid
his þegnum. þeah de he
wiste þær hit þa æt his
deædæge ware. þær he
huru wolde þær he ealle
in sybbe wæron ær he of
worulde ferde

145Szarmach (l. 141) claims to emend from yrne to yrre (as in D and E), though the MS actually has yrre.
146The MS shows a runic M here; the runic M can also be found on fols. 128v and 131v (in “Elene”), cf. Szarmach (l. 142), and Scragg (1970: 186).
147C and E have of, therefore, Hamilton emends to of his muþe; Napier (306) would emend to ne aht elles of his muþe.
148 Peterson (85,220) suggests to read mycle ær beforan þone dag wiste.
149In the sense ‘to die’; cf. his daga ende ware below in this paragraph.
150Hamilton (67,218) notes that Morris falsely translates da wiste he as a temporal sentence.
151As Hamilton (67,219) notes, Zupitza (219) regards it a rare but acceptable form.
SET 7  þa cwomon hie to sumre ea. þa gesawon hie þara wel feala þara fugela þe we scealfiras\textsuperscript{152} nemnæp and hie ða fixas uprugon of þere ea and þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge þonne wæs he eft swa gifre swa he ær wæs. þæt he oðerne gename. ða cwæð sanctus martinus hwæt þas wiht habbað deofla onlicnesse swa þe deofol á særæ hwæt he mæge unware men beswican. and he næfre to þæs feala beræded. þæt he æfre ful sie.

SET 8  ða bebead sanctus martinus þam fugelum þæt hie þanon fram þam wætere gewiten and on westen and drige\textsuperscript{153} land sohton and efne on þa gelincesse swa he þone deoful of stowa gehwylcre gefylmde þær he þonne wæs. Swa ða fugelas sona ealle ætsonne\textsuperscript{154} on weg gewiton þæt heora nan atstod furðun\textsuperscript{155} behindan and hie þæt wundredon þe þæt gesawon and his fera waron þæt ða fugelas sylfe eac sancte martine gehyrdon

\textsuperscript{152}In SVM mergatores; Szarmach (l. 152) writes: “the birds in question appear to be mergansers (mergus merganser) rather than loons (colymbus torquatus) or grebes (podiceps cristatus). Wright 1884 gives mergus/mergulus/mergula/turdefa as glosses for scealfor. On the bottom of fol. 77r in [E] there is a drawing of a bird that appears to have a crested head. Whether it is meant to represent a scealfor is doubtful, since [E] lacks the incident; the anecdote of the scealfiras would, however, have begun on fol. 77r if it had been included in the [E] version.”

\textsuperscript{153}Peterson (85,237) suggests to read drige, (‘dry’); Szarmach (l. 158) emends accordingly.

\textsuperscript{154}The MS has etsonne, i.e. a scribal correction.

\textsuperscript{155}Szarmach (l. 160) emends to furfum.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

SET 9

\[\text{ða he hæfde\textsuperscript{156} þone gyryd gesybbodn\(\textsuperscript{e}\) \(\text{þe he [100v]} \text{þær to ferde}\ and \ \text{þær well}\textsuperscript{157} \text{many dagas}\textsuperscript{es} \text{æ} \ \text{þæ he ðæ eft mynte mid his \(\text{þegnum to his mynstre \(\text{færan \(\text{Þæ he \(\text{weard \(he \(færinga \(sw进而 \(\text{untrum} \text{æ} \ \text{ðæ heht he him \(ealle his discipulos to \(ond \(his \(sægde \(he \(þæt he \(\(\text{forðferan sceolde.} \)
}

\text{þæ woopen \(he \(ealle sona and \(sárlice gebærdon for \(heora hlaforde and \(he \(ðus \(cwædon to him. for \(hwan \(forlætest \(du \(la \(fæder us \(nu \(git. \(Oððe \(hwam \(bebeodest \(du \(us \(eac \(gid \(ðu \(gewítest. \(Cumað \(rixiende\textsuperscript{161} wulfas \(and \(todrífað \(\(he \(orum \(heorde. \(hwa \(forstandeð \(ðonne \(hie \(gid \(ðu \(hie \(ne \(scyldest; \(we \(ðæt \(ðonne \(witan \(\(\(\(\(\text{þæt ðæt is ðines \(modes \(willa ðæt ðu \(mote ðæs \(woruld \(forlætan and \(críst \(gesone. \(Ac \(mihta ðu ðonne \(hwædre us and \(gemyne \(ure \(þearfe.} \)

\[\text{ða he ðæ hæfde ðane gyryd gesybbodn ðe he \(\(\(\(\(\(\text{þær to ferde ond \(ðæt dagas}\textsuperscript{159} \(wæs ðæ he ðæ eft [134v] \(mynte mid his \(discipulatum to his \(mynstre \(færan ðæ \(weard ðe \(færinga \(swiper \(\text{untrum} ðæ \(heht he \(him \(ealle his \(discipulos to ond \(he him \(sægde ðæt he ðæ \(forðferan sceolde.} \)

\[\text{ða weopan hie ealle sona and \(sárlice gebærdon for \(heora hlaforde and \(he \(ðus \(cwædon to him. for \(hwan \(forlætest ðu \(la \(fæder us \(nu \(git. Õððe \(hwam \(bebeodest ðu \(us \(eac \(gid ðu \(gewítest. \(Cumað \(rixiende u \(wulfas \(and \(todírað ðine heorde. Þæ hwa \(forstandeð ðonne \(hie \(gid ðu \(hie \(ne \(scyldest; we ðæt ðonne \(witan ðæt ðæt is ðines \(modes \(willa ðæt ðu \(mote ðæs \(woruld \(forlætan and \(críst \(gesone. \(Ac \(mihta ðu ðonne \(hwædre us and \(gemyne \(ure \(þearfe.} \)

\[\text{ða he ðæ hæfde ðane gyryd gesybbodn ðe he ðær to ferde and ðær wel many dagas ðæs ðæ he ðæ eft mid his \(discipulatum to his \(mynstre \(færan ðæ \(weard ðe \(færinga \(swiper \(\text{untrum ðæ ðæ heht he him \(ealle his \(discipulos to ond \(he him \(sægde ðæt he ðæ ðæ \(forðferan sceolde. ðæ weopan hie ealle sona and \(sárlice gebærdon for \(heora hlaforde and \(he \(ðus \(cwædon to him. for \(hwan \(forlætest ðu la fæder us nu git. Õððe \(hwam \(bebeodest ðu us eac gid ðu gewítest. Cumað ri xiende u wulfas and todírað ðine heorde. Þæ hwa for standeð ðonne hie gid ðu hie ne scyldest; we ðæt ðonne witan ðæt ðæt is ðines modes willa ðæt ðu mote ðæs woruld forlætan and críst gesone. \(Ac \(mihta ðu ðonne hwædre us and gemyne ðu ðeare.} \)

\text{156}The MS has ða he he hæfde (sic!).

\text{157}Since the double consonant is odd, Peterson (86,244) suggests to read wel.

\text{158}Not in the MS; added as in Szarmach (l. 136) and Scragg (305,244), from D and E.

\text{159}So in MS.

\text{160}Hamilton (67,225) suggests to read it as a relative clause rather than as a temporal clause.

\text{161}Napier (1904) regards risende (in E) the correct reading, cp. D.

\text{162}Hamilton (68,230) adds an ond here.

\text{163}Morris and Hamilton (68,233) emend to miltsa.

\text{164}Note that the translation precedes the Latin quote; D shows the usual order.
and he hie ælle wæpende geseah he weop he sylf and his mód wæs onstyred mid þæm heora wordum. Swa he wæs manna mildheortost and he efne mid wæpendre stefne þus to dryhtne cwæð. Si ad huc populo tuo sum necessarius. Dryhten cwæð, gif ic nu gít sie þinum folce nidþearflice her in worulde to habbanne þonne ne widþearflice ic þæm gewinne þet ic nu gyt mid him sie wæs he to þæs ærfaþ þæt him wæs ægðer on weorce ge þæt he ða broðor forlete ge huru þone169 þæt he læng fram cristes onsyne were þæt he ða ne gesawe170 [next folio missing]

165 MS has pependre (sic!).
166 MS has midþearflice. Peterson (86,260) suggests to read nidþearflice; Scragg emends accordingly.
167 In Scragg (1970: 413) an example for a non-WS (Anglian) form.
168 Peterson (86,264) and likewise Szarmach (l. 175) suggest to read þonne (as in E).
169 Napier (1904) reads 'should not see it', but Szarmach (l. 176) doubts this reading, since dane is a common form in E.
170 Hamilton (69,241) emends to þæs ne gesawe (as in C and E), which Napier (307) regards as a mistake by D's copyist; Swaen (272) emends to þæt he þone ne gesawe.
171 So in MS; Szarmach emends to willan, as in D.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

SET 13

[missing folio]

ond þus cwæð. Min drihten longe ic wæs nu on þæm heardon campe her on worlde ac þonne hweþre ne wiðsace ic þon þær ic on þæm campe leng sie gif hit þin willa swiðor bið ac ic mid þinum wiþnum getrymed on þinum feðan feaste stande ond for þinre campunga173 þa hwile þe þin willa bið

SET 14

[missing folio]

Wæs him ægweðer þæm eadigan were geseo godes lufu to ðæs håt ond to ðæs beorht on his heortan deah176 he for ðæm deafe ne forhtode ah hine ðæs heardost langode hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste and ðus cwæð [...] min drihten lâne ic nu wæs on þan heardon cânpe her on wyrolde . ac ðanne hwæðere ne wiðsace ic ðan þær ic on ðan campe174 [78v] læng sie gif hit þin willa swiðor bið175 ac ic mid ðinum wiþnum getrymed on ðinum feðan feaste stande . and for de câmpige ða hwile de ðin willa bið .

waes him æghwæðer ðam eadigan were gesyo godes lufu to ðæs håt , ge to ðæs byrht . on his hyörtan . ði he for ðan deade . ne forhtode . ac him ðæs heardost lângode hwanne he of ðisse wyrolde moste .

173Napier (307) and Hamilton (69,245) emend to for þe campige , which corresponds to SVM militabo.

174As Szarmach (l. C101) also notes, “this last MS line on fol. 78r is begun well away from the margin and is double-underlined”.

175Illegible, added from D, as in Szarmach (l. C102).

176Hamilton (69,247) emends to ði to make sense of the passage.
[missing folio]

ond him þonne wæs eac manna lufu to þæs mycel þær him nænig gewin her on worlde to lang ne to heard ne þuhte þæs þe he heora saulum to hæle ond to ræde gewinnan mihte. þa wæs he dagas wel manige mid þære leforádle swiðe gestæden ah he þeah næfre gode weorcnes ne aþlon ah he hwilum älle niht þurhwacode on halgum gebedum ond þeah þe se lichoma wære mid þære untrumnesse swa swiðe geswênced hweþre his mód wæs aheard177 ond gefondon on drihten ond þonne he [135v] reste hine þonne wæs his seo æþeleste ræst on his earnopþe elles on nacodre eordan.

and him þanne wæs þæs manna lufu to þæs mycel. þær him nænig gewin her on wyrolde to lang ne to heard ne ðuhte. ðæs de hýra saulum to hælo. and to ræde gewinnan mealhte ða wæs he wel manige dagas mid178 þam [79r] feðeradle179 swiðe gestæden. ac he hwæðere næfre gödes wýrces ne blon. ac he hwilum älle niht þurhwacode on halgum gebedum. and deah de se lichama wære mid ðære untrumnesse swiðe geswênced hwæðere his mód wæs aheard. and gefondon on drihten. and þanne he reste. þanne wæs his seo æþeleste ræst on his earn180. oðœ elecora nihte on nacodre eordan181.

177Hamilton (69/70,255) separates to a beard.
178As Szarmach (l. C109) also notes and accurately describes, “below this last line on fol. 78v is a bird-like head with a rather longish neck”.
179A later hand/corrector corrected the MS’s feðeradle.
180The MS has earn; Förster (1893) suggested this emendation, Napier agreed, Szarmach (l. C113) emends accordingly.
181So in MS.
APPENDIX I: THE ANONYMOUS HOMILY IN MSS C / D / E

SET 15 [missing folio]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{þa bædon hine} & \text{ his discipulos } \text{þet hie mostan huru sune} \\
\text{uncýme streownesse} & \text{ him under gedón for his untrunmesse}. \\
\text{þa cwæð he bearn} & \text{ ne bidde ge þæs ne gedufenæþ cristenan} \\
\text{men } \text{þet he elles dò butan} & \text{ swa he eñe on axan ond on dûste liege gif ic} \\
\text{eow ofres dýnges bysene} & \text{ onstelle þonne agyhte ic ...} \\
\text{ond á þar he læg he hæfde} & \text{ his handa upweardes ond} \\
\text{mid his eagum up to} & \text{ heofenenum lócode þyder} \\
\text{héofonum locade þyder} & \text{ his módgeþanc á geseted wæs.} \\
\text{ða bædan hine} & \text{ ða godes þeowas ða ðe} \\
\text{þær to him coman } \text{þet hie hine moston on oþre} \\
\text{sidan oncyrran ond } & \text{ dá cwæð he to him. Sinite fratres sinite celum potius} \\
\text{respiceræ}. & \text{ Förletæð gebroðra he cwæð þa spræce.} \\
\text{broðor he cwæð þa spræce. förletæð me} & \text{ heofon swþor geséon þonne eordan þet minum} \\
\text{heordan þet minum gaste sie to drihtne weg} & \text{ þyder he feron sceal.}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{þa bædon hine} & \text{ ða his discipulos } \text{þet hie mostan hwilce hweþa} \\
\text{uncýme strætnesse him} & \text{ under gedón for his untrunmesse}. \\
\text{ða cwæð he bearn} & \text{ ne biddaþ ge ðæs ne gedafenæþ cristian} \\
\text{men } \text{þet he elles dò butan} & \text{ swa he eñe on axan ond on dûste liege}. \\
\text{gif ic } & \text{ eow ofres } \text{ðýnges bisene onstelle.} \\
\text{þonne agyhte ic ... and } & \text{ á þær heæfde his handa upweardes.} \\
\text{and mid his } & \text{ eagum up to heofonum lócode.} \\
\text{þæs he hæfde his } & \text{ handa upweardes. and mid his eagum up} \\
\text{and his módgeþanc á seted wæs.} & \text{ his módgeþanc á geseted wæs.} \\
\text{ða bædan hine} & \text{ ða godes } \text{ ðeowas ða } \\
\text{þær to him coman } & \text{ þet hie hine móstan on oþre} \\
\text{sidan oncyrran.} & \text{ sidan oncyrran. } \text{ and } \\
\text{þa cwæð he to heom.} & \text{ and } \\
\text{Sinite fratres sinite celum potius} & \text{ respiceræ. Förletæð gebroðra he cwæð } \text{ ða spræce.} \\
\text{respiceræ. Förletæð gebroðra he} & \text{ cwæð þa spræce. förletæð me} \\
\text{heofon. swþor geséon } & \text{ heofon. swþor geséon} \\
\text{ðanne eordan } & \text{ ðanne eordan } \text{ þet} \\
\text{þet minum gaste sie to drihtne weg } & \text{ þinum gaste sie to drihtne weg} \\
\text{[80r] ðider he } & \text{ [80r] ðider he ðan feran scyl.}
\end{align*} \]

182Hamilton (70,265) emends to respicere.
183I followed Szarmach, who added do butan and liege from D.
184Added by Szarmach (l. C117).
185Reconstructed, MS damaged.
186Added likewise by Szarmach (l. C121).
Ogawa (1996: 461) studied the use of ‘þa’ in his article, and notes that its “repetitive use” in this passage contrasts the sparing use in Ælfric’s texts.

Morris corrects to ‘repper[...]es’.

Szarmach (l. C123) suggests the scribe meant *uestra*, and emends to D’s *bestia*.

Szarmach emends to D’s *finiste*.

As Scragg (1992: 308/9,298) notes, *ofagelet* and other defective words on these last folios were retouched by a later hand, though “some wrongly”; he suggests *ofagelet*.

Only *dri* is legible; I expanded in accordance with earlier forms and Napier (307), Szarmach (l. C128) and Hamilton (92).
hwæt we nu gehyræþ
Men þæt leofestan194. hu
haliglice þæs eadiga wer
sancetus martinus his lif for
gode lifde. þa hwile þe he
her on worulde was. and
hu fægerum edleanum
he þæs æt urum dryhtne
onféng. and nu á þa hwile
þe þæs world stænde.
his gód195 man mærsæð
geon middangeard
In godes cirican and he
nu mid eallum halgum á
to widan feore in heofona
rice for dryhtnes onsyne
gefyðh and blissæþ. ac
utan we la tilian. Men
þæt we
þæs halgan weres sancetus
martinus lif and his dæda
onherien197 þæs þe ure
gemet sie and wutan
hine biddan þæt he us
sia in heofonum þingere
wið urne dryhten. nu
we her oncordan hine
geon middangeard.
wyrðiæþ dryhten us to
þam gefultumige se ðe
leofæþ and rixæþ áa in
eallra worulda world a
butan ende [.] ameN;

[missing folio]

hwæt wé nu gehéráð198 hu
eadmðlicæ þæs eadiga wer
his lif for gode gelýfode.
ða hwile ðe he her on
worulde199 was. and hu
fæger edlæan he æt urum
drihtne onféng. and nu á
ða hwile ðe ðæs wúrold
stændeð his god man200
mærsæð geond eallne disne
middangeard. on godes
cyriscæþ. and he nu mid
eallum halgum to widan
féore on heofona rice for
drihtnes | onsyne gefyðh.
and blissæþ. ac utan
we tyligan þæt we ðyses
cadigan weres lif. and his
dæda onhyrigan201 þæs ðe
ure gemet sie 202i. and
wutan203 hine biddan þæt
he us sige on heofonum
þingere wið urne drihten.
uu we her on cordan his
gemynd wyrðiæþ. to
ðan ús gefultumige ure
drihten. se leofæþ204. and
ricsæþ. a butan ænde205.
A M E N –

194The MS has M.
195Szarmach (l. 180) emends to god.
196The MS has M.
197Scragg (1970: 413) suggests that this Kentish form is due to a scribal confusion.
198Hamilton (92,6) emends to gehyræþ.
199Hamilton (92,8) emends to world.
200Hamilton (92,8) emends to man.
201Hamilton (92,12) emends to onhyrigan.
202Napier (307) and Hamilton (92,12) emend to sie.
203MS has state. Hamilton (92,12) also emends to wutan, as in C (wuton), cf. Napier (307).
204Hamilton (92,12) emends to se de leofæþ.
205Hamilton (93,14) emends to ende.
Appendix II: Ælfric’s Life of St Martin in MS L

This is the first edition of Ælfric’s Life of St Martin in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343. MS J’s line numbers are given in the margins wherever L deviates. The line numbers of J and L are identical up to l. 131.

A universal process in the transition from Old to Middle English is the leveling (and eventually the loss) of final syllables, a transition which marks the language’s change from a synthetic into an analytic language. The common OE prefix ge- for the past participle becomes i- in a transition period, and is eventually lost in the ME period. The edited text in MS L presents exactly this transition period, and the frequent use of accents, performed as long, thin strokes particularly highlights the i-prefix. Another typical process is the increasing inconsistency in the employment of specific graphemes to represent specific phonemes, which results in a widening “of the gap between spelling and pronunciation” (Irvine 1993: lv). Irvine confines her study of the manuscript’s language to the homilies of her edition; nevertheless, her statements are valid for our text as well, and she provides an introduction/study of the manuscript’s orthography (pp. lvi ff.), phonology (pp. lxii ff.), and morphology (pp. lxx ff.). In a later article, she argues that the predominance of forms points clearly to a West Midlands origin, “near Worcester”; see Irvine (2000: 237).
Sulpicius hatte sum snoter writere.
he wolde writan þa wundræ ant þa mihtæ
þe martinus de méra mihtiglice fremode
on þissere worulde . ant he wrat þa bi him
þa þing þe he ofaxode . oddæ æt him sylfue ;
oddæ æt ofrum monnum . forþan æt monig weron
his wundre cúfe þe god wrohte þurh hine .
ant we ðæt englisc nimæð of pare ylcan ïsetnyssse
ac we ne writæð ná mare ; buton his agene wundra : 5

[SVM 2,1] MARTINUS DE MERE BISCOP WÆS IBOREN
ON DAM FÆSTENE sabaria ïháten pannoniscre scíre .
ant an ón tícinis he wæs ïfedd . italiam londes .
he com of hæþenuæ þem æþelborenuæ swaðeah
of würdfule megðe . æfter weorulþinge

[SVM 2,2] his fæder wæs ærest cempæ ant æft cempæne aeldor .
ant martinus wæs ïwenod to wepnum from childhade .
ant campdome fyligðe betwux larlice folcum .
ærest under constantíne þam æþelen casere .
ant æft under iuliane þam arleasan widersacan
ná swáðeah sylfwilles . forþam ðe he from cildhade wæs swiðor
onbrúð þurh god to godcundlice þeowdome .
þone to woruldlice campdome . swa swa hé cydde syððan .
[SVM 2,3] þa þa hé wæs tén wyntra þa weard he ïcristnod .
his maga unðancæs . ant on wunderlice ïmete
sonæ to godes þeowdome he wæs all ïhwyrfed .
ant þa ða he wæs twelf winta . he wilnode to westene .
ant he hit eác gefremode ; gif he þa ylde hæfde .
[SVM 2,4] his mod wæs swáðeah efre embe mynstre smeagunge .
oddæ embe cyrcæn . ant godes ïsetnyssse
he smeade þa on childháde . ðæt he syððan fremedo .

1 Sulpicius ] The initial is enlarged and in black ink, and it has in its two centres sun-like decorations in red ink. 26 winta ] The a is a scribal correction.

1 snoter ] Note that J does not have snoter in this line. Considering the usual number of two stresses per half-line, it is well imaginable that the copyist of L inserted the word as an improvement on the metrical long-line.
[SVM 2,5] þa wæs þær casere bebob þæt þære cémpe næ sunu þe weron forealode wurdon ínámode
to þam ylcan campdome de heoræ fæderas ón weron.

ant martinus þa weard ameldod. from his fæder.

þa hé on his weórcum áwácode. ant he weard íracenteged.

þa þa he fiftene wintre wæs betæht to þam winne
mid | ánúm his þeowan þe his gesiða wæs
þam de he sylf þenode swiðor þonne he him.
ant samod heo reordoden swa swa ílice.

[SVM 2,6] þreo gér hé ferde mid þam folclice cempum
buton wæpnunge ærþam de he ware ífullod
unwemmed swaðeah from weoruldicre bismitennyse.
on ðare þe mennisc cynn mycele on syngæð.

[SVM 2,7] Embe his euencempæn he hæfde wælwillendnysse.
ant mycel lufe. ant metfes i dúlt.
ant sódãste eadmodnesse. ofer mennisc ímét.
Swá mucelc forhæfednesse hé hæfde on his bigleofene
swylc he múnc wære swiðor þone cempæ.
ant for his æðele þeawum his euencempan þa alle
híne arwurðodon. mid wunderlice lufe.

[SVM 2,8] he næs da gyt ífullod. ác he fulde swaðæah
þæs fulluhtes dæda mid fulfremede weorce.
swa þæt he swincende fylste. ant þerfende fædde.
ant nacode scrydde. ant nán þing him sylfum
on his campdomesscipe on his seode ne heold.
buton þæt he dæghwamlicé bigleofan hæfde
swá swa þæt godspell sæð. Ne þeng þu bi mæregene.

[SVM 3,1] Ón sumere tide he ferde forð þurh áne burh
ambianus íhaten. on hætelice winræ.
on swa mycel chyle; þæt súme men swylton þurh þone.
þa ðemette hé þær ænne nacoden þearfum
biddende þa ridende þæt heo him sum reaf sealdon.
ac héo ridan héom forð ant ne rohten his clypunge.
Martinus þa ongeat þæt he moste him hælpen
þa þa ðore noldon. [SVM 3,2] æc he nyste swaðæah
hwæt he sealde þam nacoden. forþan þe sylf næfde

64 him hælpen] Cf. the line and the note in J
100 þæt he of ðam camdome þa cumen moste. 
for him ne ðuhte ná fremfullic  þæt he fenge to þare gif

101 camdome] MS camdome (sic); I emended in accordance with the word in ll. 17 and 22
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ant syddan ne campode  mid þam casere ford.

105 ant underfó díne gife  de de faht mid þe.

ic cám godes cempæ  ne mot ic ná feohten.

110 ant gebealh hine de casere  ant cwaéd þet he for yrhdæ

hine sylfe ætbrugde  swa; þam campdóme.

115 SVM 4,3 he cwæð þá to þam earleasan. oðþis ic campode þé.

120 SVM 4,4 þa gebealh hine de casere  ant cwaéd þet he for yrhdæ

þæs toewardæn feohtes  ant ná for eawfestyse

125 SVM 4,5 Ac martinus unforht to þam manfullæn cwaéd.

3. SVM 4,6] þá het þe arléasæ healden þone halgæ

heoræ he reiht þone halgæ þone halgæ

130 SVM 4,7 On þam æfteran dæge  dydon þa hæðenon

ætforæn dam trymen. ant ic fare orsorh

135 SVM 4,8] þá het þe arléasæ healden þone halgæ

138 ant] Note the unabbreviated form here.
ælfric's life of st martin in ms l

ant hét héom gán út. ant behæpsode þa duræ.

140 ant astræhte hine sylfnæ sone ofer ðone deadan
   biddende his drihten. ðæt he ðone deade arêrde.
   Dá æfter summe firste. he ñfredde on his mode
   þæt godes miht wæs towearð. ant he stód þá úp
   anbidigende unforht his benæ tyða.
145 þæ æfter twám tidum styrede þe deade
   allum limum. ant wæs locigende.
   [SVM 7,4] þa clypode martinus mucel þangængende gode.
   ant þa ðe þær úte stóden instopen sonæ
   swide ablicgede þæt hêo ísægen þa libban
150 þone ðe heo ær forlêtænn deadne.
   [SVM 7,5] he weard þa sone ifullod. ant he syddæn leofede
   monige gear. [SVM 7,6] ant monum sêde
   þæt hê to þæs hæðstan demen heahsetle wæs íbroht.
   ant þær him wæs idemed to dymre stôwe.
155 þær he unrot wunede mid woruldmônnum.
   on witnunge þa hwêle. ant da weard icyd
   þurh twegen engles þam ælmihtig demæn
   þæt he ðe mon wére þe martinus fore bêd.
   ant þa weard eft ñboden þurh da ylcan engles
160 þæt he wêre ílêdd to life ongéan.
   ant martine ñgyfen. ant hit weard swa da.
   [SVM 7,7] Da sprône martines lîæ geond þæt lond wîde.
   þæt he ðe halig wæs on weorcum. were apostolic wêr ñlîfed.
   [SVM 8,1] Êt æfter summe firste férde þe halga wêr
   ofer sumnes ðegnes lond. lupícinus íhaten.
165 þa íhryde hê feorran fêrlic reâm.
   þæt he wærþa ístydegod 36v
   befregnende georne hwæt þæt ferlices wére.
   him wês þa isæd þæt sum unsæleg mon
   hine selfne ahenge. of ðare hiwrawdene
170 ant swa hongiende hine sylfnæ adýyde.
   Martinus þa íneode þær þe mon læg ðæd
   ant adrefde þá út alle þa menìu.
   ant hine sylfnæ astræhte ofer þone sawulléase lichaman

152 sêde] Not in MS, added from J/K. 174 lichaman] Added from J/K
sune hwile on gebedum. [SVM 8,3] ant he sonæ cwicode.
ant mid geornfule ælnunge úp arisende wæs.
ant nóm martines swideran bond mid him stød
ant forðstóp mid him on þæs folces ísihðe.
[SVM 12,1] Eft on sume time férde martinus
on his biscoþríce. þa bérer men þær an líc
ánes hæðenes monnes. þet heo hine burigden.
þa biheold martinus þa hæðene feorre.
[SVM 12,2] ant wende þet heo beron swa swa heora wúne wæs
heora deofelglyrd dwollice ofer þet lond.
[SVM 12,3] ant wrohte þa rodetacen wið þæs folces weard
ant bead heom on gode unnamed þet heo hit ne bærø na furðor.
ac alægdon sonæ þa burðene. [SVM 12,4] ant þa bérmën sonæ
stedfeste stóden. swylce heo astifede weron.
þær mihte wundrien þe ðær bí wére.
hú ða éarme bérmén ñbunden to ðære eordán
wendon heom abúton. walden forð gan.
ac þá þá héo ne mihten of ðære molden styrigan
þa setten heo þet líc. ant besæah ælc to oðre.
swylce wundriende hwi heóom swa ñllumpe.
[SVM 12,5] Ac þa þe martinus onceaw ðæt heo líc beren
ant ná deofelglyde; þa dude hú úp his hánd.
ant sealde heom leafe forð to farene.
ant þet líc to berene to burigenne swá swá heo ímynten.
þus ðe halga biscoþ bond heom mid his weorde.
ant eft þa þa he wolde lét heom awæg gán.
[SVM 14,1] hwilon eax þe halga wér towearp án hæðengyld. J 429
þa sette he sone fyr on þet feondlice tempel.
þet hit on brade læge brastlínde wæs.
þa wende þet fyr forð mid þe winde
to án huse þe þær next wæs.
[SVM 14,2] ac martinus mid hofste úppon þæt hus astah.
ant sette hine syflne ongean þone swegende líg.
þer mihte wúnder iseon. þe þær bi wére.
hú ðe wind ant þe líg. fuhten heom bitweonen.

177 bond] hand added from J/K, but changed to hond, the usual form in L 188 swylce] J
swilce; K swylce 193 besæah] J besæah; K beah 200 awæg] J awæg; K aweg
The wind blew down the lodge. It was windy and it closed during the night. Forbear the holy man where he was in the house. At the beginning of that he was told where. [SVM 14,3] Eft on some place the was librum ihaten. Wolde he halga martinus towearpan an tempel. 

That was dearle walsig hús íwurðod þam deofle. He forwernde þa hæðenan þam halgan wær þæs. 


Het he mid heofenlice mihte þet templ tobytte. Þa ðæ he mid his crafte tocwæsæn hit ne mihte. [SVM 14,5] Æfter þan festene him cóm tó férllice twegian scinende englæs. Mid speren. Antcelandes swylcse on geliçesse heofenlices wërodes. 

Segende þam halgan þæt þe hælend heom sende. Þæt heo þæt cyrlisse folc afligen scéoldon. Ant Martine fullumæn. Þæt heo ne mihten him widstonden. 

[SVM 14,6] martinus þa férde to þam foreséde deofelgyld. Ant mid þære engle futumæ monne onlocendæ. 


Ant þurh þa godecund mihte mycle wurdon afyrhte. 


Biddende þone bishop þæt he hire bletsode. Ant cwæd ic iliffe Þæt heo libbe þurh ðe.
[SVM 16,5-6] Martinus dæ cwæð þæt hit his mihta nære to swylyce dæde. ac þe feder ne swác to bidden hine mid wópe. od ðet þa ðæþe biscoðæ þæ wéron mid martine macdon þæt he eod to þam liegende mædene. ant ormeta meniu þerute abidon hwæt de biscoð dön walde.

[SVM 16,7] þa stræhte martinus to moldan his lime ant hælegede syððan sumne del eles. ant dude on þæs mædenes muð. ant hóþe mihte þa spécan.

[SVM 16,8] ant alle híre limen endemes cwicedon. ant héro þa hál aras; þæt folc onlogende

[SVM 17,1] Da wæs sum heahþegen tetradius ihaten ant his ðeowæ món án wæs þæarle awéd.

þæ bed þe þone halgan þæt he his hond on him sætte.

Mætine hit þa þone món him to læden. ác nan mon ne durste to ðam deofelseocan gán. forþande hé wunderlice awedde mid þam muðe. ant ælcne wolde teran þe him in toode.


þa cwæð þe halga wér þæt he to his huse gan noðe hæþenes monnes. ant manfullæn liðes.

Þe hæþene mon þa bihét þam halgan wære þæt hó wolde cristen beon gif þe snapæ wurde hál.

[SVM 17,4] ant martinus sone sidode to þam woden. ant his hond hím onsétte. ant ascynde þôn deofel from þám witlesæ mén. ant he wearð sone hál. Tetradius þa sone swa he þæt iséah.

Ýlfde on uþ drihten. ant let híne cristnian.

ant æfter lytle gefirste he wearð ífullod.

ant martinum würdoðe mid wunderlice lufe. forþam þe he wæs ealdor witudeocan hís hæle.

[SVM 18,3] Martinus hwilon ferde mid mycel folc to parisian burig. ant þa þa híe binnon þæt geat cóm þa wæs ðær sum hreoflæ wunderlice tororen allum monum anþræclic. æc martinus hine cyste.

259 bed ] J bed; K bæd 262 wunderlice ] MS wunderlice (sic!) 264 Tetradius ] MS has Tetðius 280 wunderlice ] MS wunderlice (sic!)
ant his bletsunge 

ant he sonæ weard hál.

[SVM 18,4] ant com ðæs on mæregen 

tó martine blıđe 

mid hale húde 

his hæle þancende.

285 Oft werón eác ðælede 

felæ untrume mén

þurh his reafes fnæede 

þe fela men of atugon.

ant bundon on þa seoce 

ant héom wás sonæ bæt.

[SDS 8,9] eác swilce of his bedstrawe 

mon bond on ænne wodne.

þa gewát þe deofel him of 

ant he his wít underfeng.

290 [SVM 21,1] Oft martinus iseah 

him englæs to cyman.

swa ðæt heo cuðlice 

to þam halgan spæçon.

[SDS 13,8] ant on sumne sál 

sum engel | hím cwæd to.

37v hwæt þa ðære bispocæ 

on heora sinœ spæcen.

ant þe halga þa wıste 

hwæt hêo þær redon.

295 þurh þæs englæs ségene.

þeah þe he seolf þær ne cóme.

[SDS 13,6] Ða halgan apostolas petrum 

ant paulum he iseah õlome.

swa swá he seolf sæde 

sulpicio. þam writere

þe hine axiæn durste.

alces þinges þe he wolde.

[SDS 13,1-3] Ðe ylæ sulpitius 

ant sum oþer broðer

satæn sume dæg 

swiðe afurhte

ætforen martines i´nne 

ant he hóem derute nyste.

þa ðyrdan hóo motigan. 

wið martine longe.

ant hë wæs ãnæ ãr 

innon þam huse belócen.

eft þa ðe hé ðe æteode 

þa axode sulspiscius

300 ant híne eadmoldlice 

bead þæt he him openiæn scolede

hwá hím wiðspæce.

[SDS 13,4-5] há wondode he longe

þæt to sæegenne. 

ac hó æxe swadeah.

ic halsige ðów nú 

þæt ge hit nanum 

ne secgan.

Marie cristes moder 

cóm hider to me

mid twæ ðære xædene. 

teclæ ant agnes.

310 ant ná on ðissum 

dane dæge. ant ac oft xæðlice xër

héro komen to mé.

ant he sæde heo eác

hwylc heoræ xíte wás. 

ant hú hêo wáron iscrude.

[SDM 21,2] On sumne sál holds ðe dofel mid swiplice 

grymetunge J 777

into þam halga wêre. ant hæfde ænne oxan horn on hónde.

315 ant cwæd to martine.

hwær is þin miht nu þe.
Áenne món ic ofslóh of þine hiwrafedene.

*ænne món ic ofslóh of þine hiwrafedene.

Ant wæs his swiðre hand swilce ðblodeged.

[SVM 21,3-4] þa clypode martinus his munecæs to hím.

320 ant sæde hwæt þe deofel him swytelode.

[SVM 21,5] Felæ þinge wiste þe halga wær on ēr.

[SDS 9,1] Eft on sume sæl þær martinus ferde mid his feren þa com þær ferlice yrnan

325 an wód cú. ant ða þe hire fuligden
clypoden to þam halgan wére. þæt he hine warniæn sceolde.

[SDS 9,2] hýo com þå yrnumende mid egeslie eagum.

330 ant se halga wér hæt hire ætstonden.

[SVM 21,3] þa clypode martinus his munecæs to hím.

335 ant þæt he hine warniæn sceolde.

[SVM 21,4] þa þe hire fuligden

clypoden to þam halgan wére. þæt he hine warniæn sceolde.

340 [SDS 9,3] þa iseah de halga wér. þæt ðær sæt án deofel

on þæt he hine warniæn sceolde.

Gewít þu wéllhæowæ awæg of þam nytenæ. ant þis unscea ðige reoþer swic to dræcénæn.

345 ðæt hýo alysed wæs. ant læg ædenod

ætforen his fotum onfangere stuntnyssé.

þæt he hine warniæn sceolde.

[SDT 14,1] Sume scípmen reówan on þære tyreniscæn sæ. J 1137

350 swa mycel unwæder heom to. þæt heo ne wændon hýoæres lifæ.
And in MS

355 ant ðeo sê sonæ swiðe smylte weard.
  a-verse omitted in MS

360 Íc ðe beode on godes nome; | ðæt ðu buh ongean.

365 [SDT 9,4] þe halgæ martinus mid his munecum stod hwílon  J 1261
  on ðare. ðá. ofre.  ant efne þer swam
  án neddre. to heom.  þa cwæð ðe halgæ wér.

370 Þæt hi bliðe ferdon.

375 [SDT 10,1-2] On ðæsterdæg hé walde ðæten fisc gif he hæfde.
  þa on ðume ðæsterdæge axode hé þone prouost
  hwæðer he fisc hæfde to þam freolsdæge.
  ant hé to andswære cwæð.  þæt héo alle ne mihten
  ne fisceræs. ne hé sylf nimen ðæne sprót.

380 Þa cwæð þe halga wér.  warp út þín nát
  ant þe fiscnoð bicymæð.  ant he cunnode þæs ðona.
  [SDT 10,4] wearp þá út his nát.  ant þer weard þa innan
  an ormete leax.  ant he hine up ateh
  ant hám bér.  ant þam halgum gearcode.

385 [SDT 14,3] Licentius wæs íháten sum leafful þegen.
  þá ílamp his monnu þæt heo lægen alle
  on unsegendlice bróce.  ant he sende writ
  to martíne sone.  súmes hælpes biddende.
  [SDT 14,4] Þa ongeat þe halgæ wér  þæt heo wéron ðifreade
  mid godecundre mihte.  ant þæt he mihte earfódlice héom
  þære bêne týpien.  ac he ne ðwács na swáðeåh.
  mid seofen nihte fæstene heom fore to þingenne
  oðdæt he bigéat þæs þe he biddende wæs.
  [SDT 14,5] Licentius cóm þá  ant cyðde þám halgum
  mid mucel þancunge þæt his hiwræden wæs
  from þam monigfealde broce þurh martíne alysed.

355 þeo | So in MS
358 þare. ðá. ofre | So in MS
364 Neddraen] J Nædran; K Næd-
371 fiscnað] J fíxnæð; K fíxnæð
377 bróce] MS bróoce emended according to J and K
381 bêne] J benæ; K benæ
ant brohte þam halgan an húnd pundæ to láce.
De halga wér þa noldæ habban þene sceat.
ne hine eáe ne forseah. ac sealde þet feoh all
for hergedum monnum. ant þam ðe on hæftnedæ wáron.

ant heom út alyse ðe swá of þere yrmde.
þá bædon þá íbroþræ þone bishop georne
þet he ðæs feos dyde sumne dál into munstre.
cwædon þet heom neade weron heora wist ant scrud.

þa cwæð de halgæ wér hém to answæræ.
feðu ús ure cyrce. ant scrude us ure cyrce.

ant we of þisse sceatte noht us sylfum ne healden.
[SDT 14,7] hwæt wille we leng writæn bi martines wundrum
þonne sulspitiæ sæde þet heo beð ungeryme.

ant nan space ne mæg his mihte recce.
[SDS 4,1] forþan ðe he máre mihtæ héfde on his munuchade
þone on biscalphade. be þam ðe he sylf sæde.
[n.s.] ac we wýllæd nú sæcgæ bi his forðside.
[SET 6] Martinus de eadiga wiste his endunge
longæ ær he forðférde of þisse life to criste.

ant he cydæ his forðside summe his bræþræn.
þa weron on þam time on condatense munstre
þa preostas undwære. ant he ðider sîode.

ant walde heom sibbiæ ær his forðside.

ant on sibæ forðæten godes lâdunge.
[SET 7] he ferðe þa ðiderweard mid summe his broðrum.
þa ðæs he scealfæn swimmaen on åne flóde.

ant ilome doppedon dún to þe grunde.
ehtende þare fisxa mid fræcræ greignyse.

þa cwæð de halgæ wér to his iféren þus.
þæs fugelas habbað feonde licnyse.
þe sirwiað efre embe þa unwarræn.

ant grediglice fód. ant fordøð.

ant of þam fænge ifulledæ ne beód.
[SET 8] Dá bead martinus þam mæðleasan scealfæn.

þet héo swicna ðæs fixnodes. ant férden to wæstene.
ant ða fugelæs witen āweg sonæ to holte.
aelle endemes. swá swá de árwurðæ hét.
mid ðære ilcan hæse hé áfligde ða scælfran
þe he deofla adæfte of monnum.
[SET 9] Martinus ða syðdan to þam munstre becóm
ant wunedæ þær summe hwile. ant sibbede ða preostæs.
Eft ða ða hé hám woldæ. ða weard he ún[trœmed. 38v
ant sæde his ibroðrum þæt he sceolde fordæren.
[SET 10] ða wæron heo alle unrotsode swiþe
ant mid mycele heofunge híne bifrúnnon.
eala þu fæder hwí forlest þú ús
øðde hwám betæst þú us forlætene.
witelice we bicymæð to þine eowde
reæfende wulfæs. ðant hwá biwerpæð heom.
witelice we witon þæt ðu wilnæst to criste.
ant þe beod ða hælden þíne mæde.
miltsa la ús swíðor þæt ðu forlest.
ant clypode mid wópe. ant cwæð to his drihtne.
Drihten min hælend. gif ic neodbehefe eam
git þíne folce ne forsace ic na
git to swincenne gewurðæ þín willæ.
[SET 13] Ne ic ne biladige mín atæriendlice elde.
ic þíne ðenunge estful ifyldæ. under þíne tacnæ
ic campige swa longe swa ðu seolf hæst.
[SET 14] he læg þá swa forþ ðáne feawa dagum
mid fære iwæht þurhwuniende on bedum.
on stiþe héræn. licgende mid axum bistreowod.
[SET 15] þa bæden his broðræ þæt heo his bed mosten
mid waccre streowunæg húru underlecgan.
Dá cwæð þæ halgæ wær to þam wepende broðrum.
Ne idæfæð cristene mén þæt he buton on duste swelte.
gif ic eow oðerne bisne sylæ ðone syngie ic.
he ne let ná of gebedum his unoferswiðende gast
ac he efre opene eagem. ant upahæfene hondum
his beda ne swác.  Ða wolden ða preostæs

æt he læge on oðre siden . ant gelyhte hine swá .
Dá cwæð þe halgæ eft Gedafæþ ic bidde

þæt ic heofenan sceawige swíðor þone eordan .
ant min gast beo isend on his sídfæte to drihtene

[SET 16] He íseah þa stonden swíðe neah throne deofel .
ant he hine orsorhlice axiæn ongón .

hwæt stonst þu wæleowæ déor .

ne ímest þu on me þú manfullæ nan þinc manfulllices .
ic beo underfongen on abrahames wununge .

[SET 17] ant æfter þisse worde ferde þeo sawlæ
of þan ñswænète lichame ñsælig to heofoonum .

[GHF 1,48] On sunnæn maregen he gewát . þa þa he was on ylde
án ant hundeahtetig wintræ . ant æfter cristes drowunge
feower hund wintræ . ant xii . on getæle .

ant monige men þa íhyrden on his fordsidé
singendæ engla swíðe lude . stæfne
úpon heahnesse geond heofoonæs swægende

swá hit on bocum sæð . þæ be him beod íwritene .

[SET 17] his líc weard ñsegen sónæ on wuldre
brihtre done glæs . hwittere done meolc .
ant his andwítæ scéan swíðor þone liht
þa ú gewuldrod swíðor to þam toweardan ariste .

[SET 18] ela hwylc heofung holdræ leaffulræ
wæs þa lúde swægende ant swídest þare munecæ .
ant munecænæ wóp on martines deáde .

[GVM 1,4] Sum biscop seuerinus íhaten on ðare burig colónia .
haliges lífes mon . íhyrde on erne maregen

swíðe ludne song on heofoonum . ant þa langode he him
to his archediacon . ant axode hine hwæðer
hé þa stæfne íhyrde . þæs heofoonlices dreames .
hé andswærde ant cwæð þæt he his nán þing ne hyrde .
þa hét se biscop þæt he héornedæ geornlucor .

he stod þa ant luste on þis stæfe lóéniende .
ant ne mihte nán þinc ñare murhþe íhér .
þa astræhten héo heom begen biddende þone almihtigan

468 ñswænète ] So in MS, probably the scribe intended ñswæncte, according in J and K’s geswæncte.
470 cristes ] MS crites  488 þing ] J þing; K þing
hte he moste | 39r
he luste ða syððan  ant sæde  hæt he íhérde
singende stæfne  swægende on heofenun  
ÆLFRIC

ant nyste swa ðeawh  hwæt  þá stæfne weræn  
Seuerínus þa cwæð  ic  þæ scege bi þám  
Martinus þe eadigæ  ferde of þisse middanearde  
þe nu englæs singende  his sawle feræð  
mid hëom to heofenun  ant  þe hætele deofel
mid his unrihtwise gastum  hine wolde lætten  
ác  hé ferde íscend  ðaweg; from þam hælgum  
þe na  þinc his agenes  on him ne ñettan  
hwæt bið  bi us synfule  gif  þe swicole deofel
swá mærne sacerd  ðærigen wolde  
þa sende þe archediacon  sone to turonia  
to martines bisceopstole  ant  hét axian  bi hím  
þa wearð heom cyð  hæt  he his sawle ágefe
on ðære ylcan tide ;  þe hi ðone song íhyrden  
[GVM 1,5] On þam ylce ðæge  ambrosius þe biscop
on mediolina burig  þa  þe hét ðæt massan stóð  
þa wearð hé on slépe  swá swá god wolde  
ant hine nán mon  ne  dorste  naht  eðe aweccan  
swáðeah æfter twám  tide  hëo  hine  awæhto
ant cwædon  þæt  þe timæ  forðágán  wære  
ant  þæt  folc  wære  ðwæreged  þearle  
þe halgæ biscop  dægæ  þe  ðæt  he  ídrafede
mycel  me  fræmmed  þæt  ic  swa  mihte  slæpen  
þe  þe  ðæt  ðe  me  min  drihten  mycel  wundor  æteowde  
Wite  ge  þæt  martinus  þe  eadiga
is  of  lichame  is  ðfåren  ant  ic  his  líc  behwearf
mid  ðunelice  dénunge  ant  þa  ða  ge  me  ðawæhton
þa  þes  his  heafodclæd  allunge  ful  dón  
þæt  þa  ða  ðes  halgan  wæres  lic  þenunge  wére  
þæt  þe  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt
ant  axoden  on  fyrste  þæt  ðe  eadiga  martinus  
on þam ðæge  gewât  þe  ambrosius  sæde
þæt  þe  æt  þæs  halgan  wæres  lic  þenunge  wére  
þæt  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ  þæ
ant  axoden  on  fyrste  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt
ant  ðæte  ðe  eadiga  martinus  
on  þam  ðæge  gewât  þe  ambrosius  sæde
þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt
ant  ðæte  ðe  eadiga  martinus  
on  þam  ðæge  gewât  þe  ambrosius  sæde
þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt
ant  ðæte  ðe  eadiga  martinus  
on  þam  ðæge  gewât  þe  ambrosius  sæde
þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt  þæt
halgie engel ítæl  healice sang.

ant engle wérod blissode.  ant all heofenwáre;
hím tógeanes ferde.  ant þe fúlæ deofel
on his dyrstínysse þurh drihten wearð íscynd.
Deo halige láðung on mihte is istróngod.
ant godæs sacerdæs beðð iwuldrod.

mid þære onwrigennysses  martines fordísides
bone de halga michael mid englum underfeng.
ant maria ðeo eadige mid mædénlice werode.
on neorcwxawange healt bliðne mid halgum.
[GHF 1,48] þa ða þæs weres lic læg inne þa git.

cóm þær mycel meniú of monege burgum
ant þæt pictauisce folc  ant þæt turonisce
ant þear wearð flit betwyx þam twám folcum.
þa pictauiscen cw´ædon þæt héo ðider ícumene wero.
he was uré munuc  ant ure abbud.

we willæð hine habbæn.  forþan de we híne lánden ár
Ge brucon his lære.  ant his space noteden.
gé veron on his reórde.  ant mid his bletsunge stronged.
ant mid monigfealde wundre veron ígladode.
beo eow all þís nóh.  lætæð ús nú húre
his sawulease lichame ferien mid us.
þa andswaredan heom  þæt turoniscen þús.
Gif ge fergæð þæt us beod ínóh his wundræ.
þonne wite ge þæt he wrohte má wundræ mid eow;
þone he mid us dyde.  ant ðeah wé fela habbæn.
eów hé arerde witolice twegen deade mén.
ant us buton ǽinne.  ant swa swá he oft sæde
þæt he hæfde mare mihte on munucháde
þone on biscofáháde.  ant wé habbæð nú nèode
þæt he dead ifyllæ;  þæt he ne dyde on life.
eów hé wæs æþbrogden;  ant us from gode ígifen.
ant æfter þære ealde gesetnysse sceal habben byrgene
on þære | ylæ burig þær he bispoc wáes.

532 íscynd | MS has ísoynd; obviously a scribal mistake
537 ðeo ] J seo; K sio
538 on neorcwxawange] J ant neorxnewangæ; K ant neorxnewange
540 cóm þær ] J com þær; K comð
542 flit ] J geflit; K geflitt
544 uré ] So in MS
548 wundre ] J wundrum; K wordum
560 ígifen ] J forgifan; K forgifen
Gif ge for munstres þingon ant forþan de he mid eow wæs hine habbanyllæ. þone wite ge þis
hæt hé on mediolana ðærest munster hæfde.
Betwux þissum gewinne wæs de dag þendod.
ant þat woldon þa þurhwear þære þone halga 
hætton ðone halga neadung æt þam opþum.
þa on midre nihte swa swa martins wolde
wurdon þa þurhweor þone halga 
hæt af alle þære minú réna mon ne wacode.
þa hæt s色情on þa þurhweor 
hæt þat nemen þet lic þe þæt læg on þære þære neadung æt þon ðære medru ne wacode.
þa ísægon þa þurhweor hoc þære æt of alle ðære læg on þære neadung æt þon ðære medru ne wacode.
þa ísægon þa þurhweor hoc þære æt of alle ðære læg on þære neadung æt þon ðære medru ne wacode.
þa ísægon þa þurhweor hoc þære æt of alle ðære læg on þære neadung æt þon ðære medru ne wacode.
þa ísægon þa þurhweor hoc þære æt of alle ðære læg on þære neadung æt þon ðære medru ne wacode.

579 Dā] The capital is adorned with a small red-ink stroke. 587 Six] The capital is adorned with two red-ink dots.
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St Martin of Tours is one of Christianity’s major saints and his significance reaches far beyond the powerful radiance of his iconic act of charity. While the saint and his cult have been researched comprehensively in Germany and France, his cult in the British Isles proves to be fairly unexplored. Andre Mertens closes this gap for Anglo-Saxon England by editing all the age’s surviving texts on the saint, including a commentary and translations. Moreover, Mertens looks beyond the horizon of the surviving body of literary relics and dedicates an introductory study to an analysis of the saint’s cult in Anglo-Saxon England and his significance for Anglo-Saxon culture.