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

Eastwood, O. S. H.

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An Edition (with a commentary, full glossary, and an introduction to the language of the text) of the Middle English Life of St. Etheldreda in MS BM Faustina 111

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ABSTRACT

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

1) a list of abbreviations,
2) a Bibliography,
3) an Introduction, comprising:
   a) a description of the B.M. Ms Faustina E 111, in general terms, together with a more detailed consideration of that section containing the Life of St. Etheldreda, in which account is taken of binding, foliation, scribal practice, and any points of interest, or peculiarities,
   b) a discussion of the possible sources for this version of the saint's life, in which it is concluded that the Middle English legend is not directly derived from Bede, or the Latin Vita, but should probably be referred to a lost, intermediate version,
   c) a brief consideration of the metrical and literary points of interest in the legend,
   d) a discussion of the language of the poem, falling into two main sections: - Spellings, where the material is set out, and Discussion, where the forms of the text are considered, in relation to the rhymes, and it is suggested that the legend may be of South-western provenance, with Midland features, introduced by a Scribe,
4) the text of St. Etheldreda, preceded by a short explanation of editorial procedure,
5) a Commentary, which points out details of literary, historical and grammatical interest in the text, and remarks, where appropriate, on emendations,
6) an appendix, where differences between the text, as presented here, and that of Horstmann, are noted,
7) a Glossary, giving meanings and etymologies to most of the words in the text,
8) a list, with line-references, of proper names.
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<td>AF</td>
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<td>aggl</td>
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<td>anal</td>
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<td>aph</td>
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<td>ASC</td>
<td>the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.</td>
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<td>Anglo-Saxon England. (F.M. Stenton)</td>
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<td>num</td>
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<td>OE</td>
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<td>OED</td>
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<td>OF</td>
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<td>ONeF</td>
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<td>ONF</td>
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<td>ord</td>
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<td>position.</td>
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<td>poss</td>
<td>possessive.</td>
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pr    ...  present.
prec   ...  preceding.
pref   ...  prefix.
prob   ...  probably.
pron   ...  pronoun.
prop   ...  proper.
pt     ...  preterite.
ref    ...  reference.
refd   ...  refashioned on.
refl   ...  reflexive.
s      ...  singular.
S      ...  South(ern).
sb     ...  substantive.
SE     ...  South-East.
SEth   ...  St.Etheldreda.
sbj    ...  subjunctive.
subst  ...  substantive.
suff   ...  suffix.
sup    ...  superlative.
SW     ...  South-West.
tr     ...  transitive.
v      ...  verb.
Vita   ...  the Vita of St.Etheldreda - MS Cott Dom A xv - published in ASS.
vbl    ...  verbal.
w      ...  with.
WS     ...  West Saxon.
1,2,3  ...  1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.
       ...  head-word repeated.
MSS.

Cotton Faustina B III

Printed Editions of Texts.


LANGUAGE.


M. Schlauch: The English Language since 1400. Warsaw. 1959.


HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.


H. Delahaye: The Legends of the Saints - translated D. Attwater -

The Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Bruce Dickens - ed. P. Clemoes.


R. N. Haddock: and Wales.


PALAEOGRAPHY, sources and analogues.

J. Bollandus: Acta Sanctorum.


The Life of St. Werburge of Chester. (EETS original series 88) London. 1887.


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

1. **SEth** is the final item in the bound MS. After a brief contents is a list of the kings of England and their dates, up to Edward **IV**, and of the abbots of Peterborough Abbey up to Richard Aylreston (f.3r(1)).* On ff.3v(1) – 116(113) appear records of the revenues paid to Peterborough Abbey; and a list of Roman emperors, with dates, follows this on f.158r (153). Next, is an account of the restoration of monastic life under Edgar and Dunstan (ff.159r(154) – 198r(193)). The *Chronicon Vilodunense*, or Life of St.Edith (ff.199r(194) – 263r(258)) is followed by a list of patrons of Ellendune priory in Kent (ff.263r(258) – 264v(259)), and the text of **SEth** concludes the volume, ff.265r(260) – 279(274). It appears that the material included before the *Chron Vilod* is unrelated to **SEth** and was bound together with it by Sir Robert Cotton.

2. Like the other items in this MS, **SEth** is written on membrane, which appears to have been of average quality, when first gathered. The difference between the yellowed 'hair' surface and the white 'flesh' side is noticeable; and the leaves do suffer from occasional very small original flaws and holes. A few faded stains appear (e.g. ff.273r(268) and 276v(271)). The flyleaf (f.280(275)) is very grimy on the outer side, indicating that it has done service as a protective cover for the text. The exceptionally murky appearance of f.271r is possibly evidence that the second gathering was, at one time, left separate, and unprotected by the first part of the text.

3. Since the type of membrane used for **St.Edith** and **SEth** is the same, it is difficult to be certain, even by examining the sewing, of whether the two stubs appearing between ff.264 and 265 (i.e. between the two legends) were originally gathered with the *Chron Vilod* or the **SEth**. It does appear, however, that the two stubs are cancelled leaves from a gathering of four bifolia, on which are written the first part of the **SEth**. Then the final six leaves of **St.Edith** (ff.259(254) – 264(259)), after the catchword on f.258v(253), represent a gathering of three bifolia, and ff.265(260) – 270(265) of **SEth** a gathering of eight leaves with the first two cut out. There is a catchword on f.270v(265) and the rest of the poem appears on the second gathering, of ten leaves.

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

* The later foliation is employed here, followed by the earlier system, in round brackets.
The narrative continues consecutively on two leaves, up to 1.1058, the last line on f.276v. Then we are returned to 1.616 on the following page (277r(272)), and the missing lines appear on the next two leaves, up to 1.760 at the end of f.278v(273). The remaining 73 lines of the poem appear on the final leaf, 279r and v.

The explanation must start with the assumption that the scribe was writing, for more ease, on ungathered bifolia. He would begin on the hair side of the first folio, or half-bifolium, and continue on to the flesh side. This would be the first leaf in the second gathering - f.271(266), according to the present foliation. In the same way, the second half of the next bifolium would become f.272(267), concluding at 1.615. We should imagine him continuing then, with 11.616-87 on the third bifolium, and 11.688-760 on the fourth. Both these leaves, intended to appear where ff.273 and 274 now are placed, appear instead as ff.277 and 278, the seventh and eighth leaves. This must be ascribed either to the scribe's misjudgement of space, or to his forgetting the necessity of a fifth bifolium. At any rate, he appears to have continued, after 1.760, right across the fourth bifolium, with 11.761-836. This bifolium would have become the centre of a gathering of eight leaves if there had been sufficient space. The scribe must have written out 11.837-909 on the second half of the third bifolium (which was intended to be the sixth leaf) before he recognised his error. If no membrane was to be wasted, the only solution was to invert the fold of the third and fourth bifolia, and continue the narrative, 11.910-1058, on a fifth bifolium, placed at the centre - and now numbered 275(270) and 276(271). Such a procedure would at least preserve an outward regularity of HFPFH patterning.

4. There are two sets of foliation in the MS. The earlier series begins on the fourth leaf of the codex, and proceeds to the end, each figure being placed in the top right-hand corner of the leaf, in ink. The Cotton Catalogue of 1802 follows this system, placing the number of folios at 274. A label pasted inside the first flyleaf, dated June 1877, numbers the folios at 280, however, and someone has foliated accordingly, starting from the second leaf, and writing in pencil, in the bottom right-hand corner of each page. A missing leaf, which was numbered 22 in the early foliation, and a damaged section from ff.95(92) - 126(113) account for further discrepancies between the early and later numbering-system.
The sEth is written on ff.265r(260) - 279v(274).

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

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

f.273r (268) - 5; f.274r (269) - 5 (or 6?)
f.276r (271) - 8; f.278r (273) 9; f.279r(274)

5. There is no ruled frame enclosing the writing area on the page; and while the length of this written area averages a fairly uniform 18.5 cm., the horizontal measurement varies from 6.5 to 13.5 cm. on any given page, owing to the irregular length of lines.

6. There is no pricking or ruling in this text; the number of lines per page averages 37, but varies between 34 and 42.

7. The text appears to have been written in the same hand throughout (excluding the added 11.1100-31: see 14). The characteristic w appears throughout the text, which is written in a 'mixed' hand, combining Secretary and Anglicana Formata* and typical of the first half of the 15th century. So, while the hand is current, curved strokes are replaced by angular, broken ones, characteristic of Secretary, in the formation of such letters as a, o, ə, e, etc. Small hooked ascenders proper to the Secretary hand, interchange with large loops, typical of Anglicana. Likewise, the Anglicana 'capped' a and ə-shaped g appear more often than the Secretary single-compartment a and g.

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

The ə-spellings for OE ə are evidence of a Southern scribe; and the appearance of ə, not only in words with OE ə, e.g. dy3t, my3t, etc., but in words where it has no etymological basis, (e.g. ou3t, nou3t), is a sign of the relative lateness of the text (probably post-1400). See further, Language.

8. The scribe has no ruled frame to regulate his writing, and he fluctuates between maintaining comparatively even blocks of material, and allowing the columns to become very wobbly, written at an angle to the page-edge. An omitted line has had to be added at the foot of one page on ff.265v(260) and 269v(264): three lines are added at the bottom, f.270r(265). The top line on each page (except for ff.275v, 276v, 279r & v) is decorated by ornamental extension of the ascenders in intertwining loops and flourishes - frequently connected by small lines of cross-stitch-like patterning. A flower is drawn in the final d of the initial And, f.267r, and flowers of the same type appear in the final r of the top line, f.269r, and in both loops of the capital Bs, ff.277r and 278r. An extended loop has been added to a g on the bottom line, f.276r, and to a y, 275r. No further decoration is attempted, and no colours are used. A space, three lines deep, appears at the beginning, evidently for an illuminated initial δ, never executed. Each page begins with a capital letter, larger than is normal, except on f.279v, where it is no larger than any other capital letter, and on ff.269r, 270v, 271r, 274v, where there is no capital at all.

9. Punctuation is limited to the inclusion of capitals, more or less erratically, at the beginning of lines, and as the initial letter of proper nouns, where they interchange with ordinary letter-forms. Dots also appear, sporadically, apparently to mark off one phrase or clause from another; but these are not used consistently, and punctuation, on the whole, may be said to be absent.

10. One catchword survives, apparently in the same hand as the scribe's (marked by the characteristic w, especially) - puse wordus, in the bottom right-hand corner of f.270v(265). The first two words on f.271r(266) correspond, as we should expect.

11. The scribe has corrected his own omissions by adding the missed lines at the foot of the page (see 8). On f.269v(264), however, the line which appears at the bottom had already been written out in the Text, after l.380, and subsequently crossed out. The lack of a rhyme for clothynge, l.346, and the suitability of the context, make it obvious that the line should be placed as Number 348, but there is no mark to make this explicit; unless
the large black dot, significantly opposite 1.347 and the next line in the left margin, has been deliberately placed, as a marker. The scribe corrects his own minor omissions, writing them above the line, as he goes along.

12. In the top corner of the left margin, f.266r(261) appears a comment, possibly in the scribe's hand, - *seventh regnum* - next to 5.81, which tells us that Northumberland was the sixth English kingdom. Further down in the left margin, in the same ink and hand, is written 7th regnum. This comment is opposite 1.93, which names Estenglond as the seventh English kingdom.

At the bottom, still in the left margin, and opposite 11.115-18 (which name Anna King of East Anglia) is written, in darker ink, *Hic incipit Vita Sanct. Etheldreda.* Beside the same lines, in the right margin, in what seems to be the same ink and hand as the latter, appears *cro ecclesiastic sancti Bede 1° h° ca° 17°.*

On f.267r(262), probably in the same hand as the last two corrections, someone has put, in the right margin, beside 11.161-3, *Bede 1° & ca° predictis.*

The lines referred to tell how Tonberht died early: Bede iv 19. begins the account of St.Etheldreda by telling of her marriage to Ecgfrith, after Tonberht's early decease.

At 1.826 (f.273v(268)) the final & knylye has been written by a different hand, in darker ink; and on 274v., in faded ink, like that of the main text, is written *nomen ville in qua fuerat Sancta Etheldreda nata.* This refers to the statement in 11.874-9 (which the comment stands beside) as to how the Saint's coffin was found in the town of Etheldreda's birth, Grantechester, or Cambridge (incorrect, in fact: see Comm.). On f.275v, in the left margin, beside 1.961, appears, in a large, faded, later hand *y-graunte* - possibly a translation of dy3t at the end of the line, or a doodle, suggested by *y-grauntynede* in 11.966 & 972.

A different hand has added, in faint ink, lower down, *miraculum,* beside 1.974, where the word *miracull* appears. Beside 1.978 (which tells how the author found Cerdic's tale in Godstow Abbey) the large hand mentioned above has written *yn hely* - presumably an erroneous reference to Godstow. Two letter *ge* appear at the foot of the page, in the same hand. A modern hand has added, in pencil, in the bottom right corner of f.276v(271), *one leaf wanting.* This will refer to the fact that 1.1058 which concludes this page is followed by 1.616, beginning the next page (f.277r(272)). In fact, 11.1059-1131 are supplied on f.279r & v (274).

The word *miraculum* appears again, in the left margin of f.278v(273), beside 1.740, in which is written *meracle*; cf. f.275v, above.

Finally, on the last written page (f.279v(274), a modern hand has written over the top, in pencil, *cons.fol.274.fol.77 wanting.*
13. On the verso side of the final flyleaf (280v), appears a series of words in an irregular column, so stained and faded as to be illegible. Only, at the top, can be discerned Robert and Richard Wyham.

14. The legend of St. Etheldreda proper finishes, after the reader has been enjoined to pray to God that he may be received into the same bliss as she now enjoys. The prayer is duly finished with an amen, at 1.1109; and another hand continues straight on, to the bottom of the page, in verse, for 31 lines — and is abruptly broken off.

Another miracle is to be recounted, which the author read in Ely. Presumably he consulted the Vita, written by a monk of Ely, since the story he is beginning is almost certainly that of Ecgfrith's miraculously thwarted pursuit of his wife, recounted in the L. life. See Sources. The hand is smaller and neater than that of the rest of SEth, but is a 'mixed' Anglicana and Secretary, like the latter. The same Western orthographical features appear, also: e.g. hure 'her', and nothur, angur beside maner. The W, heo 'she' replaces the form he (also W) found elsewhere in the text; and but appears instead of bot.

15. Paraffs begin on 275v in the left margin at four-line intervals, marking the beginning of each stanza. The first two, beside 11.946 and 950, are in black ink, but the remaining ones are faded, and appear to be written by the scribe. They continue over the page and finish at 1.1058, the last line on f.276v(271). 11.616-760, on the next two folios, 277 and 278, are not marked by paraffs, but they begin again on f.279r(274), at 1.1062 and continue to the end of the poem, as written by this scribe. This indicates that 11.950-1109 were written consecutively.

16. No title for the poem was included originally, and there are no divisions or breaks throughout. A later hand has added in pencil, over the top, f.265r(260); Vita ScT Etheldreda Eliensis.

The text proper concludes (1.1109) And bat hit be ry3t so say we amen; and the later addition breaks off (1.1131)

To fasche bat maybe a3eyne fro hurre abbay.

17. The SEth appears in J.C. Horstmann's Alteenglische Legenden, neue Folge, Heilbronn 1881, p.284. Horstmann notes that the poem is written in the same metre, dialect (that of Wiltshire), and verse as the legend of St. Edith, which precedes it, and assumes a common authorship for both poems. The author, he supposes to have been a cleric of Wilton Abbey, living during Henry V's reign.
18. *Dicta probatoria*: *And ou3 t f. 266* (261).

19. The MS. is bound in brown leather, stamped in gold and green, with the Cotton crest on either cover. A note on a label pasted inside the front cover notes that the binding dates from 1951.
THE SOURCES OF ST. ETHELDREDA.

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

There is no reference to sources in SEth, except conventional allusions to be story, at 11, 10, 532, 539, and to somme cronyculle, 1.578, in connection with St. Werburga. Only the episode of Cerdic's loss of sight is introduced, 11.974-9, by an explanation of how the author found the event recounted in the legend of Etheldreda in Godstow. It seems likely that, since this miracle is separately introduced, the preceding events are not to be attributed to the same source; and they should therefore be discussed separately.

SEth preserves almost all the basic facts and details recounted by Bede, and repeated in the Vita. It is probable, however, that it is directly derived from neither account. Firstly, while certain details correspond with the Vita (as distinct from Bede) each of these could well have been introduced by the author; and no definite picture can be formed by taking them together. See notes, to 11. 137-8, 149-56, 158, 291-7, 379-80, 417-20, 461-78, 546-8, 605-8, 802, 809-23, 828 ff., 944-5.

Far more weighty is the evidence against direct derivation from the Vita: for instance, the omission of Ecgfrith's pursuit of Etheldreda to Coldingham, and of her miracle-studded flight to Ely (see 11.299-302 note); the statement that Dunstan re-established Ely Abbey, not Ethelwold (11.988-9 note); or that Etheldreda is said to have been born, not at Aereninge, but Grantechester (677 note). See also notes to 11.451, 539-42, 571-2. The references to Aedelburga (11.129-30 note, 11.139-40) and Ercongota (11.559-64 note) indicate, in addition, that the author had certainly not read the Hist. Eccl. in full, even if he consulted IV.19. for his purposes.

There are substantial passages owing no debt to a known source. Apart from the extended historical proem, there is the incident of the angel giving Etheldreda light (11.349-72), the whole sequence of events involving the acquisition of the tomb, 11.613 ff., and the miracle of the drowned child.

Additions, variations and omissions from the narrative as presented in Bede or the Vita, abound; e.g, see notes to 11.119-20,
All this evidence points to the existence of an intermediary version, or versions, which have preserved the essentials of Bede's account, although adding to it, and reslanting much of the material. Our author's source may well have included elements, or verbal echoes, from the Vita (e.g. ll.137-8 note, ll.944-5 note, and see above).

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

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

The poem is composed in 4-line stanzas, rhyming abab, and running into each other, to constitute a continuous verse-narrative. Each line should bear five main stresses, but the metre is noticeably irregular: we more often find a line whose rhythm is distorted; e.g. 571, And by Hermendilda, his wyff, he hadde twey deu3tren and e sonne, or (530) Ry5t as hurre owne wyll westo, than one which runs smoothly; e.g. 1086 an ángels voys forsothe ber bey herde.

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

The pattern followed is a conventional one: first, the tale of the saint's life is recounted, with great attention given to her death, while the second half of the work tells of her posthumous miracles. Also conventional are such features as the saint's predicting her own death (11.381 ff. note), supernatural manifestations in connection with her death (11.517-27 note), the discovery of the uncorrupted body, and the occurrence of miracles, both beneficent — as with the healings associated with the relics — and offering a fearful example of the power of the saint's remains — as with blind Cerdic.

The medieval concern with death, sin, penance and Purgatory is well illustrated in the legend: see 11.423-35 & note, 11.479-508 & note. The author is interested in edifying his hearers, rather than in creating interest in character: so, in her first address, to Egfrith, Etheldreda serves as hardly more than a mouthpiece, for an adulation of virginity: see also 11.479-508 note. Yet at least Etheldreda's speeches on virginity, and with reference to Purgatory, as her exchange with the angel on her deathbed, have a dramatic function, and are therefore presented in direct speech, rather than as dry asides by the author (see 11.197-256 note). In the same way, while Etheldreda's prophecy as to her translation, the double vision indicating where the tomb is to be found, and the abundance of supernatural messengers, are probably intended to give the impression of a stable, all-seeing Providence, ordering events (see 11.361-4 note, refs., & 395-408 note) the author is at least attempting to make his effects diverting, by introducing direct speech wherever possible, and combining marvel with awe. Certainly one is left wondering who the old man of Cynfrey's vision can represent.
This unsolved mystery is really a fault in the author's technique: similarly, it could be said that the surprise element inherent in the story of the discovery of the tomb has been too easily abandoned. It is impossible to know of the narrative structure, of course, what is peculiar to this work, and what is second-hand. Possibly the poem is least to be admired in its mode of expression.

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

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

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

SPELLINGS.

I.: THE OE STRESSED VOWELS.

SHORT VOWELS:

1. (i) OE a: spelt: - a : e.g. have inf. 193 etc. wasghe inf. 320.
   - e in least sup.a. 326 (beside least 7x.) see Rhymes A5.

(ii) OE a w.foll. g. spelt: - aw in (y)-drawe inf. & ptp. 1007 etc.
    - ow in drawyn ptp. 1078 : this form is probably analogous on the pt., however.

2. (i) OE ae spelt: - a : e.g. bake n. 1059, gladde a 722 etc.
   - e : in wes pts. 'be', 530 } See Rhymes A5.
   - y : in yve pts. 'be', 1049.

(ii) OE ae + breaking & lengthening group: spelt: - o : e.g. holde n.
    - 1050, alde a 686.
   - e : in berde n. 636.

(iii) OE ae + breaking AngleWS smoothing-group:
    spelt: - ey in ey3ty a & num. 17.
    - ey in sey(e) pts. 'see' 623 etc.
    - y in ey(e) pts. 'see' 1025.
    - aw in ey(e) pts. 'see' 764 etc.

For the possibility of analogy having operated on the various forms of 'see', see y (xl).

(iv) OE ae + n. spelt: - e in ben(nys) adv. 1021 etc., when adv. 100 etc.
    - y in byrne adv. 893 etc.: see Comm.

(v) OE ae + foll. g: spelt: - ey; e.g. day n 178 etc., feyre a 62 etc.
    - ey in feyre a 220 etc., ley(e) pts.
    - lie' 621, 993 etc.
    - a in madenus npl. 572.

madenus only appears 1x beside many exs. of ey - spellings, and is almost certainly to be regarded as a slip. The ey - spellings in this category, as the ey - spellings for OE e + g (see 3(v)), illustrate the LME falling together of the diphthongs ai and ei of whatever origin under I ae(:)i J (O.Jespersen. A Modern English Grammar, vol. I. Heidelberg 1922. p.96, §§ 3-110).
3. (i) OE e: spelt: - e: e.g. bellus npl. 824 etc., enden 421 etc.
   - y: in wynne n 949.
   - ey: in strev(3th) etc. 61, 67.
   - ey: in sevlyen adv. 335.

(ii) OE e + r: spelt: - e: in Mercie prop.n. 570, mershev a 609;
    - a: in Mercie prop.n. 57, Tonbart prop.n. 160.

(iii) OE e: in breaking and smoothing-group.
    - e: in dervenesse n 367, werkus npl. 271 etc.

(iv) OE e: after initial palatal:
    - e: e.g. forseue inf. 1072, 3eue inf. 491 etc.
    - ey: in Cheyser prop.n. 62: see Disc. 1.

(v) OE e + g: spelt: ev: in way n 923, levy inf. 773.
    - ey: e.g. wey n 674 etc., tweyn a & num. 2 etc.

See 2(v) note.

4. (i) OE i: spelt: - i/y: e.g. skynne n 469, ville n 249 etc.
    - e: e.g. lemmu n 881, swette a 271.
    - ey: in feysshe n 335, aeth(3th) adv. 55 etc.

See Disc. 1. for the ey-spellings. The following g-spellings occur beside those cited above: dreuyn ptpl. 542; bedur(3r) adv. 485 etc., lede n 835; lemys npl. 594 etc., leue inf. 420 etc., merke a 678; reson ptpl. 652 etc., bedur adv. 352 etc., thred ord.num. 129 (1X beside thryde 2X), thred(3r) a & num. 8;
    - thrity a & num. 461; wekes npl. 416; weketnesse n 364; wemen npl. 123; wete inf. 993 (1X beside witte 2 prs. 1X)

cf. also, the g-spellings of OF i & Note (II 8).

Dobson gives the lowering of i>e as a N and SW change ($80). While many of these forms do seem to have undergone this isolative lowering, there are alternative explanations available in many cases. So, leue could represent an early levelling of the pr. stem leof into the inf; and the late, irregular lengthening of i>e in open disyllable could be a factor in the development of drewe, resen (see II. 8. note), wekes, wete, and possibly lede. In addition, the validity of this feature as a dialectal marker is rather reduced, when we consider that the younger Pastons made a practice of writing e for i: see
N. Davis - The Language of the Pastons - Proceedings of the British Academy 1954.

(ii) OE i: w. foll. lengthening con. group, spelt: y/i; e.g. childe n 114 etc.
     spelt: ye: in myelde a 274 etc., wynde a 488.
     - ey: in bleynde a 316: see Disc. 1.

(iii) OE i + h(t): spelt:-y: e.g. almyty a 291 etc., dy3t inf. pt & ptp 379 etc.
     - ey: in dey3t inf. 789, sev3t n 711.

(iv) OE i + g: spelt:-ye: e.g. lye inf. 397 etc., nye(n)ne a. & num. 413 etc.
     - ey: in leyth(e) prs. 705 etc. levyng ppr. 689 etc.

5. (i) OE y: spelt: y/i: e.g. mirthe n. 784 etc., synne n 487 etc.
     - ey: in(n)synche n 720.
     - u: e.g. bryv inf. & imp. pl. 438 etc.
     - e: crepus mpl. 819, suell a 889.
     The e-forms may represent the lengthening of i (< OE y) in open disyllable - a late and irregular change - or it could exemplify the same N and SW lowering discussed in 4(i) above. Alternatively they could be regarded as SE forms.

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

6. (i) OE o: spelt:- o: e.g. stopudde pts. 1079, other corr. conj. 592.
     - u: in durst pts. & pl. 156 etc., furthe adv. 553.
     The u in furthe is probably due to the raising of o > u between a labial and r: Dobson quotes this word as an instance (Dob. § 92 (c)).

(ii) OE o/a + foll. single nasal.
     spelt:- o: in mon n 132 etc., monkynde n 238.
     mony a 590 etc., ony a 89 etc.
     OF a before a single nasal is also spelt o, 2X, in monere 418, 931, beside maner(e) 2X in this text, and 1X at 1123, in the additional section, ll. 1110-31.
(iii) OE o/a + foll, nasal + con.
spelt: - o : e.g. among prep. 290 etc., londe n 1 etc.
- w : in answered pts. 774 etc.
answered, with a prefix and - may have undergone any of those
changes discussed in Rhymes A 10.

(iv) OE o+gi spelt: - ow : in bytowe ptp. 240.

(v) OE o+h spelt: - ou : e.g. bou3t pts. 800. dou3ter n 137 etc.

(vi) OE o+rh spelt: - orw: in morwe n 682, sorwefull a 516.
- or : in mortyde n 687.

7. (i) OE u: spelt: - u : e.g. full(e) a & adv. 8, 130 etc.
lustynasen n 318.
- o : e.g. folle a & adv. 286, 954 etc.
wondre adv. 831

(ii) OE u + lengthening-groups: -mb, -nd, -ld:
spelt: - ou : e.g. grounde n 829, sounde a 596 etc.
- o : in dombe a 884, wondre n 848.
- u : in pulde ptp. 1003.

(iii) OE u + g; spelt: - ou : in southe n 127.

(iv) OE u + rh; spelt: - orw: in -bwerne n 97, bwerwe prep. 502 etc.
w. glide developed in porow 128 etc.

THE LONG VOWELS:

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

For wrou3t, see Disc. 2.

The three a-spellings of 'both', at 11. 228, 884 and 927 and
the single a-spelling of swote as sate (521) probably represent the
scribe's careless representation of o: both is the normal form
very frequently occurring, and sate appears at 11. 521, 845, 1083.
The only other explanations are either these are N forms, or;
in the case of bathe, that a variant form with short o, has been
created by shortening under low stress, and has then been unrounded,
according to an early SW (or late, vulgar E. Midland and SE) ME
tendency for o > a (see Dobson § 87 & notes; see, too, Place-names
of Wilts. EPNS XVI 1939, pp. XX-XXI, and the Place-names of Gloucs.
pert IV, EPNS XLI, pp. 69-70).
9. (i) OE æynws æ: spelt: - e: e.g. drede n 200 etc., slepe n 479 etc.  
    - ey: in neytte pts. 334 (see Disc. I).
(ii) OE æynws æ + g: spelt: ey: in sey(e)ptpl. 'see' 667 etc. (see \(V(x)\))

10. OE æ\(^{2}\), spelt:  
    - e: e.g. clene a 160 etc., ge n 82 etc.  
    - ey: in fleveshe n 315 etc. (see Disc. I)  
    - æ, when shortened; e.g. clannasse n 212 etc.  
    - ladde pts. 833, thraate pts. 79.

11. OE æ: spelt:  
    - e: e.g. behe n 198 etc., kepe inf. 364.

12. (i) OE i: spelt:  
    - y/i: e.g. abyde inf. 286 etc., side n 45etc.  
    - ey: in whey 1032.  
    (shortened before con-group - e in wemen npl. 123.)
    The shortened i < OE wif-man, -men appears to have undergone  
    the N and SW lowering discussed in 4(i). At any rate, the  
    distinction is maintained from the \(æ\) form w. rounded vowel:  
    in this word phonetic development has been modified by a  
    functional need. See 12(ii) below.
(ii) OE i: shortened & rounded between labials:  
    - spelt: - o in woman n 120.  
    The development of i > u (spelt ö) in this word is a widespread  
    ME phenomenon (Dob. § 85).
(iii) OE I + h: spelt:  
    - y: e.g. hye inf. 759, ly3t inf. 360.  
    - ey: e.g. heý3e 1 pres. 586, ley3t inf. 996:  
    see Disc. I.

13. OE Y: spelt:  
    - y/i in tyre n 502, pride n 290 etc.  
    - ey in heyre n 762: see Disc. I.
14. (i) OE \( o \): spelt: \( o \): e.g. awake pts. 506, modur n 70 etc.
(ii) OE \( o + g/h \): spelt: \( ow \): e.g. drow pts. 1010 etc., slow pts. 134.
   - \( ou \): e.g. inou adv. 155 etc., souȝt pts. 687.
(iii) OE \( o + w \): spelt: \( ow \): in y-growe pts. 117.

15. OE \( u \): spelt: \( ou \): e.g. foule a 361 etc., prouȝt a 154 etc.
   - \( o \): e.g. done adv. 866, sole a 470.
   - \( ow \): e.g. lowȝts inf. 813, sowth(e) a 83 etc.

16. OE \( eo \): spelt: \( e \): e.g. drew a 1022, heuȝe n 216 etc.
   - \( e/u \): in hurȝe pers. pron. 3 pl. poss. 429 etc., wurȝe n 238 etc.

17. (i) OE \( ea \): spelt: \( e \): e.g. est a 37 etc., leue n 229 etc.
   - \( ev \): in devȝe a 599, devȝe n 417 etc.
   - (when shortened) \( e \): in greȝe sup. a. 58 etc.
(ii) OE \( ea \) w. red. l. el: spelt: \( a \): in cheȝe pts. 179. See Rhymes A5.
(iii) OE \( ea \) + h: spelt: \( ev \): in heȝe(3)e a 143 etc., ney(3)e adv. 642 etc.
   - \( x \): in hy(3)e a 435 etc. (see Disc. I).
   - (when shortened) \( a \): in baw adv. 285 etc.

18. (i) OE \( eo \): spelt: \( e \): e.g. seke a 593 etc., wepe pts 508
   - \( u \): e.g. hult(e) pts. 108 etc., lures npl. 842.
   - \( ev \): in feynde n 352 etc. (see Disc. I).
(ii) OE \( eo \) + w: spelt: \( aw \): e.g. blew pts. 352 etc., knew pts. 201 etc.
(iii) OE \( eo \) w. red. l. el: spelt: \( a \): in ȝad e pts. 'go' 1076 (see Rhymes A5).
(iv) OE \( eo \) w. red. l. el + w: spelt: \( aw \): in fouȝe a & num. 14 etc., fouȝythe ord. num. 404.
   - \( ow \): in ȝow pers. pron. 242 etc., know pts. 247 ouȝe pers. pron. 2 pl. poss. 196 etc.
19. (i) OE e (WS ie) by palatal diphthongization:
   spelt: - e : in þe 2 pers. pron. 186 etc.,
          þet(te) adv. 44 etc.
   - y : in þytte adv. (12) (see Rhymes A7).

(ii) OE e (WS ie) by i-umlaut:
   spelt: - e : in stèle n 283, ten a & num. 34 etc.
   by-leveduste 2 pts. 1089

THE OE & ON SPELLINGS:

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

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

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

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

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

5. OF (AF) e:
   spelt: - e : e.g. feat n 321 etc., presence n 325 etc.
   - y : in chyre n 756 - in a rhyme with
dyre. See Rhymes A3.

6. OF ai/ei:
   spelt: - ay : e.g. apayde ptp. 257, pray inf. 1036.
   - ay : e.g. certeyne a as n 392,
   resayde ptp. 247.
   (reduced) - a : in repayde pts. 544.
   w, foll. liquid or dental - ey : e.g. gourerveille n 75 etc.,
   merueille inf. 869.
   - e : in batelle n 92, conselle n 204 etc.
     inf. 187, plesse inf. 296.

   The monophthongization in this position is not consistent.

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

8. OF i:
   spelt: - i/e : e.g. prynce 44 etc., syre n 81 etc.
   - e : e.g. chesell n 994 etc., preedly adv.
   - ey : in mayteynys npl. 338 etc. see Disc. 1.

   The e-forms above probably represent the N and SW lowering
mentioned in I. 4. (i). note (which see), and the same is probably
true of lely(-) n 842, and nesacle n at 11. 579, 740, 918, 940, beside i/y - forms appearing 3X up to 1109, and 1X in 1110, the first line of the added portion. The single occurrence of strewn, the ptpl. of 'strive', 1.3, could exemplify such a lowering, but it is also possible that i has been lengthened in an open disyllable, or that the e here is analogical on e-forms in other OE strong class 1 verbs. See H.T. Price: Inaugural Dissertation. Bonn. 1910-15, p.4 §3. - and cf. dreuyn ptpl. 542, reson ptpl. 652 etc.

9. **OF o:** spelt: - o: e.g. colers npl. 492 etc., host n 540.  
10. **OF o:+ nasal:** spelt- ou: e.g. founder n235, renoun n 142.  
    - o: e.g. consele n 204 etc., tombe n 445.  
11. **AF oe:** spelt: - e: in meuvd ptpl. 998, repulle n 379 etc.  
12. **AF oi/oi:** spelt: - oy: in joy n 213 etc., voy n 824, voye n 1080 etc  
    - v: in ryal(ie) a 492 etc.  
    - ey: in geyp(t)le n 718 etc. see Disc. I & Rhymes A2.  
13. **OF u:** spelt: - u: e.g. duke n 15 etc., sure a 658.  
    - ou: e.g. flours n 842, touch n 827.  
    - o: in sodenly adv. 352 etc.  
    - e: in (1) tenclus npl. 806.  

(1) Either < OF tunicle or L. tunicula. Whichever of these is the correct etymology, a SW change of u > i/e (Dob. § 96) can be argued to have occurred in this word. The only other e-form in the OED, it should be noted, is from Somerset Medieval Wills of 1495. cf. Rhymes A2 & 4.  
14. The ON element is very small. It includes:  
    - ON a spelt a in calle inf. 805.  
    - ON a + e, spelt ow in lowe a 228 etc.  
    - ON e in hendys npl. 84, semely 628 etc.  
    - ON ei in pay adv. 484 etc.  
    - ON o in cryd a 595.
III. THE CONSONANTS.

In certain cases d and t, g and k appear interchangeably:

(i) d for t: comforde inf. 359, consende pte. 251 (beside consente inf. 2x), delyde n 170, felde ptp. 591 (by ptp. feltone IX).

(ii) t for d: dwelt(e) pte 7X (beside dwelde 1X), dwelton(e) ptp. 5X (by dwelde 1X), dwelt ptp. 548, engresett ptp. 934 (by pts engresede IX), feltone ptp. 521, 1083 (by felde 1X), (y)-close(e) ptp. 3X, legent n 979, procut a 5X, weketnesse n 364.

(iii) g for k: thengjith impl.v.pr. 464, 690, thengeth prpl. 'think' 112, bong - pr.& pt. stem 'thank', 13X (beside thank pte. lx).

2. f from OE and OF is spelt f in initial position; e.g. freyde a 316, full(e) 8 etc. In positions where it was normally voiced it is accordingly spelt u; e.g. 3ue inf. 191 etc., seuene a & num. 1 etc.

3. 3 represents initial [j]; e.g. 3aff pts. 169 etc., 3if 343 etc. Its value in medial position will be discussed below (Disc. 1 & 2).

4. The appearance of unetymological initial h— not only in words obviously unfamiliar, and perhaps incorrectly rendered in an exemplar (e.g. Hebbe: see 1.283 & note) but in the common word 'end' (hende 3X), 'iron'—spelt with h in both occurrences—and 'errand'—spelt herunde—(see 1.453 note)—suggest the influence of a colloquial language on the text. Presumably initial h—was dropped in many words where it should have appeared, and its appearance in these forms is an a back-spelling.

5. [k] is usually spelt k: e.g. kepe inf. 364, askede pts. 750, bake n 1059. Occasionally it is replaced by c: e.g. clene a 160 etc., ascone prpl. 964.

6. [Ks] is spelt xs when followed by a consonant, and x, followed by a vowel: e.g. nexst sup.a. 313 etc., fexst ptp. 315, sixste ord.num. 87 etc., sixe a & num. 4 etc.

7. [Kw] is rendered qu: e.g. quene n 126 etc., conquered ptp. 5.

8. s represents the voiced and unvoiced sound from OE and OF s: e.g. styile adv. 398 etc., streuyn ptp. 3, wise a 675, plase n 140 etc. This is also spelt c, medially, in OF words:
e.g. place n 224 etc., solace n 822. The voiced sound is spelt \( \ddot{z} \) 1x in vy\( \ddot{z} \)age n 697 — where \( \ddot{z} \) is presumably meant to represent \( \ddot{\alpha} \) : cf. Gawain & the Green Knight, where the scribe's \( \ddot{\alpha} \) is written as \( \ddot{z} \), also.

9. \small [\( \ddot{\alpha} \)] is spelt -ssh- medially; e.g. feyshe n 335, washe inf. 320. The sound is represented 1x by -ss- in wanyssede pts. 651 (cf. vanysshedex 1x). Initially, the sound is spelt sh — e.g. y-shape ptp. 691 etc., shaile 1 pres. 423. Occasional sch- spellings also occur; e.g. y-schrynd ptp. 582, schryll a 827.

10. [\( \ddot{\alpha} \)] and [\( \ddot{\epsilon} \)] are both spelt th or b indifferently: e.g. thus, bus adv. 184, 316 etc., clothe n 278, clothe ptp. 892 etc. The following inverted spellings occur: wrou\( \ddot{t} \)t a 273, 1x (rhymes on outh: see Disc 2), strey\( \ddot{t} \)th pts. 'stretch' 67, strey\( \ddot{t} \)then ptp. 61 (by y-stre\( \ddot{t} \)th ptp. 85, stre\( \ddot{t} \)th a 849) — and strength n 107.

11. [\( \ddot{u} \)] and [\( \ddot{v} \)] are spelt v initially: e.g. veynne a (1082), vrthe n 238 etc. The exceptions are wanyssedex pts. 651, by fanyssede pts. 650 (beside vanysshedex 1x) and fexst ptp. 315. Both sounds are spelt u medially; e.g. ful(\( \ddot{e} \)) a 8 etc., heuene n 216 etc.

12. [\( \ddot{w} \)] is usually spelt w, whether original: e.g. wo n 462, knowe inf. 190, or from a after a back vowel: e.g. drow(e) ptp 1010 etc., y-slave ptp. 103: w appears, also, as part of the AN graph ow (beside ou) for [\( \ddot{u} \)]; e.g. sp\( \ddot{w} \)th a 83. The older spelling u is used for [\( \ddot{w} \)] in Milguyde prop.n. 572 etc., seuen ptp. 'see' 847 (see Comm.), and sp\( \ddot{w} \)llng n 846. In two words, w is represented as uu: e.g. A\( \ddot{u} \)dre prop.n. 365, and defau\( \ddot{u} \)t n 638. There is one example of 'one' — otherwise spelt on(\( \ddot{u} \))e, with initial w — won 992.

IV THE UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES.

The unstressed syllables are spelt -u-predominantly, with a large number of y/i-spellings, and a small quantity of e- and o- forms: e.g. crepuls npl. 819, ley\( \ddot{t} \)tur comp.a. 908, modur n 70 etc., lemys npl. 594 etc., her\( \ddot{y} \)n ptp. 1084, maydyn n 361, may\( \ddot{y} \)nes 503, may\( \ddot{y} \)ster n 465 etc., her\( \ddot{y} \)n ptp. 826, choson ptp. 301, xenon npl. 511 etc. The u-spelling is a W-Mid. orthographic feature (Jord. §135 Amm.l.). The y/i - spellings probably indicate a late date for the text, since it was in LME and eModE that the tendency for unstressed ME e(\( \ddot{a} \)) > i began to be prevalent. See Rhymes A4 for the apparent phonetic
quality of the unstressed noun-pl. inflexion.
For the a-spellings of the OE suffix -ness, -niss, (c)annasse 222, 320, lustynasse 318, heynasse 343) beside e- and y-spellings, see Rhymes A5.

V. THE MORPHOLOGY.

(a) THE VERBS:

(i) The Inf.: This only retains the -n marker in some examples of the most familiar verbs — where, in addition, it follows naturally after a monosyllable with final vowel — in be(n)(e) (4X : in rhyme 1X, 1.256) and do(n)(e) (2X : 1X in rhyme, L.793). This situation is also indicated by the rhyme-evidence: see Rhymes Bi. The single occurrence of y^ge, L.795 is probably a mistake, although it could possibly reflect the scribe's feeling for the equivalence of ptp. and inf.

(ii) 2 pr.s.: This has retained the -(e)t ending in the most common verbs: e.g. most, shalt. The equivalence of this aspect of the verb with the inf., generally, however, is shown in the example of done 2prs., 1.190 beside inf.do(n)(e), and also in the ending less 2 prs. forms eg 500, witte 649.

(iii) 3 pr.s.: This consistently appears with the S./Mid. -(e)th ending: e.g. come the (976), eylluthie 1027, hath (189 etc.), sendyth (499) etc.

(iv) pr.pl.: There is one example — in rhyme — of the S. -eth ending, in thengeth (1.112) — see Rhymes B2. The other examples have the characteristic Mid. -e(n) ending: e.g. asconge (964), ben (12 etc.), thongone (958), knowe (226).

(v) 2 pts. (weak): These forms end uniformly in -st: e.g. dye dust 860, hast 702, wre dedust(e) (492 etc.).

(vi) The 3 pts. has developed normally in weak and strong verbs, except in the case of thonk (1.246), which is presumably apprehended as a strong pts. (see Comm.), and 3eude pts. 347 beside the normal 3aff (3X).

(vii) The ptpl. retains -n 11X in the strong verbs, and has dropped it in 10 examples. The high proportion of endingless forms here, is largely to be accounted for by the 6 examples of come, 1 of came beside comen only 2X. In the other very common verb 'see', sey(e) only appears 2X, and there are no -n forms. If we were to omit these examples, the ratio would be 9:1—a proportion more comparable to the weak pt.pl., 33:7. It is seen, then, that from 61 examples, 44 — or 75% of the
whole - retain the -n marker, while 17 (25% of the total) have lost it.

(viii) ptp. The final -n in the ptp. of strong verbs is only occasionally retained, in, e.g., y-coryn (879), y-writon (47) and in wonnon (19) beside y-wonne (42), and founden (721) by y-founde (671). Only in the verbs 'do' and 'go' do the -n forms predominate: in the former, there are 10 examples with -n (in ll. 1-1109) to 4 without, and in the latter, 9 with, by 1 without. The general picture from the rhyming evidence is much the same: see Rhymes \[3\] The y-marker is apparently included or omitted at the scribe's whim, and his usage differs in writing ptp.s of the same verb: e.g. ordeynede (362), with y-ordeynede (1101), and dy3t (971) by y-dy3t (717 etc.).

(ix) The prp. ending is regularly -yn(e): (e.g. stondving (44), governynge) (56), with an inverted spelling in caryeng (791).

(x) The forms of the verb 'see' are too varied to give a clear picture, and seem to comprise a mixture of WS and Anglian OE forms. The ptpl. sey(e) occurs 2X and is apparently from Anglian seson, although it is possible that it was levelled from a prs. of the same form, derived from seah with lWS smoothing. The same ambiguity is present, with the pts. sey(e) 3X and s ye 1X. In the case of the 5 examples of the pts. saw(e), it is possible that they are derived from a smoothed Anglian saeh, or that they are levelled from a WS-type ptpl., sawon: the two examples of the ptpl. here are insufficient material to favour the latter theory too definitely. The ptp. has (y)-sey(e) 9X, y-sye 1X < Anglian gesegen - and seyene (847), possibly from WS sewen: see Comm.

(xi) The prs. of 'do' is dothe, with the vowel of the infinitive, not the mutated e, characteristic of WS. The form could well be the product of a later levelling. The pt. s. & pl. forms with u in du(u)d(e)(n) (presumably for OE y) are characteristically Western.

(xii) The verb 'will' has wolle(n) in the pr., and wolde(n) in the pt. (a form originating in LME in the Midlands, see Mosse p.85, § 105.2.).

(b) THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS:

(i) The I s.pers.pron. is generally spelt y, but retains the old ending from OE ic, in agglutinated forms before verbs:— a SW feature (see Jord. § 79. Anm.4. — also Wright EDG.
403 (a), where Dorset, Somerset and Devon are mentioned as having agglutinated forms).

(ii) The OE 2 pl.prons. ge (nom.) and eow (object) are retained, and spelt 3e and 3ow respectively: their use is not only pl. but is extended to the s., where they stand in both nom. and object cases beside 3ou nom.s. and 3e acc.& d.s.

(iii) Both m. and f. 3 s.pronouns are written he in this text. Both the acc., d. and g. form of the f.3 s.pronouns, and the 3 pl.g. are written hur(r)(e) predominantly, with herre, a few times. See Disc. 3.(ii)

(iv) The neuter pron. 'it' is spelt hit.

(v) The 3 pl.pron. 'they' is written hey, with 2 examples of bay (1074, 1092), and one be (667). The acc. 3 pl.is hem.

(c) DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS:
The s. form his appears regularly for 'this', with pl. written huse - apparently a W. spelling of earlier WS heos -., levelled into the nom.pl. from the d. and g. (see Cam. § 711): hat appears regularly, with pl. hq 2X (123, 132).

(d) THE NOUNS:
These appear, generally, with the pl. marker -s : e.g. clothus (311 etc.), wekes (412), preyours (349). The old weak -n plural does appear, in a few words, however; e.g. hosen (1067), deu3tre(n (121 etc.), yenon (511), shone (1067) sustren (296 etc.). Certain words have no plural inflexion, probably because the plurality is felt to be sufficiently indicated by the context, or by a preceding numeral: see Comm. 1.9. on bisshoperiche pl..wynter appears 4X in the pl., without inflexion, similarly, and so, 3ere many times, beside 3eres 1X (158) and 3erys 1X (181). The mutated vowel - original in men, brethren, and fete, newly formed in weemen (see 1.12.(i)) - provide sufficient pl. markers, still, in certain words. The g. marker, s. and pl., is -a: e.g. angels 1080, Goddus 53 etc.
In the phrase heuene blys (403 etc.), the g. precedes blys and has assumed an almost adjectival quality: the same is true in the phrase 3erde ende (1002).
DISCUSSION.

1. THE ey-spellings:

The development of the eME diphthong $\varepsilon_1 \sim \varepsilon$ before g and h $\geq \tilde{\iota}$ (see Dob. p.667, § 140(b)) for the development of $[\varepsilon_1] \sim [\varepsilon] \sim [\varepsilon_2]$ is regarded by M. Serjeantson as a dialectal feature, centred in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Shropshire, and spreading thence into neighbouring districts (certainly Gloucester) in LME: see M. Serjeantson, The Dialects of the West Midlands, pp.196-7, RES vol.3. 1927. The reliability of this feature in indicating, roughly, a W. provenance, is diminished, if we are to regard the loss of the spirant (a feature of the language of this text: see below) as characteristically Eastern; so Dob. p. 667, § 140(b).

Whatever their significance, the spellings of the words 'eye', possibly 'lie' (v.), 'high' and 'nigh' indicate a development to $[i:]$. They occur in four categories: (a) with diphthong and following spirant; ey[^3] (b) with diphthong; ey, (c) with the new monophthong and following spirant; ey[^3], (d) with i/y(e) alone. For the word 'eye' there are two examples both showing (d) the latest development: eyenon IX, eyenon. The infinitive of the verb 'lie' likewise, appears only 2X, spelt leye (presumably levelled from the present tense lege-).

From 17 examples of 'high', 9 are spelt hey[^3]e, (a), 3 are spelt hey(-) (b), 4 are spelt hy[^3]e, high (c), and one appears as hye (d). Out of 8 occurrences of 'nigh', hey[^3]e (a) appears 3X, hey[^3]e (c) appears 4X and hye (d) occurs 1X. As we might expect, the conservative spellings are overwhelmingly more common than the new, phonetic rendering, and we should note that a rough 70% of the forms above retain the spirant, while an approximate 60% are ey-forms.

Other material decisively indicates the monophthongization of $\varepsilon_1$ and loss of spirant in these words by showing that the (e) y(3) graph for $[i:]$ in this type of word has been analogically extended to other forms (see Dob. § 140 for this type of variation). In words with OE i/y before h the ey-spelling occurs 1X in sey[^3]t (a.1. 711) beside ty[^3]t, 1X in dety[^3]t (inf. 789), beside dy[^3]t, and 1X in afrey[^3]t (ptp. as a. 354). The ey-spelling is a generalised alternative in 'light' n (with ME i from OE $\varepsilon$(o), shortened and influenced by palatal umlaut), where there are 5 examples of
ley3t, beside many y-forms. The verb (< OE, lihtan), similarly, is spelt ley3t 2x and ley3t 1x (ptp. 996).

The verb 'hie' has 5 examples of ey-spellings beside only 3 with y: presumably the analogy of the adjective has operated particularly on this word.

The ey(3)-spelling used in sev3th(on) (adv.) 2x, beside sevthe 1x (< OE sícian), and why3t a (647), beside 4 i/y-forms (< OE hwit) serves (a) to indicate the non-phonetic quality of the spirant ʒ and (b) to illustrate that ey(3) can represent both long and short i in this text.

So, we have OP ui, reduced, and with the probable value I i(:)1 (see RhymesA2) OE y in nevysche (720) < vncse, and OE i in felfysche n (335) and possibly a-nevyne (see Comm. 444) and Cheyster 62 *. These forms should indicate that ey in a word with OE i, as whey (adv. 1052), beside why (1054) and possibly in felynde (n. 3X) (< fEnd), is to be related to words like 'high' rather than to the Great Vowel-Shift: cf. Dob. § 137, note 2(b).

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

2. -eU3-, -au3- and -3-:

We have seen evidence for the disappearance of -3- medially in discussing the -(e)y(3)-spellings. There are, in addition, numerous examples of medial -3-, included not only after -ou-, -au-, where h caused a back glide to be thrown off before it in ME (see 1.6 (v), I. 8 (iii), l. 14. (ii) for examples), but in non-etymological position, regularly in

* Either ey represents a short e here, as possibly in deyffe: see above, or this is i by raising of e before a dental (Dob. § 77(b) (ii)).
(a) brouʒt adv. & prep., with OE ū, and in douʒte n (279 etc.),
prouʒt a (154 etc.), rouʒt inf. (156), stouʒte a (984) —
with OF u. OF au appears 2X, on either occasion, with ū,
in faujt (n) (721), and defauʒt (n) (638). This last is a
simple back-spelling on ME au < OE ā + h(t) (cf. whyʒt
analogical on dyʒt etc. — the following -t-, here, as there,
is probably a factor in bringing about the analogical change
on words like brouʒt, rauʒte etc.). The -ouʒ- spellings
for [ou] and [u :] are a little more complicated, since we
would expect an analogical spelling to be based on an
identical pronunciation.
The isolated spelling wrouʒt a 273, suggests that our scribe
was moved by a mechanical habit, imprinted by writing forms
like douʒte n, wrouʒt pt. of 'work' (so, ll. 605, 974 etc.),
to put ū between o and -ʒ-, the late graph for [θ]/[8]
(see III.10).
Possibly in the forms with OE and OF ū, cited above, he has
succumbed to the same tendency, and, equally without regard
for phonetic representation as in wrouʒt, has placed -ū-
between -ou- and -ʒ-, although ou is an AF graph for [u :]
in these examples.
In fact, it is possible that there was even some phonetic
basis for the -ouʒ-spellings in scattered examples, at any
rate. Dobson (§170) gives a good amount of evidence for
the late monophthongization of -ou- by the velar spirant
which created it in common words like 'thought', 'daughter' etc.
3. THE SPELLINGS AS DIALECTAL EVIDENCE:

1. (i) A non-N. provenance is indicated by the ō-spellings for OE ǣ (see I (8)(i)).

2. The language has the following W. features:
   (i) OE ǣ is spelt u as well as y/i. The latter spellings predominate, and the indications are that u is, by now, only an orthographic survival of an earlier pronunciation, as in murgure (comp.a.) beside mery. See 1. 5.(i); and see Disc.1 and Rhymes 2 for neynche.
   (ii) OE ǣ is spelt u occasionally. A predictable pattern is to be seen in these spellings: the u-forms cited in T.16. are the only examples representing the short diphthong, which would have been unrounded first (Mossé §30). In addition to the two examples cited in l. 18.(i), duere(lyche) a (adv.) occurs, and buse possibly represents OE ǣo: see Spellings Y(c). A back-spelling for AF e in cheure n (756) beside chere elsewhere, indicates the value of the sound: see Rhymes A3.
   (iii) The forms of the pronouns be, hur(r)e (herre).
   (iv) The interchange of t and d and the ō-spellings for k (see III.(i).) It is difficult to know whether the t-spellings are back-spellings reflecting the change of t to d, or whether the d-forms represent a change of d to t. Possibly a voicing-tendency is illustrated here, since in the case of g and k there are no instances of k-spellings replacing words with g. Some sort of confusion between t and d, as here, is, at any rate shown by the evidence of Wiltshire place-names (PNW. p. xxix), and the Gloucestershire place-names show unvoicing of t (PNG. 40 (a) p.74.). In addition, a W. Midland tendency to unvoice d and g is shown by spellings in Gawain and the Green Knight (ed.I. Gollancz, EETS. 210. London 1940). See pp. 1 iii - 1 iv.

3. The evidence for a value [i:] in words with OE ǣ, and [e(:)] for OE ēo, shown in (2), indicate a relatively late date for the text, if it is Western. Also to be noted as providing evidence for a late date, are the change of er > ar (l. 5(ii)) and the elimination of the spirant -r-. While this could be characteristic of an Eastern area it is certainly not early (see Disc.1. Dob.$ § 140(b)).

4. Some features are characteristically SW: these are:
   (i) The verb-forms with agglutinated 1 person pron. (see Y. (b)(i))
   (ii) The development of u > e in tenncles : see II. 13. note.
(iii) Possibly the lowering of e > a in -nasse beside -nesse, -nysse : see IV and Rhymes 5.

(iv) Possibly some e-spellings for i ; but this could be a feature of late scribal practice : see I. 4.(i)

(v) While we would expect evidence for voicing of initial f - as a SW feature, there are only very faint and dubious indications of such a tendency. Initial f - is spelt thus, except in the single occurrence of fanyssed (pts. 650) and of fenst (ptp. 315).

(vi) The bathe and eate forms mentioned in 1. 8.(i) should be mentioned here, as possibly representing a SW - or late EME - tendency to unrounding of o, but again, the evidence is very dubious, and it is probable that these represent palaeographical errors. The only other example possibly showing such an unrounding is wrochede a (460) - which could well have a palaeographical confusion of o with e. It should be noted that Wright (EDG. p.689) gives a pronunciation [raet(3)] for 'wretch' in parts of Shropshire and Kent, and in Dorset and East Devon. The spelling here is more probably an a-form rounded after wr- (see Dob. p.718, §194, note 3) than a back-spelling o showing a general unrounding to a.

5.

Certain points preclude the language being purely SW. and indicate borrowings by the author, or the influence of a later scribe. These are:-

(i) The o-spellings for all the examples of OE ae + breaking and lengthening-group with -e : the forms (y)-told(e)n for the pt. of 'tell' occur, in addition to those cited at 1. 2.(ii).

(ii) The Midlands -e(n) pr.pl. ending and the Midland wolde forms, consistently, for 'will' (see Waxii).

(iii) The apparently Mercian or Kentish derived isolated e-spelling for 'was', in westo (530) - see 1. 2.(i).

(iv) The e-spellings for WS Te/nWS e , whether after a palatal or subject to i-mutation : see 1.19.(i) & (ii). Bytte LX is a possible exception, but is, anyway, an ambiguous case : see Rhymes 7.

(v) The u-spellings in the unstressed syllables : see IV.

* The material in (vi.) does not constitute sufficient evidence for regarding the almost universal o-spellings of OE a/o with following nasal, as back-spellings indicating a dialectal unrounding of o, since these o-spellings occur only within a certain class. See Provenance.
(vi) The appearance of certain forms which are either not native to the SW, or do not appear there at all, according to Samuels' isoglosses * - notably bay for 'though', ony for 'any', and the pt. forms of 'see' with a, confined to the more Northerly Midlands. See Provenance for a discussion of this language in relation to Samuels' maps.

* M.I. Samuels: *Some Applications of English Dialectology* ES 44. pp. 81-94.
4. THE RHYMES.

A. PHONOLOGY.

1. OE a rhymes regularly with OE 0 and with OE o in open disyllable: e.g., bo: to (41-3), bare: bære (115-17). This indicates that the text is not N. *1.

2. A value [i] is to be concluded for OE y. This rhymes 2X on OE i: knyville: tylle (826-8) and sylle: tylle (750-2): that is, assuming syllle < l WS syllan (Cam. § 77(b)) rather than having a vowel i by raising of e > i before -t+ con (Dob. § 77(b) 2). There is an assonance of gynctte on neynche (OE ynce) ll.718-20, where again an [i] value is indicated for y if we assume that the falling ui - diphthong in gynctte (in the group of OF diphthongs < L. and Germanic o and u, tonic and counter-tonic before j) underwent a fairly common ME development, whereby a shift of stress caused lengthening of the second element, with accompanying reduction of the first element to consonantal form, thus: [wi:] (see Dob. § 263). See Disc.1. for ey-spelling representing [i:] . The rhyming of OE y + h with OE i + h in afreyt: leyt (354-6) and of OE y and i in lengthening consonant-group (mynde: fynde ll.617-19) beside a single rhyme of OE y with I in pride: abyde (290-2) provides more evidence for an [i:] value for OE y. This indicates that the text is moderately late if it was written in the West, where u < y was unrounded late.

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

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

*1. It is not relevant to the provenance to argue as to whether the rhymes of slack and tense ME o are exact, based, for instance, on raising or lowering in various positions (Dob. §§ 145-158). It is a fact that such rhymes are a common feature of ME verse, and it is by no means unacceptable that they should not be phonetically matched (see English & Germanic Studies, II.1948-9. A Note on Havelok the Dane, G.V.Smithers. pp. 1-9.).

*2. If the form duste is a palaeographical error for *dydust, *ydust then the theories presented above would not apply, since the stressed lust, whatever its quality could rhyme on an unstressed [eest] sound.
It is possible that duste here is of the type of SW and N. forms cited by Dobson (§82, note 2.) probably descended from OE u < low-stressed u. Alternatively u in duste could have been affected by the N or SW tendency for u > i/e (Dob. §96, cf. female§ 70, II. 13. note). It is more probable, however, that lust here represents a variant [i] -form, analogical on the verb: cf. the rhyme, at ll. 810-12, of least (= lust) on OF prest, where it appears that either a SE form with e is involved (analogical on the SE development of the verb 'lystan') or that of the vowel in least is [i], and rhymes on a raised vowel in prest (according to an eME raising of e > i between r and a dental: (see Dob. §77 (a)).

3. OE eo is shown to have become e by its rhyming on leere (inf.) ll. 274-6, on heere (adv.) ll. 855-7 - and on duere (754-6) - spelt chur, in what is evidently an eye-rhyme.

4. The quality [i] for the unstressed syllables is apparently indicated by the 6 rhymes of the pi. -es ending (spelt -ys in these examples) on ywys (24-6, 29-31, 34-6, 387-9, 978-80, 987-9). Such a value would be in accordance with what we should expect in a text written in or after the late 14th century (see Dob. §93). But we can only draw very tentative conclusions from these rhymes, in view of the rhyming of ywys with us (390-2), on was (539-41) and on the OE suffix -nesse (947-9), -uvase (914-16). It appears that there must have existed an unstressed variant of these words, in [æa]: possible explanations other than this, however, should be mentioned here, and below. We could, for instance, explain the ywys : us rhyme as due to the SW and N change of u > e (see 3), or as based on a form of ywys with rounded vowel [u] after w (cf. woman, I. 12. (1)).

5. The rhyme of ywys on was, mentioned in (4) above, leads us on to discuss the significance of rhymes involving was in this language. It rhymes again on OE i at ll. 1047-9: vs : wvs. It is possible to postulate a raised variant for wase (cf. wes[t] as a spelling) such as would characterise a West Midland or SE text - or imply a Northern or London ME dialectal raising of a > e (see Dob. §59, Note 2). In such a case, ywys and ws would presumably be lowered under weak stress to [e]. In fact, the evidence of the rhymes, although offering possible grounds for assuming such a raised variant of 'was' lead us, on the whole, to assume some inaccuracy in the author's rhyming practice, or a general value -[æs] in this word and other low-stress forms like -ness: was rhymes:
1) 2X on OF e spelt a in abbas (n) (281-3, 854-6).
2) 1X on OE ea in chas pt.s. (177-9).
3) 1X on OE ae shortened in lasse comp. a. (329-31).
4) 1X on OE e/i in godenesse (233-5).
5) 14X on OF a (321-3, 248-50 etc.).

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

If we rule out the evidence for e becoming a sporadically in this language, then 3ade might be explained as due to shortening of o (in *3ode) under low stress, > o, with a subsequent unrounding to a - found in the SW, and in colloquial speech in the E.Midlands and SE. see Dob. § 87, and notes; and cf. I 8 (i) and Provenance.

Certainly the rhyme prest : lest (sup.a.) ll. 326-8, is difficult to explain except as inaccurate: last rhymes elsewhere on OF a
in past (413-15) and 4X on OE ae (410-12, 724-6, 1007-9, 1050-2) which makes any theory of a Mercian-derived form unacceptable. If we consider this example of the author’s inaccuracy, and remember also, the rhymes of vs with the -ness suffix (see 4), it is probably best to conclude a general chameleon value [o] for low-stressed forms, which enabled them to rhyme in almost any position.

6. Dialectal distinctions cannot be drawn on the basis of rhymes of ME e e VS ae / WS ae / nWS e with other sounds, in this text, even if we were to rule out the possibility of inexact rhymes of slack and tense e - a very dubious move - and followed Dobson (Dob. § 106-26) in assuming any apparent rhyme of e on e could be explained, by postulating (a) an isolative raising of e > e (b) a decided tendency of e > e before dentals and before r in eME, beside a contrary tendency for 1ME e > e in that position - and at any period, if low-stressed we should find equally inconclusive answers. While OE ae e rhymes both on apparently slack and tense e, the vowel is followed, in almost every case, by a dental or r, which could theoretically cause raising with or without subsequent lowering.

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

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

The same ambiguity is present in the case of the forms with initial palatal. The undiphthongised Mercian type is apparently represented in leue (n) : 3eue (231-3). In the 3 rhymes involving 'yet', the WS type seems to be represented 2X in a rhyme on OE y in knytte 1178-80 (for the value of y, see Rhymes A2) and on OE i in hit (10-12), and the Anglian type IX in the rhyme fete : ylet (482-4). It is possible, however, that the first two examples represent a shortened e in monosyllable with single final consonant, subsequently shortened between
initial [j] and following dental—a standard environment for eME raising of e to i (Dob. § 77(a) iv.). Whatever the significance of these rhymes, it seems that nWS forms are at least included—an indication that the language of the author was not a pure SW type.

8. In connection with the rhymes potentially involving raised ME i or lowered ME e, three rhymes of OE i and e should be noted: style: telle (398-400). inne: wynne (n) (947-9), inne: amen (1107-9). While there is obvious uncertainty as to whether i has been lowered or e raised (if the rhymes are exact) it is, on the whole, probable that e has > i in telle, wynne and amen, according to the 1ME raising of e > i, before 1 + consonant, or before a single nasal (Dob. § 77(b)). For the rhyming of bynne and inne see Comm. 1.893.

9. OE o / a + single nasal, is found rhyming on ME ə in the word mon, 'man', at least. It rhymes on OE ə at ll. 294-6, 955-7, and 730-2, on OE ə in done (inf) (spelt mone) ll. 791-3, and on ON a assimilated to OE o in wpone (197-9). These rhymes, although giving no general picture, since they are confined to one word, suggest a value ə for this OE sound, just as do the o-spellings (see Disc. 5 (Provenance)). The rhyme done : wponge (866-8) where done is the adv. OE dun is probably inaccurate, although it can be compared with the rhymes in (10) below.

10. OE o / a followed by nasal and consonant, in original homorganic lengthening-group rhymes on OE u + lengthening group 2X, in honde: on sounde (823-5) and grounde (827-9). There is also a rhyme of londe on unstressed u + nd in Edmund (101-3). The only other rhyme involving this type of word is that of honde on fonde pt.s. (843-6). A quality [u] is indicated, at any rate, for the OE u-forms, y-founde and sounde, by two rhymes on OF u in tombe (671-3, 896-8).

If these rhymes are accurate, then they could be explained as possible because of a shortening of lengthened OE u, before a consonant-group (which, although it would formerly have lengthened the preceding vowel, could operate in 1ME as a shortening-group) and a subsequent lowering to o (according to a change probably prevalent in the North and S.West: see Dob. § 97 and Note 1.). Alternatively, lengthened ə in honde and londe could have > u, either by a little-attested ME change, parallel to ə > i (Dob. § 136) and probably occurring mainly in the W.Midlands. (Dob. § 158 and note 4) — or by the Great Vowel-Shift.
By 1500, tense [u:] had probably become [u:] (Dob. § 156); after 1500, forlegn [u:] is replaced by ME ə, not ə (Dob. § 157).

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

11. Either a W.Midland provenance (see Disc. 1) or a relatively late date is indicated for the language, by the rhymes which show [i:] for eME [e:ɔ]: in 'high' and 'nigh'. The former rhymes 1X on Purgatory (with AN -ie) ll. 504-6, and 1X on y (pers.pron.) ll. 433-5. It also rhymes 1X on pve (prs.) (435-7) which rhymes again on yve (inf.), ll. 438-40, and appears to have a vowel i from the OF pr. tense: neve rhymes 1X on ədre (958-60) with a final consonant of doubtful value: although it rhymes 1X on hertiye (adv.) at ll. 963-5, it is otherwise involved in rhymes on slack ə, apparently: see below (12).

12. The rhymes involving 'Audrey', must be taken as either having variants ə and ə in final position, or rhyming inaccurately. It rhymes 2X on ME ə; on fre a (606-8) and be pers.pron. (1027-9). It rhymes also on day 2X (927-9, 937-9) and on away (923-5). It would be too far-fetched to suppose, on the grounds of the rhymes quoted in (11) that ME ə in fre and be had been shortened to [i] under weak stress (Dob. §§ 4 & 120) and that OE ə + ə had developed to [i:] in this language (Dob. § 137. note 2 (c) and Wright, EDG § 64). The rhyme syde: lyde (ptp. 'lay' apparently) ll. 103-5 is the only example of support for such a theory - the OF forms like cyde are the only other type of word rhyming on ai < OE əg, which otherwise rhymes on ai, < OE əe + ə, and of OE and ON origin. It is probable that lyde, 1.1035, has been conveniently, if incorrectly, confused with the intransitive 'lie'. The rhyme sayle: Corunwavel (96-8) should be mentioned in this context, as possibly should a3eyne - seynne (inf.) ll. 907-9. Corunwavel should have a second element derived from -wealas, with ME ə: the quality of ə in seynne is debatable (Dob. §106-26) but if a3eyne represents a diphthongized form, then the rhyme is significant. Certainly, in view of the rhymes of OE ə + ə with other ai-diphthongs, we must expect them to have had the same development (see Wright, EDG. § 64) - and the evidence inclines rather to this being [ə:] (Dob. § 225 & foll.).

13. The evidence is, that although final OF -ə should, according to Dobenn (Dob. § 275) have been assimilated to ə < ə in ME,
this has not occurred in the language of the text. The words involved are cyte (rhymes IX on see 62-4), prosperite (rhymes IX with he 18-20, and IX on he (f) 561-3), trinitye (rhymes IX on ME, 434-6, IX on he (m) 214-16, and IX on fre 1103-5) — and virgynite (which rhymes IX on fre 234-6 — and IX on day 232-4).

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

B. MORPHOLOGY.

1. The infinitive only retains the -n ending in some examples of the familiar and monosyllabic verbs with final vowel, 'be', 'do', 'go', and 'see'. So, beside one example of 'be' with an -n suffix in the rhyme clene : bene (254-6) there are many examples of be, rhyming on words without final -n - e.g., ll. 86-8, 214-16, 278-80, etc. Similarly, the infinitive of 'see' has final -n in the rhyme aежн : seyne (907-9) by rhymes of se with me, ll. 690-2, and 1043-5, and with se (481-3): 'go' rhymes IX on the pt.p. of 'do': v-donne : gone 926-8, beside a rhyme on to (prep) ll. 1019-21. 'do' in the infinitive has final -n in the rhyme mone : done: 791-2.

2. The one rhyme involving the pr.pl. has the s. ending -eth in theŋesth (rhymes with strength) (110-12).

3. The pt.p. has no final -n except in the verbs 'do' and 'go'. In the former v-donne appears regularly: e.g. ll. 409-11, 429-31, 597-9 etc.
   Forms without final -n do appear however: e.g. go : do 1030-2: vdo : to (759-61), bo : ydo (1062-4).
   The pt.p. of 'go' has -n in the rhyme y-gone : stone (613:15).
The evidence, so far, indicates of the original language, only that it was, non-Northern (Rhymes A.1), Southern (Rhymes B.2) and probably late (Rhymes A.2, 3, 11 : B.1.) - and insofar as we can judge, that it was mainly Western. A clearer picture can only be gained by a comparison of particular forms with Samuels isoglosses in ES 44, and L.Ev.

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

The fact that all these forms except self and y-3eue fit into a coastal area between Aldeburh and Colchester, should be noted: the fact that this district has bauh for 'though' (so St.Eth. baw 2X; & see Map 2 p.62 ES 44) and in-to meaning 'until', along in the country (this occurs 2X in St.Eth.1136, 945) would provide grounds for supposing that this were the area of provenance, for our text, were it not that self is included in a rhyme. In addition, the native forms of 'much', 'such' and 'any' - meche or moche, swich or swech, and eny, for the most part, do not occur at all in our text. Even if we were to suppose that a SW scribe had overlaid the original language, writing hit for hyt, muché for moche, etc., the -eth pr.pl. ending suggests a more Southerly provenance, and those verbs with agglutinated 1 pers.pron. (see Spellings (b)(i)) do appear to be an integral part of the original text.

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

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

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

*4. See Maps 4 & 5, p.86, & Map 6, p.90, ES 44.
If we assume a S.Wiltshire - Dorset provenance for the poem, then the spellings seye, y-3eue, he, hit, -tylle can be accepted as original forms with the spellings native to that area. The form baw still remains a problem, being confined to an area of the W.Midlands, embracing Herefordshire, Shropshire, and E.Worcestershire and Staffordshire. It is only in the Shropshire - Staffordshire area that a form with w, bawgh - comparable to our paw - appears. Perhaps we should consider paw as evidence with the unvarying suche - an extreme SW, and W.Midland form - muche (IX beside myche 3X, meche IX - presumably 'Wycliffite standard' borrowings : see Samuels' article) and self (see Map 7. p.90, ES 44), which while it occurs in the Wiltshire - Dorset area, is only a by-form, with sylf, and occurs as a main form only in the more Northerly area up from Herefordshire in the west, and Suffolk in the east.

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

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

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

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

* It can be recorded that Wright records a pronunciation mon for 'man' in the modern Wiltshire dialect (EDG p. 520).
If we accept Dorset and the extreme south of Wiltshire as the area of provenance of St. Eth., and explain the West Midland features as introduced by a scribe, this fits very well with the evidence of the spellings, with general W. characteristics, having notably South-West features (Disc. 3. 4.) and other, apparently Midland forms (Disc. 3. 5.).

Certain points which may indicate that the MS was copied from an exemplar, should be noted. These are the corruptions at ll. 204, 589-90 (see Comm.), and the inclusion of an extra line at 1.723.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

40. Vpon pe northe syde Sowthefolke, pe story saythe pis,  
pe fourthe kyndam Westsexe was y-clepte po;  
pe whyche nas neuer 3et y-wonne, y-wys,  
Till Willyham Conquerour pis lond come to,  
And 3et in gret asperite stondyng hit is.  

45. Vpon pe est syde Sowthesex he hadde, y-wys,  
And vpone pe northe syde pe water of Temse hadde he.  
Bot vpon pe sowthe syde & pe west syde, as hit y-writon ys,  
Forsotha hit hadde pe grette Sowthe-see;  
In pe whyche kyndam furst regnede kyng.  

50. pe gode duke Cerdyke, as ychaue redde,  
With his owne sone, syre Kynerynge.  
puse tweyne kepton pat kyndam tylle pey were dedde.  
In pe fyuetthondreth & pe ay3tethe 3ere after pat Goddus sone was  
bore,  

pis kyndam of Westsex toke furst his bygynnynge,  

55. & sey3th wonne pe toper sexe kyndamus to hym,with strong werre & son  
By grace of pe kyngys pere so welle gouernynge.  
pe kyndam of pe Marche pe fyuethe was,  
pe whiche was pe grette kyndam of hem alle y-fere:  
pe greste kyndam of alle hit was in space.  

60. Kyng Penda was pe first kyng pat regnede þere.  
pe lymytys of pis kyndam pey strey3then, y-wys,  
From pe water of Dee, on pe west-syde Cheyster, pat fayre cyte,  
Boune by pe water of Seuerne, pe whiche by Shrewysbury rennyng is,  
And euene to Brystowe in-to þe Sowthe-see.  

65. And othe sowthe syde, euene by Temse, to Londone rau3te he;  
And on pe northe syde by pe water of Humbre hit come, with ou3t fayle  
& strey3th so forthe sowthewarde, to þe water of Mercie,  
Euene in-to þe west see, fast by Corun-Wayle.  
In þe sixehundraed 3ere & sixe & twenty forsothe hit was  

70. After þat Jegu of his modur Marie was bore,  
þat kyng Penda wonne þat kyndam to hym, by case,  
Of þe Britones, þe whiche weron kyngus þer byfore.  
Abou3t two hundreth 3ere sixsty and thre,  
þat kyndam stode in gretre prosperite, as ichaue redde,  

75. Undere þe gouerneyeille of ay3thetene kyngus fre,  
In-to þe tyme þat Kyng Colwolfe by þe Danys was put ou3t & dedde.  
Bot kyng Egbert wonne þat kyndam, at þe last,  
And to his kyndam of Westsex he hit knytte,
And ou3t of bat kyndam þe Danys ou3t thraste; 266(261)

80. And so to þe kyndam of Westsex y-knytte hit is 3ette.
þe kyndam of Northumbrelande þe sixste kyndam was,
þe whiche vpon þe est syde, & also vpon þe west syde had þe sowthere 
& vpon þe sowth syde of Humbre hit last doune a gret space,
By þe hendys of Þworbyshire & Þatynghamshyre to þe water of Mercye;
& vpon þe north syde þe mere þerof y-strey3t ys,
Euene in-to þe scottysshe grete se,
þe prouyne of Deyre & of Bernice with-inne þat kyndam þey ben y-wys,
In þe whiche þe Pictis wonet to be.
þe Danys also dwelton þere long, with-ou3te ony dou3te,

90. Tylle kyng Athelstone, þat dou3ty kny3t,
Draffe all þe enmyus þat weron in þat contrey, ou3te,
With strong batelle, & with gret my3t.
Bot þe seueth kyndam, of Estenglond_e was, y-wys,
þe whiche conteynede Northfolk & Sowthefolke, botwo,
þe see o compas, euene Cambrygesbjzre to;
& on þe west syde Edmundus-borwe forsothe hit is,
& on þe sowthe syde Hertfordeshyre & Essex also.
þis was þe compas of þat litulle kyndam, y-wys,

100. Inne þe tyme when Englonde was dypartyd so,
Ten Englysshe kyngus regnedyne, ychone after other in þat londe.
Bot every kyng werred with other, fulle fast.
Bot when þe Danys hadden y-slawe seynt Edmunde
þey dwelleden þer hem-self þo a-last,

105. Tylle Edwarde senior, þat worthy kny3t,
Draffe þe Denmarkys ou3t of þat londe,
& wounde hit to þe kyndam of Westsex with strenght & my3t,
And alle his lyue-dayes hult hit in his honde.
Bot of þuse seuene kyndamus now wolle y nomore 3ow telle,

110. By-cause þat þe processe is of gret lengep,
Bot of a kyng þat berinne somme-tyme dude dwelle;
Somme-what to 3ow of hym to speke we thengep.
In þe sixthe hondryde & sixste þere þat Goddus sone was bore
A worthy childe was y-bore in Estenglond_e panne,

115. þewhiche was kyng afterwarde, euene þore;
And þat childus name was y-clepte þo, Anne.
Bot afterwarde, when he was y-growe to monnus age,
of Est-englonde he was y-cronyd þere kynge,
& a wiff he weddede, of hye lynage.

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ky[n]damus MS kyndamus
A gode woman he was, & off gode leuynge, & bi hurre he hadde þre deu3tre & nomo, þe whiche weren weomen after of gret honour. Etheldrede, men clepten þe ton of þo, þe whiche was y-clepte afterwarde þe shynyng flour.

Etheldrede, men clepten be tonere men clepte also, þe whiche quene of Kent afterwarde wase. Bot blessede virgyns þey won in southe boto, & in hurre age fullyche forthe-fult, þorow Goddus grace. Bot Adelburga þe thred was clepte þo, y-wys;

Sexburga be tothere men clepte also, þe whiche quene of Kent afterwarde wase. Bot blessede virgyns þey won in southe boto, & in hurre age fullyche forthe-fult, þorow Goddus grace.

Adelburga be thred was clepte þo, y-wys; Bot blessede virgyns þey won in southe boto, & in hurre age fullyche forthe-fult, þorow Goddus grace. Adelburga was y-clepte afterwarde þe shynyng flour.

Bot Etheldrede, his dou3ter, he maryede or he were dedde, & his dou3ter Sexburwe he maryede hym-self, also, Bot whethere his dou3ter, Adelburwe, were mariede, yna not redde, For y my3t not come hurre story in no plase to.

For ou3t of a blessede rote þis mayden y-sprongone ys, For þis blessad mon kyng Anne was fadur of alle þo, þe whiche kynge Pende, þat heretyke, slow, with falsnesse; & so he slow his brother, Adelhere with wrong also, & so bothe þey won marters in þat case; & þat holy mon, kyng Ine, soines þey won bothe to,

Bot Etheldrede was of age Hurre fadur & hurre modur gouernede hurre fulle wysly, & þeuen herre anone after þat in-to a heyste mariage, To a worthy prynce, þe whiche dwelt in þe contrecly nyȝe h[e]m by.

Men clepten þat prince Tonbert þo: At þe toune of Peturborwe was his dwellynge, & of alle Gyrw-ys lomde he was prince þo, þat now is clepte þe valey of Petursborwe, with-ouȝt leysyne. þis prince Tonbert was a mon of gret honour,

Men clepten þat prince Tonbert þo: At þe toune of Peturborwe was his dwellynge, & of alle Gyrw-ys lomde he was prince þo, þat now is clepte þe valey of Petursborwe, with-ouȝt leysyne. þis prince Tonbert was a mon of gret honour,
160. And kepte fulle clene hurre virgynyte. Bot summe-wha[t byfore pre 3ere pis prince Tonbart, As pe story dothe vs bothe wryte & mene, Dyede, & his soule from his body dude departe, & lafte his wyff alyue here, as he was bore, a mayde clene.

165. þen was he wedow & also clene mayde, y-wys, & long hadde be wyff also, byfore þat. Hurre fadur, þe kynge fulle welle þo conseyuede þys, & þo a-nother gret mariage to hurre he gate; For he 3aff hurtre, sone after, to a fulle worthy kynge, þe whiche to monfulnesse hadde fulle gret delyde. He weddede þo þat mayde, þat semely thyng, & his name was clepte þo, syre Egfryde. He was bothe sone & heyre to þis worthy kynge Oswy, & kynge of Northumbrelonde he was also.

170. A fulle worthy knyȝt he was, & a fulle douȝty, & a ful semely mon of persone he was þerto, & a fulle holi mon in leuyng also, sothelyche, he was, & louede ryȝt welle to serue his God, bothe day & nyȝt. Bot with a fulle gode wylle pat mayde to his wyff he chas, & louede hurre ryȝt welle with alle his myȝt. & so he dwelt with his wyff 3erys XII, Bot for alle þat he was euer a clene mayde, & þerof he was witnesse hym-self, For to seynt Wilfride þus þo he sayde;

180. 'Syre Wylfride', quade þe kynge; 'on thynge now hertly prey þe, For yknowe well þat 3e mow do þat of ony mon best. 'Conselle my wyff, þat he wolde be here-after, to me, Bothe meke & myelde, & eke honeste. For he hath ben XII 3ere now with me, A full clene mayden, as 3e fulle welle done knowe. Bot ryȝt gȝst Yȝftus, Wylfride, ychulle 3eue þe, To turne hurre hert othervfey if þat 3e mowe, Bot ryȝt gȝst Yȝftus, Wylfride, ychulle 3eue þe, To turne hurre hert othervfey if þat 3e mowe, For an heyre y cholde fayne haue bytwenes vs two, To enheyrydde owre heye heritage; A childe or tweyn, 3if God wolde þat hit shulde be so, Now, in owre bothe 3ong freysshe age'.

185. 'Syre Wylfride', quade þe kynge; 'on thynge now hertly prey þe, For yknowe well þat 3e mow do þat of ony mon best. 'Conselle my wyff, þat he wolde be here-after, to me, Bothe meke & myelde, & eke honeste. For he hath ben XII 3ere now with me, A full clene mayden, as 3e fulle welle done knowe. Bot ryȝt gȝst Yȝftus, Wylfride, ychulle 3eue þe, To turne hurre hert othervfey if þat 3e mowe, For an heyre y cholde fayne haue bytwenes vs two, To enheyrydde owre heye heritage; A childe or tweyn, 3if God wolde þat hit shulde be so, Now, in owre bothe 3ong freysshe age'.

190. A full clene mayden, as 3e fulle welle done knowe. Bot ryȝt gȝst Yȝftus, Wylfride, ychulle 3eue þe, To turne hurre hert otherways; 3if þat 3e mowe, For an heyre y cholde fayne haue bytwenes vs two, To enheyrydde owre heye heritage;

195. A childe or tweyn, 3if God wolde þat hit shulde be so, Now, in owre bothe 3ong freysshe age'.
Bot pen seynt Wylfridë, þat worthy mon,
Of þuse wordus he toke ryȝt gode hede,
& full sone þo lokede þis holy mayde vpong;

200. For to speke þuse wordus to hurre he hadde grette drede,
For he knew þat maydýns hert ryȝt welle,
And alle hurre purpose he knew welle, also,
þat he nolde not abeye to suche werkus, neuer-a-delle;
For no conselle þat he couthe or myȝt 3eue herre to,

205. For he knew ryȝt welle þat þat holy blessedë mayde
Was euer full stidfast, both in hert & pouȝt.
But þen anone to hem bothe he 3ราชการede þus, & to hem sayde,
'Syrus, se 3e not ryȝt welle þat þis worlde nys nouȝt,
Bot euer fals and fyculle & ryȝt vnscadde

210. To alle hem þe whiche trustone þerto?
Wherfore let vs here serve clene þat God þat vs hath made,
Styll in clannasse, as we herebyfore algatus han do,
And purchase we to owre soule þat heyȝe heritage;
þat we myȝt en heuen clene maydenus y-cronyd be,

215. For, forsothe, þat is to vs most a-vantetage,
To haue owre heritage in heuen, with God in trinite
Wherfore, ordyne we þer in heuen owre dwellyng,
& þat owre soule may þe newe owre heyre,
In þat blessud ioy, þe whiche hath non endynge,

220. And dwelle among þe angelis, þe whiche ben þere so bryȝte & feyre.
And gode syre, lette vs kepus here maydenus clene,
& serve here owre God euer in clannasse.
For mayden-hode is a ryȝt gode mene
To bryng vs vp to þat blessude place.

225. A full feyre abbay of maydenus, my lord so dere,
Is here nyȝe bysida, as ȝe welle knowe;
And ȝour owne aunte, my lorde, is abbas þere,
And serveyd God bathe nyȝt & day with hert fullȝe lowe.
Bot wolde, ȝe, my lorde, now ȝe me leue

230. To dwelle þere in þat abbay, & serve God þer, for aye,
My maydenhode, syre, yshulde nowe ȝeue
To hym þat made bothe nyȝt & eke day,
For he is welle & founder of alle godenesse,
& of mayden-hode, & of clene virginite.

235. And euer, with-ouȝt bygynnyng, with hym hit was,
And with his blessad angels fayre and fre.
For of a mayde Jesu for vs was y-bore, 
And toke monkynde in vrthe here alowe; 
And ellus owre soules hade ben forlore, 

Wherfore, to 3eue hit to hym, hit were ry3t welle by-towe. 
And for-by-cause pat he louythe so well pate order, y-wys, 
Of clene mayden-hode, as ychau 3ow now y-sayde, 
A feyrore lyf, forsothe, my lord, non þere nys. 
Wherfore, gode sire, graunt me to don as ychau 3ow sayde.' 

þe kyng stode stytle þo, & spake ry3t nou3t, 
Bot thonk God heylche, of his gretgrace, 
And conseueyed hit ry3t well þo in his þou3t, 
And know hit ry3t welle also, þat no better lyf þer nas, 
Ny no-thyng more plesyngrur to goddu wyllê. 

Non to kepe hem-self, for Goddus sake, maydenus clene. 
And in his hert anone þo consendyd þere-tyllle, 
To 3eue suche leue to Etheldrede, þe quene. 
And anon to seynt Wylfride þis worthy kyng sayde þo; 
'Take þou my wyff, syre Wylfride, þis mayde clene, 

And professe hur to religiose; for I graunt ry3t welle þerto, 
Sey3th hit wolle by no wey non other-weys bene.' 
And Wylfride was in his hert þo ry3t well a-payde, 
And þongeþe God þerof ofte & fele sythe; 
And professee he in-to þe abbay of Coludi,þo, þat holy mayde. 

Bot he þerof þo was full gladde & eke fulle blythe, 
And mynychyn he was made at Coludy þo anon, y-wys, 
Bot he dwelt þer litull more þen an 3ere. 
And he encressede euery day in so grete godenesse, 
In gode leuyng, as 3e shulle here-after well here. 

A vertwys leuer he was euer, byfore þat tyme, y-wys, 
And gode werchus he wolde euer hurre-thongus werche, 
And as ferforthelyche as he couthe he nolde neuer do amys, 
Bot he louede euer ry3t welle God & Holy Chirche. 
Pore men he louede also euer ry3t welle, 

And wolde fulle feyne hem bothe clothe & fede. 
And to alle gode workus he was fulle swefte & snelle; 
And also seyntus lyues in boke he wolde fayne rede. 
Fulle gladsom he was & neuer was he wrou3t: 
Among lordus in dalyans he was of fulle myelde chere.
275. Bot what mater pat he spake of, he nold swere non othe,  
And iche mon towarde godenesse he wolde fayne lere;  
Ny in hurre aray he nas neuer prou3t,  
Bot clanliche in hurre clothyng, as a quene ou3t to be;  
Ny of wordeliche dyseyse@ he nadd neuer dou3t,

280. Bot what pat euer God hurre sende, mekeliche God perof thonged he.  
Bot when he in þe abbay of Coludy mynchyn made was,  
By þe gouernytle of seynt Wilfride, as y sayde ere,  
þere as hurre sustre, dame Hebbe, was Þo abbas,  
Bot þere he abode not lytull more þen on 3ere.

285. Bot alle-bette þaw he had ben quene of þat lond a litille byfore,  
Folle mekeliche he wolde abyde in þe quere, at every tyde.  
And alle-bette he were a kyngus dou3ter, of quene y-bore,  
3et hadde he neuer þe rathere no pore creature in dispitte.  
As trewe he was euermore, as ony stele,

290. And meke & myelde with-ou3ten ony pride.  
Þe seruyse of almy3ty God he louede so welle  
Þat he wolde perinne euer hurre-thongus abyde.  
He leued þere as clene as angell bry3t,  
With ry3t gode louyng hert to euery mon.

295. He sessede neuer, nowther day ny ny3t,  
To serue well God & to plese hurre sustren euermichone.  
Bot hurre godenesse encresede every day:  
Hurre gode leuynge was spoken of in londe full wyde,  
& for hurre vertwys leuynge þat he vsede in þat abbay,

300. Seynt Wilfride nold not let hurre þer no lengur abyde;  
Bot anone he was choson & made abbas þo,  
In-to þe abbay of Hely; for in þat contrey he was y-bore;  
And þat abbay was made for hurre loue also;  
& seuene 3ere after þat hit was bulte, he dwelte þore,

305. In muche worshippe and grete prosperite.  
Bot after þat tyme þat he had vpon hurre take  
þat worshippefull state of abbas dignite,  
All wordelyche lustes full clene he dude forsake.  
Bot after þat he was made abbas þere,

310. Wyth-inne þe yle of Hely, in þat fayre abbay,
Lynyn clothus werede he þere neuer, Bot wollen clothus, both nyȝt & day. Bot an here he werede euere hurre body next, Vndur hurre worshipfull clothus, of herre honeste.

315. With gret knottus of here, hurre fleysshe was fext; & thus he kepe hurre fleysshe so freyle from jolyte. Ny hote bathis, forsothe, he nolde take none, In hote water of fleysshelyche lustynasse. Bot thre tymes in a 3ere hit was hurre wone

320. To wasshhe hurre body þen for clannasse, Aȝeyne þe heȝþe worshipfull fest of Pasce, & aȝeyne þe fest of Pentecost, & of þe Epiphanye. Euery 3ere hurre wonne hit was, Thus to ben y-wasshhe thrye,

325. In presence of hurre sustren alle - For euere to mekenesse he was prest. Bot when hurre sustren hadde y-wasshed hem alle, þen wolde he hurre-self be wasshhe lest, So meke and myelde, forsothe, he euere was,

330. & euere so clene, in worde and dede, þat he ȝaff gode ensampull to more & lasse, In gode leuyng hem-self euere to lede. By full pore meytus he lyuede, y-wys, & no day, forsothe, he neytte bot epe;-

335. Bredde & ale, & fulle seylden feysshhe - And þus he kepte hurre body fulle lene. And euery nyȝt sothely, in hurre owne stalle, First at mayteynys he wolde þere be, And mekeliche clepe vp hurre sustren alle.

340. þus meke, & þus myelde, forsothe, was he. To bedde, forsothe, he nolde go after mayteynys, nomore, Bot in hurre preyours he wolde abyde þere, fulle styllȝ. Bot ȝif gret heuynasse of sekenesse sore Gremlyche constreynede hurre þer-tylle.

345. And so in gret abstinaunce, forsothe, he leuede.
346. Off meyte and drynke, and eke off clothynge, 269v(265).
347. For all hurre lust to God he 3euede;
348. He seruede hym euer, with all hurre my3t, to his plesynge.
   Bot as pis blessude virgyn satte thus in hurre preyours, vpone a ny3t,
350. Alle hurre-self, in hurre stalle, full preuely -
   In a sconse he hadde hurre candelle with hurre ly3t -
   Bot pe cursed feynde come pedur po & blew hit ou3t sodenly.
   And when hurre ly3t was pus sodenlyche from hurre agone,
   Set satte he stylle, ry3t pere, ful sore a-frey3t.
355. Bot pen, to help hurre-self, he couthe non other wone,
   Bot prayede to God, of his grace, to send herre somme ley3t.
   And anon as he hadde to God hurre preyours pus sayde,
   To hurre pere po apparede fulle sodenliche an angelle bry3t,
To help and comforde per po pat blessud mayde.
350. And anon a3eynne hurre candelle dude he po ly3t,
   And sayde, 'maydyn, have 3e no drede of pis foule creature,
For God hathe ordeyned me, mayden, keper of the to be,
   And to be py help, py keper, & pi gouernoure.
Wherfore, from alle his weketnesse, ychulle, mayden, kepe pe.
360. And when seynt Au4dre had herd pis angelle pus speke, pore,
   And also hadde y-seye with hurre ynon pat gret ly3t,
   And hadde in pou3t pe gret derkenesse pat he had y-seye byfore,
   He thongud God & pat angelle, with alle hurre my3t.
   Pen knew he in herre hert po ry3t welle,
370. & pat hit was a feynde pat blew so sodenlyche ou3t hurre ly3t,
   And also pat pere wase y-sende from God a bry3t angelle,
   Pat some tende hurre candell a3eyne, by Goddus my3t.
   He pongede God po mekeliche of his benigne grace,
   And hERTlyCHe he blessede his powers, & eke his my3t,
375. And euer after pe better wommon, forsothe, he wase,
By-case pat he hadde y-sey3e so pere pat merueylle sy3t.
   & he louede God in hurre hert euer full welle,
   & mekeliche seruede hym with gode werkus, day & ny3t,
   And 3aff to pore pepulle, for his loue, mony a meylle,
   & fulle warme clothyng also fulle oft for his loue hem dy3t.
   Forsothe, so well belouyd was he with God
   Pat an angelle come to hurre wpone a ny3t, per as he lay,
   & tolde hurre what tyme he shulde be dodde,
   And pas ou3t of pis worlde away.
380. And afterwarde vpon a day, fulle stille he stodd,

385. And afterwarde vpon a day, fulle stille he stodd,

353. Sodenlychyche MS sodenlycliche.
Among hurre sustren euerychone, 
And wyth semely chere & myelde mode,
þus to hem po he made hurre mone.
'My dure sustren,' quade he þenne, 'my deu3tren alle,

To 3owe þe sothe y telle now, y-wys,
A pestelens, sustren, wolle haȝtely among vs falle,
And take away he wolle a certeym of vs.
þen shall y dye & ouȝt of þis worlde pase,
And mony a-nother also shall passe forthe of 3ow,

And 3e shalle haue after me, to 3our abbas,
Sexburwe, my sustre, for þat ryȝt welle y know.
And sixstene wynter my body shulle lye
In þe vrthe, þere as 3e Shull leyge hit full stylle.
Bot what men wolde do þen þere-by,

Y nyll 3ow no-thyng now þereof telle.
Bot Wylfryde shalle passe ouȝt of þis worde, some after, y-wys,
& Sexburwe shalle lyue 3et lengurre here.
Bot Wylfrïde soule shalle come vp to heuene blys
With-inne þe fourtythe day after þe sixstenehe 3ere.

Bot when syxstene 3ere ben fullyche y-past, & no lasse,
My body y-translatudde sone after þat shalle be,
& Wylfrïde shalle sone after of þis worlde passe,
& come vp to heuene þen, & dwelle with me.'
And ryȝt as he sayde, hit was afterwarde y-donne.

þat tyme hyede þo sone after þat, fulle fast,
And a moreyn come in-to þat abbay after þat welle sonne,
And sixe wekes, forsothe, hit þere last.
And nyenne maydenus, þat tyme, forthe past,
As þis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre, hadde y-tolde hem byfore,
& of alle þe maydenus, he hurre-self was þe last.
For after þat he was dedde, at þat tyme þey dyedem nomore.
Bot before hurre deythe, þe fyuæthe day,
He toke hurre leue at hurre sustren on this monere,
And sayde,'My sustron, haue 3e gode day,

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

And at þis tyme shull dye nomo
Bot y my-selfen now, at þis tyme, y-wys,
For God hym-self hathe graunteþe me so.
pat pey shull come euene wyth me, in-to his blysse;
For by pat tyme hurre penance shalle alle ben y-donne,

430. And clene ouȝt of Purgatory pey shulle be brouȝt, also,
And mete with me, after my deyth, pey shulle, anon,
And vp to pe blysse pey shulle with me pen alle go.
þus[1] bysilyche to God for hem preyede have y,
pat pey myȝtyn euene come vp to blys with me,

435. & dwell with other corayde maydenus in heuene an hyȝe,
In presence of þe blessude trinite.
Bot on thyng my dure sustren y ȝow pry;
þat ȝe wolde bury me, ryȝt as my ordre ys,
& amonge my sustren let me lye;

440. For treweliche, so my hole wylle hit ys.
And let make a litulle chest of tre,
And put ȝe my body þere with inne.
And, dure sustren, so bury ȝe me
Among my sustren here a-reynne.

445. And settuth no cost abouȝt me for a tombe
Bot gode preyours, & almys-dede.
Bot alle þat ȝe wolde spende abouȝt my tombe,
Y prey ȝow þat ȝe wolde pore men clothe & fede.
And þen in-to hurre chambre with þat, he went

450. With myelde chere, & hert fulle meke ,
& after seynt Wilfride fulle sone he sent.
And after meyster Cynfrey he sende þo eke,
And when þe messengerus comen, & hurre herunde sayde,
þey heyden hem fulle faste, & comen hurre to.

455. And in hurre chambre þey founde þat blessude mayde,
þe whiche, with myelde chere, welcomede hem þo,
& sayde:— 'Syres, ȝe ben ryȝt welcome to me.
For now my lyff, dure syres, is brouȝt nyte to anende.
For y shull leve no lengur hot dayes thre:

460. And þen ouȝt of þis wrochede worlde my soule shulle wende.
Cynfrey, a gret swellyng abouȝt my throte þer is,
þe whiche dothe my body now at þis tyme grette wo.
Were hit y-broke, & þe mater ouȝt y-renne, y-wys,
To my body, as me þenguþ; myche eysse hit wolde do.'

433. þus[1] MS þuse
puse wordus he spake, forsothe, to mayster Cinfrey, be thridde day
Byfore pat hurre soule ouȝt of pis wordde passte.
Bot po hurre leche, pe whyche was clept meister Cinfrey,
pen in his hert, full sone after pat, he hym cast
To aperce pe skynne po, with a launset,

And lette pat fole humour ouȝt of hurre body passe,
In hope pat he shulde pen faire pe bet,
And haue penaunce myche pe lasse.
And pen a wel grete yssu he made ber, y-wys,
To let pe foule humour ouȝt of hurre boyche renne;

In hope pat he shulde a fareded pebetter , he dude pis,
And made pat yssu gret & hoge pere pen.
And when pat humour was ouȝt of hurre boiche renne,
Po myche pe leyȝt-somere, forsothe, was he .
Bot sone after pat, in litulle slombryng of slepe he felle benne,

And a graciose sweuene mette po pat maybe fre.
A semeliche mayde hurre semede pat he dude pere se,
Stondyng ryȝt at hurre beddes fete,
pe whiche sayde, 'Etheldrede, how is hit with ȝou now: slepe ȝe?'
'Nay, sothely, ma dame,' quade he, 'ȝy nam not a-slepe ȝet.'

'Hedur now Goddus sonne of heuene to ȝow sendȝ me
To tell ȝe pat pis swellyng, pe whiche is by nek abouȝt,
For penaunce of synne was now y-sendȝe to ȝe,
For pe synne of þi ȝonge age, when þou were wylde & prouȝt.
For when þou were a childe of ȝong age,

Forsothe, in pyne hert þou were somdelle prouȝt,
Bothe of þy bewte, and of þy worthy lynage.
And ryall colers of golde þou wereduste, þy nek abouȝt.
For gaynes & pryde forsothe hit was,
pat þou weredȝst suche ryalle colers þo.

Bot Þalmyȝty God knowyp ryȝt welle of pat cas,
& forto quenche þe synne of pat, þis penaunce he sende þe to.
For Goddus sonne, þe whiche was of Mary y-bore,
Takup now ryȝt gode hede þerto:
& suche gret penaunce he sendȝþ þe perfore,

Hennus ouȝt of þis worlde or þat þou go.
For þou shuldust byefore þy deyth ryȝt so clene here be,
þat þou shuldust haue no nede to go þorwe þe fyre of Purgatory,
Bot come to heuene anon, with puse maydenes fre,
pe whiche shall come with pe, vp to heuene an heye.'

505. And when pat mayde bus hadde sayde, posodenly he vanysshede away,
And pis blessud virgyn, Awdre, a-woke po, of hurre slepe,
And anon he tolde pis sweuenes to Wylfrid & Cynfrey.
Bot when Wylfride hadde hit herde, for very joy anon, he wepe.
po pis blessude virgyn heyede to hurre deyth fulle faste;

510. And Wylfride serued hurre of hurre sacramentys alle,
And: he anon ben hurre yenon vp caste,
And by name he clepte forthe hurre sustren alle,
And toke hurre leue at hurre sustren per, everychone;
And at seynt Wilfride & at Cynfrey he toke hurre leue, also.

515. Bot all pëy full sore ben wepton & made gret mone;
For mony a sorwefull hert was per among hem po.
Bot when pis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre, dude dye,
& hurre soule past vp to pe blysse of heuene,
Abou3t hurre ben, gret ley3t per pëy sye,

520. And angels pëy herde syng, with mylíde steuene.
A fullé sôyte flauour pëy feltone përe po,
Alle bat weren per bo in bat place.
And a full gret ley3t pëy sey përe po, also,
And gret melodye also of angels also per po was.

525. Bot when pis blessude virgyn was bus forthe pastë,
Hurre blessude soule vp to God in Trinite;
And in a trene chest ben was y-cast
Hurre semelyche body, so fayre & so fre.
And pëy buryedone hurre in bat sameplace,

530. Ry3t as hurre owne wyll westo.
& sixstene wynter per-inne he was.
pe story of hurre spekuth of nomo.
Bot hurre soule from hurre body past furthe, y-wys,
pe thre and twenty day of pe moneth of Juny,

535. And at Hely pe first abbas he forsothe was,
In [p]e 3ere pat God was bore, sixe hundryd & sixsty.
And after herre, pat abbay stode style, in gret prosperite,
And a gret noumbre of holy maydens dwellton perinne,
A hundryd 3ere & foure & fyfty, as 3e mow rede in store,
Tyll þe Danys come hedur wyth gret host þis lond to wynne, Bot þe Danys distreydone þat abbay full clene, y-wys, & dreven away þuse maydenus þenne euerychone, Tylle Edward seniour kyng of Englonde y-coronyd was. For he repared þat abbay æscynne in his tyme, euery stone.

And chanonis he stallede in-to þat abbay þo, þe whiche dwelton þere, tylle kyng Edgar was bore. Bot blake monkus he put in-to þat abbay þo, þe whiche han dwelt: þere styll seythe euer-more. And when þis blissude virgyn was thus forth ye-past, Hurre soule to heuene blys, as y sayde 3ow er, þen was hurre sustre Sexburwe y-made abbas, in gret hast, And thre and twenty 3ere was per gouernere. Þis Sexburwe was King Annys dou3ter, þat holy marter, And kyng Herconbertys wyf he was also, þe whiche was kyng of Canterbury & dwelt þo þere. And abbas of Hely he was made when deythe had take Herconbertys hurre fro. Bot twey deu3tren he hadde by kyng Herconbertys, y-wys: Ercongote & Hemendylda þuse maydenus were y-clepte þo. Bot Ercongote with hurre modur to Hely y-gon ys. And after Sexburwe, hurre modur, nextt abbas he was also, And thretene 3ere gouernede þat abbay, in gode prosperite. A holy blessud virgyn, forsothe, þis Ercongote was: And þere 3et, fulle worshipfullyche, y-shrymyd þet ys he, East by hurre modur at Hely, in þat holy plase.

Bot Hemendilda, þe whiche Ercongotys sustre was, To Wulfery, þe whiche was kyng of þe Merche, was mariede anone. þe whiche was abbas nextt hurre sustre, in þat same plase, When Wlfry hurre hosebonde was vp to heuene agone. þis Wlfry was kyng Penda, þe heretykys, sone, Bot Wjerburwe & Milguyde weren þe namys of þe madenus two; Bot [W]erburwe, nextt after hurre modur Hemendildde In þe abbay of Hely was y-made abbas.

And þe first criston kyng of þe Merche he was also. And by Hermendilda, his wyff, he hadde twey deu3tren & a sone. Wjerburwe & Milguyde weren þe namys of þe madenus two; Bot [W]erburwe, nextt after hurre modur Hemendildde In þe abbay of Hely was y-made abbas.

Bot Hermendilda, hurre modur, byfore herre þere dwellede Sixstene wynter, & abbas was þere, in þat same plase.
Bot [W]erburwe nas not abbas per bot litull space;
For at Chester somme cronyculle sayn þat he 3et ys.
Bot hurre sustre, Mylguyde, twenty wynter was per abbas,
580. And in þat plase hurre bones 3et ben, y-wys.
Bot þus foure ladyes ben y-shrynede 3et, forsothe, þere;
Etheldrede, & hurre sustre,Sexburwe, & Ercongote, hurre sustre
dou3ter also;
And Hemendilde, hurre sustre, is y-schrynede also þere.
And of seynt Albon's relekes per is a shryme 3et mo.
585. Now wolly stynt of Sexburwe here more to wryte or or rede,
& heyste me to my mater, y-touchyd here byfore,
Of ðis blessude virgyn, seynt Etheldrede,
And of Sexburwe, as at ðis tyme, nylle y speke nomore.
Abou3t þe tombe of seynt Awdre oftymes, forsothe, þere was
590. Mony gret ley3tvys ofte-tymes per y-seye,
And meche sweetnesse of swete sauour was oft felde in þat plase,
To what mon þat to þat plase come, other by ny3t or by day.
Mony seke men hadden þere hurre hele,
& restoryng of hurre lemys þey hadden þer, also,
595. And blynde men & crokyd, mony & fele,
þe whiche þedur come, holle & sounde þey went þerfro.
And mony a meracle byforen hurre tombe þer weren y-donne;
And seke men weron þer y-helyd, monyonne.
Mony þat came þedur bothe deyffe & doume,
600. Holle & sounde þey wenton home þonne.
What ry3tvys þone, forsothe, þat ony mone badde.
Of þat blessude virgyn, Etheldrede,
His wille, forsothe, after anone he hadde;
Or of what monere sekenesse þat he of hurre his hele bede,
605. So mony meracles God þer þo wrou3t,
By-cause of ðis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre,
þat to seynt WyIfride, & to Sexburwe, hit come in pou3t
To make a tombe of ston, to ley in hurre body fre.
Bot þat contrey was lowe & mersshy, watery londe,
610. And with watrys & marrys y-closot all abou3t;
And gret scasenesse of stonys þer was, yche vnderstonde.
Wherfore, to seche a ston in ferre contrey þey senden men ou3t.
Bot þen, when þuse men hadden ry3t wyde y-gone,
þorow-ou3t alle þe contrey, in yche syde,
615. 3et my3t þey not fynde non sufficiant stone,

577. [W]erburwe MS Merburwe.
588. Sexburwe MS Selburwe.
Bot comen hom aȝeyn & telden so seynt Wilfride.  
Bot seynt Wylfride bare hit still in his mynde,  
And preyed to God, somme grace of hym to wynne;  
Suche a ston in þat contrey sum-where to fynde,  
þis blessud body to leyge with-inne.  
And anon after, as seynt Wylfride ley in his bed, vpoun a nyȝt —  
Bot he nas not fulliche ȝet a-slepe, —  
Hym þouȝt þat he sey an angel fulle bryȝt  
Stondynge at his beddes fete,  
And þat with hym come a ryȝt gret lyȝt.  
And holy Sexburwe, forsothe, also he hurȝe-self sayde  
þat pe same tyme, he sawe pylvke same syȝt.  
Bot Sexburwe thouȝt hit was a semely mayde,  
And also þat he come pedur with gret leyȝt;  
Bot he spake on worde to hem bothe.  
Bot Sexburwe, when he hit seyc, was sore agast;  
& hurȝe þouȝt þat he sayde: 'y nyll,Sexburwe,do þe no lothe,  
Bot knowe þe welle þat sixstene þere ben fully past,  
And God wolde my body were vp of þe vrthe y-take,  
And þat with hym come a ryȝt gret lyȝt.  
And holy Sexburwe, forsothe, also he hurȝe-self sayde  
þat pe same tyme, he sawe pylvke same syȝt.  
Bot Sexburwe thouȝt hit was a semely mayde,  
And also þat he come pedur with gret leyȝt;  
Bot he spake on worde to hem bothe.  
Bot Sexburwe, when he hit seyc, was sore agast;  
& hurȝe þouȝt þat he sayde: 'y nyll,Sexburwe,do þe no lothe,  
Bot knowe þe welle þat sixstene þere ben fully past,  
And God wolde my body were vp of þe vrthe y-take,
And Wylfrid come to Sexburwe anon after bat po,
And tolde hurre his vision po bere, euerydelle;

655. How per come & spake with hym an angelle bry3t.

'Forsothe,' quade Sexburwe, 'to me per come a mayde, & pe same
wordus he dude me telle, & abou3t hurre,in my chambre,was gret ly3t.'

'Forsothe,' quade Wylfride, 'now y-chotte welle, and am ry3t sure,
at hit was seynt Awdre, pe whiche come to pe;

660. For he sayde,while he lyuede,pat anon,after sixstene 3ere,
at hurre Translacione some after pen shulde be.'
Bot pen seynt Wylfride send forth after bat, ry3t anon,
Meyster Cynfrey, pe whiche was seynt Awdre leche,
And pray3ede hym bat he shulde hym-self forthe gone,

665. pe litull toune bat pe mayde spake of forto seche.
And pey toleden meyster Cynfrey po anone
pe vision, pe whiche pe sey ri3t as hit was;
And preyeden h[i]m bat he shulde fast gone,
And seche bat toune,tyll he hit hadde, from place to plase;

670. And 3erne walke abou3t pat litull space,
Euermore, tylle he hadde pat ston y-founde,
Of pe whiche, 3if God wolde 3eue hym suche grace,
To make perof, to bat mayden, a tombe.
Bot Cynfrey went forth po anone, vpone his way,

675. And other thre wise mL^n with hym went mo,
Till hit was vpone pe secunde day.
pis litull toune pey come po, by goddus grace to,
A litull byfore pe merke euenyng.
Wherfore pey pou3t pey wolden dwell per alle ny3t,

680. 3yff pey my3ten here pere ony tithynge
Of pis ston, porwe Goddus grace & my3t.
Bot on pe morwe, when hit was clere day,
pey reson vp full smertlyche po euerychon,
And pou3ten pat pey wolden passe forth vpon hurre way,

685. Abou3t all pat contrey, to seche pat stone.
Bot Cynfrey past forthe po, by an olde walle,
And 3erne he sou3t abou3t pere, in pat mortyde.

668. h[i]m MS hem
675. m[e]n MS mon
Bot at pe last he saye where a ston lay, as whyte as whall, a litull hem all bysyde.

690. 'A brethren,' quade Cynfrey po, 'me thengup y now 3onde se
A fayre stone, y-shape ry3t welle 3erfore.
Comethe hedur, y 3ow prey all, now, with me,
For pâs ston was y-she-wyd to me here, byfore.
For treweliche, by visione, to-ny3t, per come to me

695. A semely man, þe whiche was of gret age.
His berde was feyre & whyte, his body was fre,
Forsothe he hadde a ry3t fayre vy3age:
A kyng me þou3t hit hadde y-be,
Or ellus a mon of fulle he3e parage.

700. And þuse wordus he sayde po to me,
Oypnliche, inoure owne langage,
'Cynfrey,' quacle he, 'þou hast ferre & wyde y-gone,
Alle þis contrey wyde all a-bou3t,
Forto seche a fayre marbull stong;

705. Lowe, where a fulle fayre stone leythe, with-ou3t dou3t.
Loke vp,' he sayde,'& se hit with þyn ynon ry3t welle,
For lowe where hit leythe, byside pe 3ondere walle,
Kyndliche y-wrou3t for hurre, euerydelle,
Redy to resayue hurre clene body now alle!

710. And with þat worde, anong, he past forthe away,
Clene ou3t of my sey3t þethon, anong,
& y loked hym po after; & me þou3t po þat y seye
Leygyngne ry3t here þis same stong.'
And þey kneledâne a-doune po þere, euerichon

715. And thongia.de God po, with alle hurre my3t,
þat 3af hem grace to fynde suche a stone,
For hurre body so mete & so clene y-dy3t.
For þat ston was well y-graue, euery gevntte,
þat holy body to close alle holle with-inne,

720. With ry3t curiose crafte eueryche a neynche.
þer my3t no fau3t be founden þer-inne.
þey weron po fulle gladde, & pondonen God fulle fast
Of þat gret grace þat hadde hem y-sende.
Bot of cariage þey were bo full sore agast,
725. And prayede to God, with hert fulle hende,
To ðeue to hem bothe grace and myȝt,
Þat ston to carie to Hely, bothe sounde & saue,
Þat was so follych and so redy y-dyȝt
To resayue þat body þat ley þere in graue.

730. Bot anone, by grace, þer came a moge,
Þat dwelt neyȝe þer byside in þat contrey,
And sayde, 'Sires, what do þe to þat fayre stone?
For hit motte to þe abbay of Hely.
For to me, to-nyȝt, þer come a fayre, semely lady in gode aray,
735. & he hathe y-bȝ louȝt þis marbull stone of me,
And ychaue y-seuryd hurre, by my fay,
To carie hit to þe fayre abbay of Hele.'
Bot Cynfrey stode styll þo, & speke ryȝt nouȝt,
And in his hert he was bothe gladde & blythe.

740. And for þis meracle þat was þer þus y-wrouȝt,
He pongede God oft & fele sithe,
And sayde, 'Sire, what lady was þat,
þe whiche hathe y-bouȝt þis fayre stone of þe?'
'Trewliche sire,' y not,' he sayde,
745. 'Bot a fulle semely lady, forsothe, was he.
A mantyll of sable þat lady werede vpone,
And a religiouse womon, forsothe, me þouȝt, was he.
And with full gret lyȝt he cometo me þon,
And þuse wordus, forsothe, he sayde to me:
750. And he askede me wherre þat iche wolde sylle
þis marbull stone, so fayre & so fre;
And sayde þat hurre sustre hadde gret nede þer-tylle,
þe whiche was, as he sayde, þe abbas of Hely.
And y sayde anon, 'Þe, my lady so dure;
755. For þou durst not to hurre say nay,
So semely þe he was, & so gladde of chure.
And anon after, to me thus dudde he say:
'And also þou most carie hit þedur now anone,
& hye blyue þou most, þat hit were y-do.
760. And other thre men, þat han ferre y-gone
Wollen come pedur & help welle bert.  
And haue here, he sayde, ‘by heyre 
A ryng of golde, bothe riche and gay.’  
And of hurre seythe, y saw nomore,

Bot thus he past forth from me a-way.’  
’Now treweliche, felowys,’ quade mayster Cynfrey,  
’pis lady pat hath y-bou3t herse pis stone,  
Hit was myn owne lady, seynt Awdrey;  
For treweliche, other woman was hit none.

Bot heye 3ow fast now, & haue y-donne,  
bat pis fayre ston were caryede from pis plase away.  
For iche wold be gladde, were hit fayre brou3t home bonne,  
bat blessede fayre body perinne to lay.’  
Bot pis mon vnswered pen anon, with pat,

And sayde, ’Syre, hit shalle ry3t sone be bere;  
For my waynne shalle be hedurre anong y-fatte,  
To ðe abbay of Hely hit forto bere.’  
Bot ðat stone was fulle hoge & full hevy, y-wys.  
Bot ðey tokon hit vp ry3t ly3tliche, by goddus grace, þo.

And in-to þe wayne full sone y-done hit is;  
And fulle meriliche home þer-with þen dude þey go.  
þen went þey hammerde , a welle gode passe,  
With hurre wayne, & with hurre stone,  
With gret gladnesse, mirthe, & grace.

And by alle þe way, lettyng nad þey none.  
And when þey come home to þe abbay with þat ston,  
And hadden y-told Wylfride & Sexburwe hurre gode sped,  
þen were þey gladde and blythe, euerichon,  
For of no maesynry to dey3t þat ston, þey nadde no nede.

Bot when Cynfrey hadde y-tolde Wilfride & Sexburwe of þe rynge,  
þe wheche was y-3eue of þat lady to be caryeng mone,  
þen preyede þey þe mone þat he wolde hit to hem bryng,  
þe wheche þyng he grauntede hem anong to done.  
For Sexburwe heyde hurre fulle fast,

Þat he my3t by-tyme y-se þat holy thyng,  
For in hurre hert, anong, forsothe, he cast  
Þat hit was hurre professhennalle rynge.
Bot when he hit saw, he knew hit full well,
And pongede God heyliche, of his grace & of his my3t,
800. And anon hit he bou3t of pat mon fulle snelle.
And anon after, to seynt Awdre-is tombe pey hem dy3t.
Seynt Wilfride come po anone, pat tombe to,
With his ministris, & with his clerkus alle.
And pis blessude abbas hyede hurre fulle fast also,
805. And alle hurre couent, also, he dude forthe calle,
With copus and tenecius of ry3t gode aray,
And torchus & sencerus, mony & fele.
& other men uncloseden pe vrthe, as per as he lay.
Bot mony a seke mon hadde po his hele,
810. pe grace of almy3ty God was per po so prest,
& also, so sote sauerus weren per alle abou3t,
bat every creature hadde per po gretter lest
To knele to pat vrthe, fulle lowe, & to pat body lowete;
And pongedone God, with alle hurre hert & hurre my3t,
815. Of his gret godenesse, & of his hey3e grace.
pen nyne bleynde men hadden per hurre sy3t,
Ry3t anon po, in pat blessude place;
And croked maymot crepuls seune
Hadden herre lemys restoryd to hem anone, ry3t bere.
820. And cryeden, & sayden wyth heye steuene
bat pey weren holle & sounde per po, all y-fere.
bere was gret solace, murthe & gret joy,
& mony a seke mon was made per holle & sounde,
And also bellus rongon & maden gret noy,
825. With-ou3t ony touchyng of monnus honde.
And when pey knewen & herd pe bellus ryng & knylle
So schryll, with-ou3t ony touche of monnus honde,
Seynt Wilfride went anon pe tombe tylle,
And Sexburwe went anon po, doune in-to be grounde.
830. Bot when seynt Wilfride hadde y-seye alle this,
In his hert, forsothe, he was wondere gladde,
And doune in-to pe tombe with Sexburwe y-gon he is;
And tweyn other bysshoppus with hym he ladde,
And touchede pe chest, po, he dude, with his honde.
835. And perof he toke away pe lede, po, after, anone,
And hurre blessude body, as hole per lygyng he fonde
As euer hit was with-inne pat chest y-done
As whyte, as rody and as freysshe
Hurre fayre body was, per as hit po lay,

840. And with-ou3t ony corruptione of hurre fleysssh,  
Ry3t as paw hit hadde ben leyde with-in pe chest pat same day.  
Hurre lures weron white as ony lely-floure,  
Y-meynde with rod ry3t as hit was best,  
And hurre body was of pe same colour,  

845. Ry3t semely and sote, and eke full honeste,  
And pe grete suellyng, pe whyche was her nekke abou3t,  
Was vanysshed a-way, and nothyng seuene,  
And pe wonde was clene holle, with-ou3t ony dou3t:  
And alle hurre body lay per bothe stre3t & euene,  

850. Hurre body lay per, as semely in euerichemonnus sy3t,  
Ry3t a-lyue as paw hit 3et were.  
porwe pe grace of Goddus holy my3t  
Suche gret myraclus were done bere.  
Bot when Sexburwe, bat holy blessude abbas  

855. Saw how semelyche, & how holle pat body ley pere,  
In hurre hert, forsothe, fulle gladde he was,  
And pongede God mekeliche, with gode chere,  
And sayde, 'Jesu, y-blessude mot by nome be  
Euer, lorde God, with-ou3ten ony hende,  

860. For pou deydust for owre soule vpone petre,  
With fulle meke hert & fulle hende.'  
Bot pey tokon vp pis fayre body, anone, po,  
And with ry3t mery song & melode,  
And to pe hey3e auter pere-with pey duden go,  

865. With fayre processione, & ry3t gret solemnite.  
And vpone pe hey3e auter pey leyd3e hit doune  
Opanyliche pere in eueriche monnus sy3t,  
pat euery mon my3t clereliche & welle loke per-vpone,  
To merueylle vpone hurre colour so bry3t.  

870. And when eueryche mon hadde rediliche y-sey pat fayre body,  
Ry3t at hurre owne plesauns, & at hurre owne wylle,
Pey token hit vpon herre armys, fulle honestly,  
And beron hit forthe, pe marbulstone po tylle,  
And leydone pat fayre body with-inne pe marbulle stone,  
pe whiche was so welle, & so heuene y-shape perfere,  
In pe toune of Granstecheester, byfore long a-gone,  
For per was pat blessud mayde y-bore;  
And pat ston was y-shape,as mete for hurre body, y-wys,  
And bothe y-coruyn & y-grauyd so sotelly,  
875. pat no geynte of hurre body lay perinne amys,  
Bot every lemme of hurre body ley perinne bothe fayre & honestly.  
And byfore pe heye auter pey satton pat tombe,  
And leydone hurre fayre body with-inne, ry3t pere,  
And pedur come men po, bathe deff & dombe,  
880. And hadden herre hele per, byfore pe tombe, alle y-fere,  
Bothe leprus, and men in pe frensy, mony on,  
Hadden pere hurre hele, byfore pat tombe, y-wys.  
And men pat hadden pe hede-ache & eke pe stong,  
And mony men y-combryd with feyndis & euell spiritys,  
885. Ny per nas nomone pat touchede pat chest,  
pat hurre body, byfore, sextene 3ere hadde ley inne,  
Or touchud ony of hurre clothus, most or lest  
pat nas alle holle of his sekenesse, or he went cynne.  
Forsothe, mony a pilgryme pedur dude come,  
890. For diverse sekenesse, pat pey po hadden,  
And a childe, of pe whiche watere his lyff hadde by-nome.  
And pat dede child in a bere pedur pey ladden,  
And setton hit a-doune byfore pat tombe,  
And prey3edone seynt Awdre of herre help & of hurre grace.  
895. And pe childe rose vp po anone, bothe hole & sounde,  
And stode byfore hem alle per, in pat place;  
And to alle pe papull pat byfore hym stode, ry3t pus he sayde;  
"Y prey 3ow pat 3e wolde knele adoune here, everychone,  
And for me pongep pis holy, blessude mayde,  
900. "  
Of pe whych pe body leyth y-closot here in pis stone.  
For porwe here preyere, forsothe, hit was,  
pat God hathe y-3eue to me my lyff a3eyne.  
For forsothe, murgure ny ley3ttur newer y nas  
Nen ycham here now, as 3e mow welle seynne.
For forsothe, fulle of godde's grace he is,  
his holy virgyne, y-blessude mot he be.  
For full mery is he now, in heuene blys,  
Among þe bryȝt angelus þer, so feyre and fre.  
And þis worshipfull abbay by hurre, y-wys,  

Here-after shalle haue heyne encresse of honestryse,  
And also hit shall have ryȝt gret prosperite,  
By þe heynye grace of God in trinite.'

Bot when þis gret meracle was þus y-done,  
And þis childe y-rerote þus, from deythe to lyfe,  

þey closedone vp, þo, þat marbull stone,  
And set hit in þe same plase þere, as hit 3ete lythe.  
And when Wylfrïde & Sexburwe hadde closote þat stone,  
þey paston forth, þo, vpon hurre way.  
Bot þe pilgrymys a-bydde stille þer, euerychone,  

And þongedone God mekelyche, & seynt Awdrey.  
For mony a gret miracle þer was y-done,  
Bate by nyȝt, & also by day,  
And mony an holle mon home dude gone,  
þe whiche come pedur fulle seke, & in fulle feble aray,  

For þer nas nomon þat þedur by-hette,  
For ony monere heuynasse þat he was Inne,  
þat he his bote þer ne fette,  
And gladde & blythe he went home þynne.  
Thus was þis abbay encresset, y-wys,  

þowre Godde grace & þis blessude virgyne, seynt Awdre,  
And 3et, continuallyche, forsothe, hit is  
Stylle in gret worshippe vnto þis day.  
Full gret grace & godenesse is 3et in þat abbay,  
By-causa of þat blessude virgyne, & mayden cleene.  

And meracle y-done 3et þere, euery day;  
For to euery nedefulle mon he is gode mene.  
By-cause of hurre, þat abbay 3et hit is  
In hiȝe encresse, and ryȝt gode aray,  
And 'þe lanterne of Englonde' clepte hit is,  

3et inne-to þis same day.
And per is 3et pe trenyn cheste,
In pe whiche seynt Awdre-ys body lay inne;
And also, alle hurre clothus, bothe most & last,
Fulle clene y-kepte pere, with-ou3t wynne.

And pe ryng of golde is pere 3et, y-wys,
be whiche was hurre professhynalle ryng;
For vpone hurre shryne pat ryng 3et hit is,
A full holy releke & a full precious thynge.

puse relekus ben 3et ry3te folle of grace,

And 3euen hele & grace to mony a mone,
And gret pilgrimage is 3et to pat place,
In gret help, and in grete hele, to mony one
be whiche worshepen & thongone pis blessude virgyn,seynt Awdre
Of hurre grace, and of herre gret my3t.

For-to all be contrey, ferre & ney3e,
Gret help and gret grace to hem, porow hurre, ys dy3t,
I-grauntede of Goddus sone of heuene,
For pat blessude virgyn seynt Awdre.
To alle hem pe whyche ascone with myelde steuene,

Of hurre ony help or ony hele, hertlye,
pay han hit y-grauntyde to hem, ry3t anone,
porow grace and preyere of pat blessude virgyn,seynt Awdrey,
be whiche leythe pere, with-in pat marbulle stone,
In pat worshipfulle abbay of pe yle of Hely.

Hurre body is pere, bot hurre soule is in blys,
And euer shall be, with-ou3t ony hende;
For so to hurre of God y-grauntyde hit is,
As to a blessude virgyn clene and hende.
And mony a feyre miracull for hurre God hathe per wounded,

In Hely, in pat worshipfull abbay,
Off pe whiche nowe on comethe in-to my pou3t,
be whiche y-chull to 3ow now,wryte and say,
be whiche y founde in pe abbay of Godstow, y-wys,
In hurre legent, as y dude pere pat tyme rede,

Howe pe abbay of Hely was distryed with pe Danys,
be sixstythe 3ere after pat seynt Werburwe was'dede.
And puse blessude virgynes weron clene put ou3t 276(271)
And dweltone neuer sey3thon, forsothe, þere;
For þus cursede Danys weron so stou3te & prou3t,
985. þat þey durst not dwelle þere, for fere.
Bot in þe tyme of kyng Edwarde senioure
Seculere chanouns weron put þere, y-wys,
Bot kyng Edgar & Seynt Dunstone, þat confessour,
Put þe chanouns ou3t, & set þere blake monkys.

990. Bot þat tyme þat þe chanouns dweltone þere,
As y sayde to 3ow now ry3t here byfore,
Won of hem þou3t þat he nolde not spare, for no fere,
To wete wherre þat maydenus body ley3e hole 3et þere.
And to þat tombe he went þo, ry3t anone;
995. And with a cheaell, he made þere a gret hole,
And a ley3t candelle brennyng he put in-to þat stone,
And totede in hym-self at a-nother hole.
And with an hokude 3erde, he wolde han meuyd þe colthe away,
þat he my3t han sey3e ry3t at his owne wylle,
1000. þat blessude body, veryliche, ry3t as hit lay,
Wherre hit hadde y-ley3e þer 3et, alle hole stylle.
And he hadde put a strong hoke of hyron in þe 3erde ende,
To han pulde þe colthe well from hurre body away;
And a gret candell he let þo tende,
1005. þat he my3t han sey3e herre body nakede þere, as hit lay.
And he put þe hoke of þe 3erde þe colthes with-inne,
And bygon to drawe he at hem þo, ry3t fast;
Bot þe 3erde stekede stylle þere, & nolde not passe þynne.
And þen was þis wreche full sore þereof agast,
1010. And drowe at þe 3erde þo, with alle his hole my3t;
Bot þat blessude virgyn nolde not let þe 3erde go,
Bot hulte hit stylle, ry3t þere as hit was þy3t.
And þe space of a noure hit stykkyd þere, ry3t so;
And þe ley3t of þe candelle went ou3t also, anone,
1015. þat he hym-self sawe no-thyng, y-wys,
þen stode he þere, as stylle as ony stone;
And in his hert knewe fulle well þat he hadde y-done amys,
Bot þenne full fayne he wolde han y-gone,
3yf he hade hadde my3t or grace þerto;
1020. Bot he was þo as blynde as ony stone,
   And also he myȝt not on fote þennys go,
   Bot stode styll þer, with sorwefulle chere & drery mode,
   And myȝt not on fote þennys passe;
   Bot cryede fast, as þaw he were wode,

1025. When he sye well & veriliche þat he clene blynde was.
   Bot þen comen his felowys rennynge, on every syde,
   And sayden - 'Alas, syre Cerdyke, what eylluthe þe?'
   'I may not,' quade he, 'gon henne,bot here y mot abyde,
   For iche haue gretliche offendyde þis holy virgyn Awdre.'

1030. Ichaue offendyd,' quade Cerdyke, 'þis holy virgyn so,
   þat y hope after no more hele of my body, y-wys.'
   'Whey,sire Cerdyke,' quade þe deyn, 'what han 3e do
   To þis virgyn, so gretlyche amys?
   Why may not hit be amendyde, by no way?

1035. Telle me alle y-ferere, ryȝt as þou duste,
   þat we mow þat blessude virgyn forþ þe pray.'
   'To ham y-sye hurre body,' quade he, 'y-chad gret luste;
   For treweliche y tell 3ow þe sothe, alle-y-ferere,
   I nadde not fulle gret trust þerto,

1040. þat hurre body was alle holle now here.
   And þouȝt þat y shulde loke wherre hit were so.
   And y cometo þis tombe þo after, anong,
   And þis gret 3erde in my honde y brouȝt with me,
   And made an hole with þis chesell in þe stone;

1045. And put in a candell brennyng, þe better 3yff y myȝt se;
   And þis gret 3erde Þat y put also inne þere-by,
   With a gret hyrone hoke, þat vpon þe hende ys,
   To han y-drawe away þe clothus from hurre body,
   þat y myȝt well be trewthe han seye,how hurre body wys

1050. And with þe hoke, y cauȝt in hurre clothus gode holde,at þe last;
   And drow þe 3erde to me, with alle my maynne.
   Bot seyn þat Awdry hulte þe 3erde so fast,
   þat y myȝt not drawe þe 3erde to me aȝaynne.
   And set þe 3erde styketh ryȝt þere,

1055. 3yff hit plesse 3ow, 3e mow hit well se,
   Loke 3e, wherre 3e mow þat 3erde ouȝt ðere,
   And wherre he wolde fauere 3ow more þen me!
   For y drowe þe 3erd so fast, þat y doune felle,
Euene vpone my bake here, vpry3t.

And also ychaue y-lost my sy3t, euery-dellé,
So vengauyncelyche ycham now y-dy3te.
Bote pe deyn went to pe tombe anone po,
In sy3t of mony oper grete men,
And drowe at pe 3erde, as Cerdyke hadde before y-do;

Bot alle pey my3t not tere hit 3et þen;
Bot þen pey wentone o processione, euerichone,
And deden offe hurrre hosen & hurrre shone alle-y-fere
And kneledone doune afterwarde, byfore þat:stone,
And mekelyche maden herre preyours þere,

And mekelyche prey3eden seynt Awdry of hurrre grace,
As he was wedow and mayden clene,
þat he wolde for3eue Cerdyke his gret trespace,
And also þat he my3t haue his sy3t a3ene.

Bot when þay hadden pus hurrre preyours y-made,
þey reson hem vp po, from þe gronde, euerichone;
And to þat 3erde a3eyn, þo anone he 3ade,

And drowe hit po leystliche y-nowe ou3t of þe stone.

Bot when he hadde drowyn ou3t þat 3erde,
And stopude feyre þat hole, alle holle a3eynne,
An angel's voys, forsothe, þer þey herde,

þe whiche sayde þat Cerdyke wrou3t all þat werke in veynne.
And gret ly3t þey seye þere þo also,
And full sote sauere þey feltone þo, in every syde.
And also þey herdyn þe voys eft-sone speke þo,

þe whyche sayde þat hurrre body was as hole as hit was þerinne lyde.

'And Cerdyke,' he sayde, 'y warne þe now also,
þat þou shalt neuer haue þy sy3t after þis,
Bot alle þis þi lyff, blynde þou shalt ry3t so go,
By-cause þat þou byleueduste of þis mayden amys.

Bot þo alle þey weron fulle sore agast,
þe whiche herden þat voys speke on þis manere,
And when þay hadde long y-kneylede, þo at þe last,
þ[e]blynde Cerdyk & alle þey wenton forthe y-fere.
And in gret worshepe, euer after, þey hadden þat mayden,y-wys

And nomone durst blaspheme herre,þer-after more,
Bot wylst ryȝt well þat hurre soule was in heuene blys,
And þat hurre body was as hole as he was mayde y-bore,
And þat hurre body euer in vrthe in gret worship euer shall be,
And ryȝt so hurre blessude soule shall be in heuene blys,

1100. And in þe joy þat euer shal l last among þe coronede maydenus is he,
For amonge hem, forsothe, hurre dwellyng-plase y-ordenyde hit is,
And prey we now with alle owre myȝt
To God owre fader in trinite,
þorow his gret mercy, a place vs dyȝt,

1105. To dwelle þere with þat blessude mayde fre,
And to have herre euer in owre thouȝt,
In þe ioy þat he is now inne,
þedur as God hathe vs so dure y-bouȝt,

1109. And þat hit be ryȝt so, say we amen.

1110. A-nothur myracle y thenke here to pyte,
Ryȝte here yn þis same place,
þe whyche y say at Hely y-wrte,
Whenne y on pylgrymage laste þer was,
As y redde yn hure story-boke,

1115. By helpe of þe sexteyne þat was þer þat day;
Whate sorwe kyng Egfrythe yn hys herte toke
Whenne seynt Awdre was ago to hurre abbay.
For whenne heo was gone from hym, y-wys,
And yn þe abbay of Coludy mynchyn furste y-made

1120. þe kyng þouȝte he had y-done al amys,
& yn hys herte grete angur he hade,
þat he had y-ȝene hure þus leue to gone hym fro,
Yn þe maner by-fore wrte & sayde.
And callyd hys cuncel ful ofte hym to,

1125. And dysyrd of hem to haue aȝen þat mayde,
And ful ofte yn herte he purposyd hym, al-so,
þat mayde to fache with strengþe a-ȝeyne.
But his cuncelle nolde not consente þerto,
Where-fore hys labur was al yn veyne.

1130. But whenne he say hys cuncel wuld not consente
To fache þat mayde aȝeyne fro hurre abbay.....
A relatively correct, if simplified summary of the history of early England, subsequently substantiated in an account of varying accuracy. A brief historical introduction to Thomas' history of Ely draws information on the Saxons, Angles and Jutes from Bede's Hist.Eccles., but leads straight on to treat of the East Angles, without mentioning more than half of the Heptarchy.

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

1.6. Hengestis & Orsus. cf. Hengestus 1.6., Hengestis 1.22,
Hengestus 11. 15, 29. The omission of the initial H - in Orsus illustrates a common tendency among medieval scribes (see further 1.283 & note). Although only the form Horsa appears in Bede, and Hengist, likewise, Hengestus and Orsus can be explained with reference to the inconsistencies in the matter of name-endings in the L. Bede MSS, where OE forms alternate with Latinized inflected forms.*1. It is difficult to imagine that an educated writer could have produced Hengestis/ys, apparently a L.3rd decl.gs. as a nom. s., an acc. s. and a gs. successively. It appears that the scribe equates L. unstressed syllables with the native sounds - which he represents by either - us or is/ys for the English g. and pl. endings.

18. mountenesse : appears otherwise only in the Chronicon Vilodunense, which immediately precedes SEth in the MS. In both cases the meaning is 'amount', whether, as here, of time, or as there, of space: 
*bis Twaylle y-bordryd abou3t was With palle pe mountenesse ofe han hondbrede (2277-8).
The ordinary ME form mountance (OF montance) is rendered by Chaucer, and elsewhere, as mountenance. This form has been referred to maintenance, as being an analogical formation, liable to occur when the latter word is used in the sense 'amount of material wealth required to maintain a person'. The present form then, would simply represent mountenance with substitution of the suffix -nesse.

For the general uncertainty with more unusual French words in this text, cf. asperite 1.44, aperce 1.469, wyl3age 1.697; and see prec.note.

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

11.9-12. Unless the word archebishoperyche is s. and applies only to Canterbury, it implies the author's misapprehension either as to the word's meaning - and it does seem to echo bishoperiche 1.9 - or as to the status of the see of Rochester.

Bede tells (11. 25-35 Hist.Eccl.) of Augustine's appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Aethelbert's and Gregory's help, A Roman church was rededicated to Christ, and became the centre of Christianity, in the South: plans to transfer the archbishopric

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

1.22. Egberde occurs here and at 1.25, beside Egbert, 1.19. This would seem to be an instance of the general interchange of voiced and unvoiced consonants, registered in the orthography of this text, see Spellings III.1.

11.17-24. Fourteen kings appear in the royal Kentish genealogy,*1. and we have fyftene kyngus if we add Aldrede, or Baldred as he is otherwise known. Members of the royal family were ruling separate parts of Kent up until 765, when it became a Mercian province.*2. Records of Kent between then and 825 (ASC S23) - when the obscure Baldred was deposed by Egbert of Wessex - are very sparse. Two things, however, are clear - first, that the description of fifteen monarchs ruling Kent until Baldred's deposition is over-simplified: there is a gap of at least fifty years between the 14th and the 15th king — and second, that Kent was not independent until Egbert's conquest. The significance of this victory is that it marks the beginning of Wessex ascendancy and the last decay of Mercian supremacy.

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

1.25. See 1.22 note.

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

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

11.31-2. The history of Sussex is a blank from 491 (when Aelle besieged Anderida: see ASC) until Aethelwalh’s baptism in 675 (Hist.Eccl. 4.13)*1. Possibly it is Aethelwalh who is the sexsth kyng, here, for he was killed by Caedwalla of Wessex in 685 (Hist.Eccl. 4.15) and Sussex was then subjected to Wessex for at least ten years.

11.34-6. According to W.G. Searle’s first royal genealogy of Essex,*2 there were ten kings following Aescwine, from Sledda to Sigeheri — who acceded c. 665. Various accounts of subsequent rulers are offered in the second genealogy,*3 and it is evident, at any rate, that there would have been more than ten kings in Essex before the Danish invasions. The implied role of the Danes as first conquerors is mistaken, too. Essex, like Sussex, came under the sway of Offa of Mercia and then submitted to Egbert of Wessex in 825.

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

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

11.37-40. An apt description. Early Essex would have been bounded by a high wooded belt to the West, the Thames to the South, and Suffolk (in E. Anglia: see 1.94) to the North.

11.41-3. While the WS royalty remained nominally in power during the eighth century, Wessex was no more than a large province of Mercia during this time, until Egbert’s victories after 820, in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and even Mercia, with which began the WS rise to power.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* See p.40 AS Eng.
1.60. Other kings certainly ruled Mercia before Penda: there is brief mention of one, Cearl. It is in Penda's reign, however (c.632-c.660) that the recorded history of Mercia begins.*

1.61-67. The sowe the see is, presumably, the Bristol Channel: the Western boundary of Mercia then, includes within that kingdom the lands of the Pecsaetan and the Wreconsaetan, tribes inhabiting Derbyshire, Shropshire and Cheshire (probably annexed during or after Penda's reign),* and the territory of the Hwicce in present-day Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and West Warwickshire. Penda won this territory from Cynegils of Wessex in 628 according to the ASC.

Mercia is bounded to the south by the Thames (cf.I.46, where the Thames is the north frontier of Wessex). This means that the territory of the Middle Angles is regarded as Mercian: Penda subjugated it before 653 - for the ASC tells us that the Middle Angles became Christians, under Peada, Penda's son, at that date. For no obvious reason, the east boundary is omitted. Mercia is described as abutting on to the Humber, to the North, implying that Lindsey, the land of the Lindisfar, is regarded as part of its territory. This little kingdom, first subject to Mercia, was briefly annexed to Northumbria by Egfrith, but won back to Mercia by Aethelred in 678.*

1.68. Corunwayle: the apparent reference to Cornwall is as startling as it is inconsistent with all that has gone before. 1.68 appears to conclude the description of the North frontier of Mercia, stretching right up to the west see, apparently the Irish Sea, from the Mersey. Cornwealas('the Welsh in Cornwall') appears in the ASC, and it appears that this author has confused the first element Corn-from a tribal name - with the word 'crown' (cf. his forms of the v. 'crown'), perhaps as an exceptionally ceremonious title for North Wales, 'Royal Wales'.

1.69-72. The ASC dates Penda's reign from 626, although Bede estimates its length as twenty-two years, stating that he died in 655, and hence implying that he began to reign in 633. Penda did not win Mercia from the Britons (cf. 1.60 & note): for his conquests see I. 61-7, note. Penda killed Edwin of Northumbria in 632, so ending the latter's overlordship of England, and he slew Oswald of Bernicia in 641. By the end of his reign, in addition, he had made East Anglia a Mercian province. Oswin's victory, over this invincible leader at Winwaed was regarded as miraculous.

*1. see pp.38-9 AS Eng.
*2. see p.45 AS Eng.
Mercia's ascendancy should be dated from c.632 (when Penda became king) to c.823, when Ceolwulf was deposed, and Offa's great term of power finished: i.e., two hundred years, rather than two hundred and sixty-three. Although the number of kings from Penda, in the royal Mercian genealogy, numbers twelve, which becomes eighteen, if we add the six subsequent successors to the throne, Ceolwulf, the last in the succession, far from being deposed by the Danes, was their puppet-king, put on the throne in 873 after the defeat of King Burgred. He disappears from history after 875. The introductory about ... of 1.73 can be said to allow for the fact that the Danish invasion is dated sixteen years too late, in 889. Ceolwulf's role has been quite incorrectly viewed: it is possible that he has been confused with Ceolwulf I, last of the royal Mercian line, deposed in 823 by an English Beornwulf, a few years before Egbert's temporary conquest of Mercia (see foll. note).

Egbert, with his temporary annexation of Mercia to Wessex seems to be confused, here, with Edward the Elder. The Danes had not begun their invasions in the 820s, when Egbert was challenging Mercia; the two kingdoms retained an equal standing until the Danish threat obliterated old differences, and Edward the Elder, campaigning with Aethelflaed in Mercia, in the first fifteen years of the 9th century, be Danys ou3t thraste.

Northumbrelonde: Northern England, separated from the South by the great dividing line of the Humber, and constituting, originally the territories of the Dere and the Bernice in the East (see next four notes). The West boundary is described as being the West Coast of England: Mercia is taken to include, thus, the kingdom of Rheged in the North-West. Battles between Northumbria and Rheged are recorded c.600: Northumbrian overlordship is confirmed in c.636 with Oswin's marriage to Riemmeth of Rheged. The southe see designates, elsewhere, the waters of the South and West of Wessex (48) and around Bristol (64). Presumably the coastal waters of Northern England are indicated here - southerly by comparison with the scottyshe grete se of 86.

The North boundary runs roughly diagonally South (not a great space) from the Humber to the Mersey (the 'boundary-river') passing the Northern limits of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Again, this includes conquered territory, this time of Elmet, a kingdom in: the Leeds district), appropriated by Edwin of Northumbria in the 7th century (see p.80 AS Eng.).

Battles with the Picts and Scots in the 7th century and 8th century meant that the Northern frontier of Northumbria fluctuated from the Tweed, as the most southerly point, to up to the Firth of Forth.

The tribal domains of the Dere, in the plain of York, between Humber and Tees, and of the Beornice, between the Tees and the Tweed, formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Northumbria—whence the names Deira and Bernicia. Both areas had begun to be settled by the English by about the mid-5th century, and were more or less established by the late 6th century. The former inhabitants would have been not Picts, but Britons. See AS Eng. pp. 74 ff. & M.E.Eng. p. 23.

The Danes had subdued Northumbria and taken much territory by 867. Athelstan, son of Edward the Elder, expelled their leader in 926, and formally annexed the area to the English realm.

draffe: see 1.106 for the same form—which may be analogical on the pts. of strong Class IV and V verbs. Price remarks of the verb 'drive', that a pts. with vowel a persisted generally until after 1600, at least in literary texts, probably on account of the strong influence with pts.< OE geaf. cf. the similar form jeff in SEth.

An apt description: East Anglia contained Norfolk and Suffolk, having Essex and Hertfordshire to the South, and the sea to the East, and also to the North, where the Ouse ran inland through marshland as far as Cambridgeshire.

The word euene gives rise to a certain ambiguity: does it qualify compass, and so form a phrase, with reference to the sea around East Anglia—'constituting an unbroken circuit, as far as Cambridgeshire'—or is it to be construed with to, and rendered 'constituting a circuit, right into Cambridgeshire'? There is little to choose between the interpretations, since both stress the unusually extensive enclosure of the area by water. I have taken euene with to because of the supporting examples at 11.64, 68 and 86, where euene in(to) — a phrase probably influenced by L. usque ad—is used, with the sense 'right up to', 'just as far as'.

The implication of these lines is that Edmund was the tenth of a series of kings who fought amongst themselves. In fact, the East Anglian genealogy names ten kings, from Raedwald to Aelfwald (d.749). Nothing is known of the subsequent rulers apart from the

* H.T.Price. A History of Ablaut in Class 1 of the strong verbs.
existence of one Aethelberht, beheaded by Offa - and, of course, of St. Edmund, the king killed by the Danes in 869.

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

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

11.108. built: see Spellings III. 1.

11.113-15. No date for Anna's death is given by Bede, the ASC or the Vita. Bede testifies to the king's virtue in Hist.Eccl. IV.19., and III.18. - a passage quoted in the Vita.

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

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

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

The form deu3tre could be taken as having the common palaeographical confusion between o and e. Since deu3tre(n) is the sole plural form of s. deu3ter, however, at 11. 121,389 557 and 571, the best explanation seems to be that the back consonant and glide from the singular have been transferred to the plural, after the original e form OE dehter, d.s. and pl.

* See The Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Bruce Dickens, ed. P.Clemoes, London 1959. pp. 45-52, The East-Anglian Kings of the 7th Century by F.M.Stenton, for evidence that Hereswitha was not, as is generally assumed, the wife of Aethelhere, ally of Penda, but of an unknown third brother of Anna, Aethelmi₅.
Neither Bede nor the Vita use this phrase, but the latter frequently refers to the flower of the saint's virginity; and the expression might have been suggested to a later author from Bede's hymn to Etheldreda, where imagery of flowers and light are employed. After praising Mary and the virgin-choir (of which Etheldreda would be a member) Bede says of the Virgin, *Huius honor genuit casto de germine plures, Virgineos flores huius honor genuit.*

The glory of the Virgin-saint is then praised in terms of light:

Aedithrydæ: nitet nostra quonue egregia.

Sexburga, eldest daughter of Anna, wife of Eorcenbeæht of Kent, mother of Ermenilde, and abbess of Ely after Etheldreda, see ll.137-8 note, 395 ff. & note, ll.581-6 note.

Aedelburga is spoken of by Bede (Hist.Eccl. 111.8), as preserving *Deo dilectam perpetuae virginitatis gloria* in *magna corporis continentia*, as abbess in Brie. Thomas follows this account in so many words, (p.498 ASS), but does not mention how her body, exhumed after seven years, was found to be uncorrupted. The description of Aedelburga here, as a *ful blessude virgyn* would seem to be an assumption based on the desirability of her inheriting Anna's virtue (ll.131-2) rather than on the authority of Bede or Thomas. See ll.139-40, a statement implying that neither of those two writings provided a direct source for this legend.

Emphasis is laid on the holiness of Etheldreda's forebears and family, generally in order to lend her sanctity a solemn backing of tradition. cf. ll.120-22, 11.127-8, 1.136 & note, &c.

Bede states that Anna was killed by Penda (Hist.Eccl. 111.18) and the ASC gives the date as 654, the year before Penda's defeat at Winwaed. The Vita gives the same date for Anna's death.

The use of heretyke is somewhat misplaced: Penda was a pagan, whose victories were said to be magically contrived.

In fact, Aethelhere, Anna's brother and successor, died fighting against Oswiu, being one of thirty royal ealdormen, allied with Penda, in the battle of Winwaed. Bede's reference to Aethelhere as *auctor ipse belli* is obscure. Thomas quotes his account (Hist.Eccl. 111.24) virtually word for word (p.502, ASS).
88.

1.136. Anna's father was Eni, in fact (Hist.Eccl.iii.18. p.498 ASS), his name has been confused by our author with that of Ine, the early Wessex king, famous for his laws. Bede (Hist.Eccl. IV.15) describes the latter's dominion as oppressive and his pilgrimage to Rome before death (Hist.Eccl.V.7) would hardly be enough to give him a reputation for holiness. It must, then, be the names, rather than the personalities, of the monarchs, that have been confused. The epithet *holi* typifies this author's eagerness to attribute sanctity to Etheldreda's forebears.

1.137-8. Bede does not tell us that Anna arranged Etheldreda's first marriage, although his authority for the match is not unlikely. Etheldreda's reluctance as well as her parents' constraint are emphasized, however, in the Vita (p.499 ASS). Sexburga's marriage to Erconberht is duly registered by Bede, and by Thomas: again, Anna's hand in the match is not mentioned.

1.139-40. See 1.129-30 note. The author's uncertainty here implies an ignorance of the events of the Hist.Eccl., as of the Vita.

1.142-3. cf. 1.137-8 & note. Etheldreda's marriage to Tonberht is only briefly commented on by Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.19) as an aside to her union with Ecgfrith. In the Vita (ASS.p.499) he is the successful suitor from among many wooers.

1.144 ff. Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.19) mentions Tonberht only once as being an ealdorman of the South Gyrwe (or S.Pen dwellers) who died shortly after his marriage. Tonberht must have been an underling of Penda, since East Anglia would have been under Mercian control, at this date. The Vita tells us that Tonberht gave Etheldreda Ely, as a wedding-gift. (p.499 ASS).

1.144. The MS reading *contreny ny3e hym by* seems to present a clear case of dittoography, the ny- of ny3e replacing the proper -ey ending of 'country'. No supporting examples of the plural personal pronoun, spelt with y, appear elsewhere in the text, and it has hence been emended to the normal form, hem.

1.145. Neither the Hist.Eccl. nor the Vita mention Peterborough as Tonberht's dwelling.

1.147. The Vita follows Bede, in making Tonberht prince of the Southern Gyrwe alone.

1.149-56. A eulogistic portrait, in which the outward qualities of
the ideal prince - honour, riches, courage, power - are more emphasized than his virtues. Only 11.153-4 have any basis in the Vita, where we are told that Tonberht and Etheldreda led a blameless life of prayer and almsgiving, aspiring always to righteousness and holiness. Tonberht is represented as an upright man, who received a crown of life for his continence within marriage.

11.154.  *prostit* is referred, in the Gloss, to a 10E *pruit* - but it is perhaps more likely that it shows the general interchange of *d.* and *t.*: see Spellings III.1.

11.158.  *ny3e 3eres thre* : cf. 11.161. Bede tells us that Tonberht died *post modicum temporis*. Probably by coincidence, the phrase *ny3e 3eres thre* directly renders the Latin in the Vita (p.499 ASS.) where Tonberht is said to have been married *ferme triennio*. cf. 11.944 & note. for what is possibly more than a coincidental correspondence between the texts.

11.159.  The *Vita* states that the marriage was undisturbed by contention. Tonberht's consenting to continence is presumably an indication of his feeling for Etheldreda.

11.160.  In the *Vita*, supreme emphasis is placed on Etheldreda's virginity, in this episode, and throughout the story of her life; hence, her opposition to marriage, and the approval expressed for Tonberht, who received a crown of life for his restraint. Emphasis is perhaps attempted here, but not achieved, by repetition of the fact that she was both married and chaste, at 11.164, 165-6.

11.167-8.  Again, Bede does not mention Anna's part in Etheldreda's second marriage. He implies, however, that the match with Ecgfrith followed almost immediately after Tonberht's death: *illo Tonberht . . defuncto, data est regi praefato Ecgfrith*. This account would add to, thus, rather than contradict Bede's facts. The *Vita*, however, tells how the widowed Etheldreda retired into a life of ascetic devotion in Ely. The time which elapsed between the two marriages is considerable, according to this rendering, given that Etheldreda married Tonberht two years before Anna's death and was reluctantly constrained to re-marry six years after that event. Anna's part in the second marriage would, of course, be inconsistent with this version.

11.170.  See *Rhymes* A.14. for the rhyme *deyde* : *egyde*. 
Ecgfrith reigned in Northumberland, 670–685 according to the ASC. It was probably after his victory over Pictish and Scottish aggressors, in 673–4, that the Northumbrian overlordship of Scots and Strathclyde Britons became an established fact. The Northumbrian defeat, by Mercia, in 678, confirmed that Ecgfrith's dominion to the North was not matched by power to the South.

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

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

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

importunate and infatuated suitor, whose desire to be with his wife cannot be restrained even after she has entered Coldingham. See 11. 299-302 note.

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

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

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

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

* See *AS Engl.* pp. 122-4, 135, 144.
from Wilfrid, followed by a discourse from the precipitately introduced Etheldreda serve to persuade him fully of the right course.

1.203. abeye: a word in which the etymologically correct prefix e- is often replaced by a- in ME.

11.208-244. Muddled and repetitive as Etheldreda's address appears, some attempted structure can be traced in it. So, the injunction to avoid the snares of the world and win eternal bliss (11.208-220) is only incidentally modified at 11.211-12, clene ... styl in clannasse; and the sort of purity implied is not stated until 11.214. We are to gain bliss so that we can be crowned in heaven as clene maydenus. The emphasis of the sentence is still not such as to lay direct stress on the preservation of virginity, and this is directly recommended only after thirteen lines, at 11.221-25, where the injunction echoes that of 11.211-12. After the mention of Aebbe's monastery, and the central request to Ecgfrith, the speech can be concluded by continuing the praise of virginity prepared for previously.

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

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

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

1.246. thank is almost definitely not an infinitive (see Must p.522). It is the only example out of fourteen occurrences
of the verb to have a normal k instead of g: presumably
it is a strong pts. modelled on verbs like 'sink', 'drink'.

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

Non: cf. nen, l.990, also meaning 'than'. According
to the OED, the only other examples of these forms are found
in the Chronicon Vilodunense (immediately preceding SEth
in the MS): here non (l.1724) and nen (l.1584) both appear,
with the meaning 'than'. While the OED refers the reader
to the M.Scots na and ne of obscure origin, used in the sense
'than', it is not desirable or likely that these forms be
ascribed to Scots influence. The OED also gives examples
of 'nor' in this sense in Scots and dialectal use. J.Wright
follows this up in the EDD, where nor meaning 'than' is cited
for almost every Scottish and English county. (For other
confirmation of its usage in modern colloquial speech, see 93,
The rare nature of these forms non and nen points to their
being local dialectal forms, if not the result of corruption.
The form non, apparently the plain negative 'non', 'none'
could represent a local use in the sense 'than' on the model
of 'nor'. It could, on the other hand, be a conflation of
ben (which occurs three times in this text) and nor. The
latter explanation must be hazarded also, for obscure nen.

1.257-8. see ll.714-17 note.

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

1.261-2. Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.9.) followed, of course, by the Vita,
tells us that Etheldreda was made a nun; in Coludib urbem,
under Aebbe, and that she was appointed abbess in Ely, a year
later.

1.263-4. — see ll.281-297 & note.

1.265-98. The intended contrast between the virtue of Etheldreda's
former life, and the extraordinary sanctity of her new
existence, has lost its edge, and consists merely of a list
of the saint's qualities and habits. This has no foundation
in Bede's account, and our author probably included it
independently, although there is some parallel in the Vita:
see below.

1.265-80. A list of the obvious virtues of the ideal queen, as
being one who loves God and the Church, does her best to act
well, and avoid wrong, shows proper concern for the poor, and reads devotional literature — the choice of _sevntus lves_ (1.273) as a form is perhaps biased! She is pleasant and generally restrained in demeanour, clean in dress, a good influence to all, and prepared to suffer all that comes to her.

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

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

_Hebbe_: as Orsus appears without initial _H−_, Aebbe has acquired an unetymological initial consonant. While it is difficult to know to what extent this _AN_ scribal feature reflected speech habits, it is true of this language, at any rate, that _the unetymological_ -_H−_ appears not only in obscure personal names, as _Herconbertvs_ and _Hermandilde_, but also in common words which should have had an initial vowel: see 1.453 note.

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

_11.287-8_. — see 11.379-30 note.

_11.291-97_. The description of Etheldreda's ever-increasing virtue can be compared with the account of her conduct at Coldingham, in the _Vita_ (p.505 _ASS._). Here, we are told how Etheldreda subdued all her will to God, and how her thirst for goodness increased, together with her devotion, so that she surpassed all her fellows, providing an example of perfect humility and holy living.

_1.291_. _be seruyse· of · god_. Is the phrase used simply in the sense of working for God, or the well-attested meaning 'the condition of leading the religious life'? The reference to remaining _ber-inne_, 1.292, seems to support the latter reading which, on these grounds, is supplied in the glossary under _seruyse_. It is possible, also, of course, that the word is used in the sense of 'an act of worship.'
The fame of Etheldreda's conversion resulted, according to the Vita (p.505 ASS.) in many people following her example, and entering a monastery, or at least dedicating themselves to good works.

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

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

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

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

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

Bede simply speaks of Etheldreda becoming a virgin mother of other virgins, constructo monasterio, giving no further details, as to the building of this monastery. The Vita says that Etheldreda restored a monastery, built on the spot by Augustine, but destroyed by Penda.
Bede says Etheldreda died after being abbess for seven years: this would be the period 673–679 A.D. The Vita follows the Hist.Eccl. in this (p.512 ASS.) – see 11.403–4 note.

This account of Etheldreda’s habits at Ely corresponds to Bede’s list (Hist.Eccl. IV.19) in matter and sequence. The Vita (p.509 ASS.) quotes Bede word for word, in treating of this matter.

Our author elaborates on Bede’s information, that Etheldreda would never wear linen, only woollen garments, by adding the hairshirt.

Bede tells us that Etheldreda would take a hot bath only before Easter, Pentecost, and the Epiphany, and would bathe the last of all, having helped her sisters to wash first.

While Bede does not refer to the meanness or type of food Etheldreda ate, he states that she rarely ate more than once a day, except at the time of great festivals.

There is no mention, in the Hist.Eccl. of Etheldreda’s calling her fellows. We are told, however, that she would not return to bed, after matins, but remain praying until dawn, unless prevented by serious illness.

3eude appears 1X beside 3aff 4X, and represents how easily a strong form could be attracted to the weak inflexion. cf. y-grauyd beside y-graue.

This episode is not to be found either in the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita.

Prayer is usually answered by the bestowal of the grace of God, in this poem: cf. 11.617ff., 725ff, 899ff 1066ff.

sodenlylyche, MS sodenlylyche. This appears to be a straightforward case of dittography, and is emended accordingly: cf. emendation & note at 1.144.

Aundre: a reduction of Etheldreda. See OED tawdry-lace for the connection of the word with her life.

Ynon here – and in the other example, yenon, 1.511 – exemplifies the same sort of hypercharacterization as is to be seen in treenyn 'wooden' 1.946, beside trene 1.527 (see note). Here the unetymological suffix is a marker of the OE weak pl. We should expect ynp(e)< OE egan, but the n has evidently been apprehended as part of the stem, and the -on ending appended in addition. This may well represent an early development, since the -on pl. marker is not used except
in a few words, as hosen, shone, in this text (see Spellings Y d.).

11.373-8. cf. 11.714-17 note.

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

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

11.381-4. Bede, followed by the Vita, simply says that Etheldreda made predictions per prophetiae spiritum. The angel, here, typifies our author's predilection for introducing supernatural messengers, in order to lend supernal authority to events. See also 11.613 ff. note & cf. 11.690 ff., 734 ff., 1080-89, and notes. Reference should also be made, in this case, to the frequency with which saints in legends are warned of their death by a supernatural figure, in a vision; cf. Bede's account of Earcongota's vision (Hist.Eccl. iii.8.), and of King Sebbi (Hist.Eccl.IV - 11).
dodde: the rhyme with god excludes the possibility of palaeographical confusion of o and e. It should probably be interpreted as a pt.p. of the ME v. dod, meaning 'to shave (the head)', 'to lop (the horns of a beast, or branches of a tree)'. The verb, of obscure origin, appears to be related to the modern Northern and Scots dialect word, of the same form, meaning 'a hump of land.' With reference to this, the primary meaning of the word would have been that of rendering smooth or round, by cutting. The meaning seems to have been extended, here, to refer to the curtailment of life: the angel told Etheldreda when she was to be 'cut off' from the living.

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

Etheldreda does not here give the number of nuns to die (see 11.581 ff. note) although the author places it at nine, 1.413.

Nothing of this information is included in Etheldreda's prediction in the Hist. Eccl. or the Vita. Our author is adding additional glamour to the saint's foresight, but, more important, he is lending the assurance of divine authority and design to future events; cf. 11.381-4 & note, and see 11.632-7 & note. The speech is very confusedly expressed. 11.395-6 tell how Sexburwe is to be next abbess, and 11.597-400, that Etheldreda's body is to be buried for sixteen years: its future fate is not to be disclosed, as yet. Wilfrid will die soon after this (1.401) — and a hasty remark on how Sexburwe will remain for a longer time in Ely, is inserted, before we are given the exact date of Wilfrid's death (11.403-4). The revelation that Etheldreda's body is to be translated after the sixteen years implies that the resolution to conceal this information has already been forgotten. The conclusion (11.407-8) is weak, merely a repetition of 11.401 and 403-4.

Bede (Hist. Eccl. IV. 19) confirms that Sexburwe became abbess of Ely after Eorcenberht's death, but gives no further information about her. An account of St. Sexburga entitled A breue rehearsal of the lyue of Saynt Sexburge appears at 11.1982-2128 of Henry Bradshaw's 15th century Lyfe of St. Werburge (ed. Pynson, 1521, re-edited by C. Horstmann, EETS 88, 1887). The saint was a moving force in establishing Christianity in Kent,
during her husband, Eorcenberht's reign (640-64 according to the ASC). On the king's death, Sexburga moved to a monastery of her own foundation - that of Minster in Sheppey. The Vita recounts the same facts as Bradshaw at p.510 ASS (in the digression referred to, ll.381 ff. note) as to how Sexburga was warned by an angel of how the English were to suffer for sin, and was moved to go and learn submission under Etheldreda, at Ely. See further ll.551-6 note.

ll.397-400. Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.19) and the Vita, in turn (p.513 ASS), state that Etheldreda was buried for sixteen years, before translation. cf. ll.405-6, 531-2, 652-3, 639, 660-1, for the emphasis laid, first on the prophecy, and then on the fact that is being fulfilled.

ll.403-4. Etheldreda's death is generally accepted as having taken place on 23rd June 679 (the ASC gives the year). According to the dates of this account, however, the date would have been 667; for although the length of time she was abbess is correctly designated as seven years (1.304), her appointment is wrongly dated 660, at ll.535-6. Hence, according to correct reckoning, Wilfrid's death must be put at 2nd August 695, going by 1.404. If we observe the false reckoning of this legend, the date would be 683. In fact, Wilfrid did not die until 709.

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

ll.421-2. It is not clear whether the address introduced here is delivered directly after Etheldreda has said farewell, or takes
place on a different occasion. The saint bade all her sisters farewell on the fifth day before her death: now she speaks at the very end of the fifth day, at a point which could be deliberately made distinct from the first occasion, or, equally, represent a more exact specification of the same time. Confusion on the part of the author is manifested, at any rate, in the reference to the period as the beginning of the sixth ('day', implied). He must mean the fourth day before the saint's death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.444. a-reynne: cf. the ME phrases a-rank, a-rence, a-row, all meaning 'in a row', 'in a rank', and having a-, the reduction of OE on, preceding the noun in question. It is possible that this phrase represents a similar phrase 'a-ring'. ey is used as a graph for i, long and short, in this text (see Disc. I) - and this would not be the only example of an assonance: cf. ll. 333-5, 718-20 etc.). The distinction between [n] and [j]is, phonetically, very slight, and could well be spelt -nne in order to better match inne, on which it rhymes.

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

cf. ll. 379-80 & note.

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

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

Cynfrey: the final y presumably represents confusion, at some stage, of y for b, on account of their similarity: cf. emendations of - y to - b in MS ye for be, 11.34 and 536. Cinifrid, or Cynefrith, is the name of Etheldreda's doctor in Hist.Eccl. - and the Vita.

Cynfrith, or Cynefrith, is the name of Etheldreda's doctor in Hist.Eccl. - and the Vita. This could equally be read 'here unde' (see Horstmann in Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge) with metathesis of n (< OE arende) - a form attested in ME. Forms like heraund, erinde and erunde appear also, however (see OED 'errand') and the u-spelling in an unstressed syllable, is characteristic of this text. The non-etymological initial h -, in a common word, indicates the encroachment of colloquial speech on the literary language - cf. hende 11.859, 971, 1047, hiron 11.1002, 1047, and see Spellings 111. 4.

The final prophecy uttered by Etheldreda: see 11.417-20 note.

wrochede: see Disc. 3. 4.

Bede gives Cynefrith's eyewitness account of Etheldreda's exhumation as the best proof of her body being uncorrupted; and it is only at this point that he tells of the lancing of the pustule, three days before Etheldreda's death. The author of the Vita, like that of SEth has chosen to place this event in narrative sequence, as it happened. Unlike the ME text, however, the Vita does not neglect to repeat Bede's story of how many thought that Etheldreda would recover, so much improved was her condition after the tumour was lanced - but that three days later, she was attacked by the pains of death.

launset: the MED cites this word in the technical sense as appearing first in 1410.

aperce: this form, with first element a - added to the usual perce < OF percer does not seem to occur elsewhere. No doubt it is the result of analogy with the numerous words in ME, of both OE and OF derivation, where there would exist both a type with first element a - (representing OE intensive prefix a - or original L. ad -) and an aphetic form.

The o - spelling for folle here beside usual foule probably represents a sporadic southern form, rather than being a N. feature: see Jord. § 55 Anm 1.

boiche: this form occurs again, 1.477. The starting point for this hapax legomenon should probably be an ONF *boche for
OF boce 'tumour, boil'. The i looks like a N. diacritic for length: Jordan remarks that this use of i to show a long vowel penetrated into the 15th century Midland Language of the Pastons (§ 19, p. 36) but then a long vowel would not be in place in this word. Possibly the form is due to contamination by the English 'boil' with the same meaning.

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

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

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

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

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

502. see 11.425-36 note.
sacramentus alle: this will refer to the Eucharist, or Viaticum, and to the sacramental anointing of the sick, both customarily administered to those mortally ill. Both sacraments bestowed grace on the soul, while in its last suffering, and in its departure. Extreme Unction, in addition, was thought of as a complement to Penance, in bringing forgiveness of sins*. In the Vita, as here, Etheldreda dies after having asked for the Eucharist (p. 512 ASS).

Vonon: see ynon, 1.366.

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

Visions of this sort are often related in connection with the death of saints. In the Hist. Eccl. alone, the souls of Chad, Ercongota and Aidan are seen being borne to heaven by angels - only heard here. Heavenly light is an equally commonplace feature: cf. Bede's account of the discovery of the two martyrs' bodies and of the drowned Abbot Pefer, by the light which shone above them (Hist. Eccl. V. 10, 1.3.). The sweet smell, here combined with light and harmony, is usually associated with the exhumation of the saint - so, fragrance rose from Ercongota's uncorrupt body (Hist. Eccl. iii. 8.). cf. 11.559-64 note.

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

The verb of action has to be understood.

westo: see Disc. 3. 5.iii.

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

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

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

The correct date is 673 (see 1.304 note).

This would imply that the Danes destroyed Ely in 821 (taking Etheldreda's death as occurring in 667, as does our author: see 11.405-4 note). Even if we add one hundred and fifty-four to the correct date, 679, the Danish invasion is still placed too early, in 833. According to the ASC, a great Danish host landed in East Anglia in 866, and, from this base, captured York, in the following year. After many victories they returned to East Anglia and slew Edmund. The Vita, similarly, dates the Danes' arrival at 866. See further 11.980-1 note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.554. **Herconbertys** represents OE Eorcenberht: see 1.283 note, with reference to the initial H - ; and cf. the nom. form at 1.554 with *Hengestys*, 11. 15 and 29 - see 1.6 note.

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

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

11.565-8. St.Ermenilda, not mentioned by Bede, was the daughter of Sexburga, who married Wulfhere of Mercia (see 11.569-70 note) and became abbess of Ely after her mother. The *Vita* states (p. 517 ASS) that she entered the monastery of Sheppey under Sexburga and became abbess on her mother's departure. She, in turn, went to Ely where she died on February 2nd. Her body is buried next to those of Etheldreda and Sexburga.
The abridged version of her legend in *Nova Legenda Anglie* (vol.1, p.405) - followed by Bradshaw in his *Lyfe of St.Werburge* (p.80, ca. 20, 11.2128-2275) - represents the saint as coming straight to Ely after Wulfhere's death. An Englishman, unjustly fettered, is said to have been delivered from his chains, after praying at Ermenilda's tomb. A schoolmaster who punished his pupils, regardless of the fact that they had asked pardon from St. Ermenilda, was struck lame overnight. When he asked forgiveness of the children, however, and they had carried him to the saint's tomb and prayed for him, he was healed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Vita* mentions that Sexburga and Ermenilda were buried at Ely, beside Etheldreda (p.517 *ASS*). Eorcengota was buried at Brie (see 11.559-64 note).

See *English Medieval Pilgrimage* (D.J.Hall, London 1965) pp. 189-92 for an account of the claimants of St.Alban's relics: the abbey of Cologne, and in Odense, Denmark, are both reputed to house some of his bones. The main contestant with St.Albans in England, however, was Ely. The relics of St.Alban were apparently sent to Ely for safekeeping from the Danes: the monks of Ely then refused to return them, until St.Albans threatened to call in the Pope. A set of human remains were returned to St.Albans in the tomb, but these were apparently false relics: the body of St.Alban was buried beneath the altar of St.Nicholas in Ely. In 1155 three bishops, sent by the Pope to make enquiries about the case, officially established—probably on little real evidence—that the relics were in fact at St.Albans. Our author, in praising Ely, is evidently eager to maintain, or revive the old tradition.

The repetition of *of(te)tykes*, and of the verb 'to be', first in the s., then the pl., is probably evidence of corruption here—or of extreme incompetence. For better sense, we should retain _was_, as the rhyme-word, and omit _ber weren_. Presumably the latter was included as following on naturally from the pl. subject. It is possible that the original phrasing was s.: *mony a gret leyfyt*, but a pl. verb would not have necessarily been considered imperative: cf. 1.597, where the reverse situation occurs.

The power of saints' relics to cure the sick was generally accepted from Bede's time to the Middle Ages; viz. the Book of Miracles of St.Etheldreda in *ASS*, where the blind, dumb, deformed, limbless and sick receiving healing by prayer at Etheldreda's tomb. Bede mentions (*Hist.Eccl. IV.19*) that devils were cast out, and sickness cured by the touch of Etheldreda's linen wrappings, and that some were cured of eye-troubles by resting their heads on her tomb, in prayer.

Wilfrid would have been under the protection of Aethelred of Mercia at this time (695). He administered the Mercian

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

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

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

By rendering the unaided search for a stone unsuccessful, until the double authority of God's angel, and Etheldreda - with a personal interest in the issue - has defined and approved the enterprise, the author seeks to stress the fact that God's will is being performed. The same purpose can be seen in the introduction of the mysterious aged man of Cynfrey's vision (ll. 690-713). cf., too, ll.381-4 note, 734 ff. note.

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

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

have forgotten who is speaking and being addressed, in his effort to establish it further, 11.636-7 (cf. 11.401, 403-4, 407-8).

11.650-71. For the forms _fanysshede_ and _wanyssede_ see Spellings III. (11).

1.663. The reintroduction of Cynefrith seems to indicate again, the author's desire to create a connected narrative, with economy of characters. The changed nature of the enterprise is stressed, too, by the fact that it is entrusted to new people, one associated with Etheldreda, and three wise men (1.675).

11.676-85. The monks appear to arrive at Cambridge on the day they start out; in the Hist. Eccl. & Vita there is none of the colour of the merke euenenge followed by the vigorous awakening of the morrow.

1.658. Whytte as whall; a common ME alliterative formula used in praise of beauty; e.g., Pearl 212 and the Harley lyric A wayle whyt as whalles bon.

11.690 ff. The discovery of the coffin is duly heralded by a vision: see 11.381-4 note & 11.613 ff. note.

1.698. Vv3age is obviously a form of 'visage'. While it is possible that the word has been confused with 'voyage', it is more likely that the '3' represents the voiced sound [z] here (the sole occasion that it does so in this text).

11.714-17. The revelation of God's benign purpose here, and at 11.722-3, is greeted with proper gratitude. The thankful recognition of divine workings is stressed throughout the poem: cf. 11.257-8, 373-8, 508, 738-41, 791, 814-15, 854-61, 903 ff. Bede recounts how the monks returned to Ely, realising that God had prospered their journey, and so, giving thanks: the Vita repeats this account (p.14 ASS).

1.718. For the rhyme of _geynpte_ on nevache, see Rhymes 2.

1.723. Either _hadde_ .. y-sende is active, and a pronoun he, referring to God, has been omitted or understood before the verb, or the construction is passive, with grace as the subject, and be(n) has been left out of _hadde_ be(n) hem y-sende.

1.724. A curious use of _agast_, usually meaning 'afraid' in ME. The phrase can just be interpreted 'aghast' or 'afraid (at the thought) of carrying it', but the sense leans more towards that of 'at a loss'. The very practical consideration
of its conveyance lends a sturdy veracity to the MS poem, in comparison with the Hist.Eccl. and Vita.

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

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

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

1.750. For the rhyme sylle: tylle see Rhymes 2 - and Provenance for tylle in rhyme.

11.762-3. see 1.797 & note.

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

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

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

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

1.802. Wilfrid continues to play a leading role in events. Bede states that Etheldreda's body was found uncorrupt, and gives Wilfrid's testimony as to the truth of this fact: sicut..Wilfrid et multi alii qui novere testantur. He implies that Wilfrid was not present at the exhumation, however, in the
next sentence, where Cynefrith, who was a witness, is represented as offering more certain proof. The Vita misrepresents Bede's account, by stating that Wilfrid, after a life of close contact with Etheldreda, was present at her translation.

11.801-5. The separate leading-forth of monks and nuns reflects Bede's account (repeated in the Vita) of how the monks stood in one assembly, and the nuns in another, singing around the tomb.

1806. For tenuclus see Spellings II. 13. note. This is an early example of tunicle in the technical sense of 'vestment', like a dalmatic. The OED gives its first example from a text of 1425.

1809-23. See 11.593-604 and note. This wave of healing corresponds to a similar one in the Vita (p. 514 ASS) when the new coffin was unloaded from the cart and a great crowd of people rushed to the spot, some having fever, others various sorts of affliction. All were cured, and rejoiced in their new health.

1814-15. cf. 11. 714-17 and note.

1816-19. There is no record of the numbers cured, in the Vita.

1824. noy is another corrupt form, which is presumably the author's since it rhymes on joy (822). This form is apparently the result of confusion between noys(e) and noy: possibly noys was falsely imagined to be a pl. form: cf. cherry < ONF cherise.

11.828 ff. Bede(followed by the Vita) tells how a pavilion was erected over the tomb, outside which stood the community. Sexburga went inside, with a few others, to raise and wash the bones: those outside were first made aware of the miracle by the abbess' cry from within. This is how Cynefrith's testimony runs - (the Vita gives the events directly) - and the description of Etheldreda's body is given only after he has been called into the tent, to see her raised on to a couch.

Cynefrith said Etheldreda lay as if asleep, and that the wound in her neck was quite healed: cf. 11.846-8. The Vita describes her body as being as uncorrupt as if she had died, or been buried, on that very day: cf. 11.839-40. It also declares her body to have been tota pulchra, tota formosa, tota integra, with the same sort of imaginative elaboration as in this description.

1834. For the rhyme honde: fonde, see Rhymes 10.

1854-61. cf. 11.714-17 note. Cynefrith told how Sexburga cried out
in a loud voice 'sit gloria nomini Domini' just before he was called into the tent: cf. 1.858.

The rhyme of **seuene** with **euen** is ambiguous: it appears to involve a ptp. of 'see' descended from WS **sewen** rhyming on 'euen' with *w* for *v* (cf. **wanyssede** (651)) — but it could equally represent a rhyme of reduced 'e'en' with a ptp. < Angl. **gesegen**.

**heende**: cf. 1.1047 and see note 1.453.

For the rhyme done : vpone see Rhymes 9.

11.862 ff. The public viewing of the saint's body on the high altar has no basis in the Hist.Eccl.or the Vita. In both these accounts Etheldreda's body is washed and reclothed, and then placed in the new coffin, which is put in the church.

**Grantecheaster** is Cambridge, the town which Bede tells us is called **Grantacaestir** by the English. The normal development of the name would have been to **Gran(t)chester**, but an early substitution of the second element, -brycg for -caestir brought about the loss of *r* in **Granta-**, by distant dissimilation, in the group *r* - *n* - *r*, and enabled the name to become Cambridge.*

Bede does not imply Etheldreda was born at Cambridge (see 876 note): the Vita gives **Aereninge** as her place of birth (p.498 ASS). The whereabouts of this place is uncertain, but it was probably in Cambridgeshire. The 'Earningas' gave their name to the hundred of Armingford, and to Arrington — which is not within the latter hundred, the implication being that the original hundred covered a wider area than today. In the **Inquisitio Eliensis**, in the 11th century, Armingford appears as 'Aerningf', a form comparable to that in the Vita. See **Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely**. English Place-name Society XIX. by P.H.Reaney, Cambridge 1943 — under Armingford and Arrington.

11.878-81. This detail from Bede is also recorded in the Vita (p. 515 ASS). The tomb fitted Etheldreda's body as if it had been made for this purpose.

11.884-9. These lines imply that a crowd of sick people were healed straight after the translation, which did not occur according to the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita. The **Liber Miraculorum** chronicles the miracles that occurred over the years, but does not record a mass-healing, apart from that mentioned, note, 11.809-23.

* See PNC p.75.
See note 11.593-604. The *Vita* follows Bede, in mentioning the devils cast out, and diseases cured, by the touch of Etheldreda's linen wrappings, and her old coffin. It tells, also, of a clear, healing spring that welled up from the saint's old grave (*ASS* p.515).

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

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

cf. 11.355-6 note.

see 1.250 note.

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

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

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

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

*trenyn* : cf. *trene* (527) with the *OE* adjectival -*en* ending (see *OED* -*en* 4). This form appears to have a reduplicated -*en* marker.
1.971. *hende:* cf. 1.453 note.

11.978-9. Godstow was a Benedictine Abbey, like Ely, and Wilton, It was founded c.1133 for twenty-five nuns. In 1445, there were seventeen nuns, and in 1520, nine.* The *legend,* which our author read in Godstow appears to have borne only a very garbled correspondence to the *Vita,* as will be seen, in comparing the facts of the one with the other.

11.980-1. For Werburga, see 11.573-4 note & 11.577-80 note. She is supposed to have died in 699. By this reckoning, the Danes would have arrived in 759 - almost exactly one hundred years too early, see 11.539-42 note. The author is possibly not aware of the contradiction between the statement here and 11.537-42. The miswriting of M for W in 'Werburga', at 11.572, 573 and 577, is probably original, and to be attributed to the author's copying from different texts, in one of which M was either mistaken for W, or resembled it. The author would not be aware of the identity of Merburwe and Werburwe, if so.

11.986-7. cf. 11.543-5, & note, & note, 1.545.

11.988-9. cf. 11.546-8 & note. See 1.547 note. St. Dunstan was the chief of the pioneers of monastic reform in the religious revival of Edgar's reign. Made abbot of Glastonbury by Edmund, in 940, he was exiled for his open condemnation of King Edwig. While abroad, he imbibed the spirit of the Continental religious reform, in the monasteries of France, and was able to collaborate with Ethelwold and Oswald, on his return to England (957), in reorganising the English religious houses. Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury in 960, and was responsible for the reform of Malmesbury, Bath and Gloucester. The implication in these lines is that Dunstan, rather than Ethelwold, was responsible for the reorganisation of Ely - another indication that the information from the *Vita* must have been very garbled when our author came to it.

11.990-1093. The miracle recounts in these lines appears to have, as its ultimate origin, the episode recounted in the *Vita,* pp.520-22, *ASS,* but the discrepancies indicate alteration and corruption arising from intermediary accounts.

11.990-3. The *Vita* recounts how the canons' archipresbyter, Didascalus, being a newcomer to Ely, and having never witnessed any miracles, calls the clerks to him, near St. Etheldreda's day, to tell them that he doubts if the saint's body is whole, in *See D.Knowles & R.Haddock: Medieval Religious Houses.*
the coffin, since he has seen no marvels performed, and that he plans to find out the truth. All attempt to dissuade him, and one monk recounts miracles he has witnessed, in connection with Etheldreda's relics. Like Cerdic, however, Didascalus is moved by no fere, and with three companions sets out to open the tomb.

1.998. *wolfe fen me wyd*: for this example of the perfect infinitive expressing unfulfilled purpose, cf. ll.1003, 1005, 1037; see *Must* pp. 517-19.

1.995. There is no need for Didascalus to chisel a hole, for a small chink in the tomb already exists - as it does here, indeed, judging from 1.997. The story of how the hole was made is very similar to the present one: an impious Norman, during a raid on the abbey, made the hole, hoping to gain treasure, but lost his eyes and expired as soon as he had pierced the tomb (p.521 ASS).

11.996-1007. The procedure of ll.995-1001 is clear. 1.1002 presumably constitutes a fuller description of the *hokude serde*, although it is clumsily placed, as if an afterthought. The same applies to ll.1004-5, apparently recapitulating 1.996. Didascalus' investigation was tripartite. First, he and his companions, seized forked sticks, and ascertained Etheldreda's body was there, by prodding it through the hole. Then (despite warning to the contrary) Didascalus put a lighted candle on a stick, and pushed it through, in order to see if the body was uncorrupt. But he could see no more, within, *quam si foret caecatus utroque lumine* (cf. ll.1014-5, 1020, 1025). The candle fell on Etheldreda's body, still burning, but left it miraculously unharmed. Didascalus then sharpened and split the end of a stick and, winding it in the saint's shroud, dragged the body to the opening in the tomb (cf. ll.998-1003, ll.1006-7). He took a sword, and cut a small piece from the cloth. At this, the body was suddenly pulled back into the tomb, as if two strong soldiers had dragged it away.


11.1010-13. Etheldreda manifests her disapproval in the ME version not by retreat, but by keeping the malefactor prisoner. It is not clear why Cerdic cannot escape. We are told he cannot walk away (121); and he recounts to the dean how he pulled the stick so hard that he fell flat on his back (1058-9).

1.1035. See Rhymes 2 for duste, in the rhyme with luste.
11.1061. The only other example given of the adverb *vengauncelyche*, in the OED, is from Fletcher in 1622, where the meaning is 'intensely', 'very much'. The form here, then, is rare if not original to the poet; and the meaning is not as given in the OED, but more literal 'with retribution'.

11.1066-73. cf. ll.355-6 note.
11.1080-9. see ll.381-4 note.
11.1086-9. The angel's verdict is perhaps unexpectedly stern; but the purpose of this miracle is to provide a warning example for all impious men. In the *Vita*, Didascalus and his family are swiftly destroyed by plague, and he goes to Hell: two of his companions die subsequently, also.

11.1110-31. see MS Description 14.
11.1110. The rhyme of *ptye* on *y-wrette* presumably involved a short i in the ptp. *y-wrette* (< OE *witten*) and in *ptye*, descended from OE *pytan* : see *put* v. OED.
**APPENDIX**

Differences between the present text and Horstmann's edition.

The scribe's indiscriminate alternation between writing f and ff (this last is generally regarded as a graph for capital F) has been disregarded in this text, although Horstmann retains it, e.g. y-ffe, ll. 11, 23 etc: cf y-ffe 1.11. Certain differences in readings are to be accounted for by the fact that u and n are indistinguishable in the MS. Differing readings from Horstmann's text are listed below.

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<tr>
<th>Readings in this edition</th>
<th>Horstmann's readings</th>
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<tr>
<td>6. Hengestus st[e]olde (MS stade)</td>
<td>Hengestis stode</td>
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<td>18. stColde (MS stade)</td>
<td>be</td>
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<td>34. [p]e (MS ye)</td>
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<td>49. furst</td>
<td>Beruice</td>
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<td>87. Bernice</td>
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<td>119. Coludy</td>
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<td>144. contrely ny3e h[e]m</td>
<td>bothe</td>
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<td>228. bathe</td>
<td>ychan</td>
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<td>244. ychau</td>
<td>Colndi</td>
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<td>259. Coludi</td>
<td>Colndy</td>
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<td>281. Coludy</td>
<td>sodenlylyche</td>
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<td>353. sodenlyche</td>
<td>after pat bat</td>
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<td>416. after pat [ ]</td>
<td>puwe</td>
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<td>433. pus</td>
<td>hermene</td>
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<td>453. herunde</td>
<td>sote</td>
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<td>521. s[o]te (MS sate)</td>
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<td>536. [p]e (MS ye)</td>
<td>Welfry</td>
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<td>568. Wlfry</td>
<td>Milgnyde</td>
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<td>572. Milguyde</td>
<td>Welfry</td>
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<td>572, 577. [W]erburwe (MS Merburwe)</td>
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<td>577, 577. WJerburwe (MS Merburwe)</td>
<td>Selburwe</td>
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<td>588. Sex[b]urwe (i.e Selburwe)</td>
<td>Selburwe</td>
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scasenesse

men

:y-boujt

bothe

po

shall
GLOSS

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

The alphabetical classification of the glossary places ʒ between g and h. The letters i and y, b, and the graph th have been treated as the same, y being placed with i in the sequence, and p with th. While u and v have been considered, similarly, as a single letter, in medial position, they are treated separately in initial position, where u precedes v: a large number of words are included in the latter category, and it is felt that such a classification will be suitable for easy reference purposes.
abbay n abbey 225, 259, 281, 299, 302, 303, 537 &c. [OF abbeie]
abbas n abbes 227, 283, 301, 309, 395, 535 &c. g w. prep - 307
[OF abbesse]
above vintr agree 203 [OF obeir]
abyde vintr remain 286, 292, 300, 1028 pts abode 284 pt pl abydde 924
[OE abidan]
about prep (i) around 156, 461, 486, 492, 519, 589 &c.
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