NOTICE.

It was intended to issue the whole of Part I of this Bede's 
Ecclesiastical History for the Original Series of 1890, but the 
Subscriptions of Members have come in so slowly that only 
half the Part (§ 1) can be given this year. Section 2 is ready, 
and can be sent out at once to Members who pay their 1891 
Subscription in advance. The second Original Series Text for 
1891 will be Dr. K. D. Bülbring's edition of the Earliest English 
Prose Psalter from its two MSS. It is all finisht except the 
revision of the Preface.

For the Extra Series of 1891, Part III of Professor Zupitza's 
edition of Guy of Warwick has been long ready, and Dr. J. Schick's 
edition of Lydgate's Temple of Glass is nearly done.

Nov. 26, 1890.
Besides the Texts named as at press on p. 4 of the Cover of the Early English Text Society's last books, the following Texts are also at press or preparing for the Society:—

**ORIGINAL SERIES.**

Thomas Robinson's Life and Death of Mary Magdalen, from the 2 MSS., ab. 1620 A.D. (Text in type.)

Queen Elizabeth's Translations, from Boethius, Plutarch, &c., edited by Miss Pemberton. (At Press.)

George Ashby's Poems, 1453-75, ed. from unique Cambridge MS., by Miss Mary Bateson. (At Press.)

Vices and Virtues, from the unique MS., ab. 1290 a.d., ed. Dr. F. Holthausen, Part II. (At Press.)

Anglo-Saxon Poems, from the Vercelli MS., re-edited by I. Gollancz, B.A.

Anglo-Saxon Glosses to Latin Prayers and Hymns, edited by Dr. F. Holthausen.

An Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, edited from the 4 MSS. by Dr. G. Herzfeld.


All the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Lives of Saints not accessible in English editions, including those of the Vercelli MS., &c., edited by Prof. Napier, M.A., Ph.D.

The Anglo-Saxon Psalms; including those in the MSS. in Parallel Texts, ed. Dr. H. Logeman and F. Harleyn, B.A.

Beowulf, a critical Text, &c., ed. Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.

Byrhtferth's Handboc, edited by Prof. G. Hemp.

Early English Homilies, 13th century, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.


The Seven Sages, in the Northern Dialect, from a Cotton MS., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.

The Master of the Game, a Book of Huntyng for Hen. V. when Prince of Wales, ed. Mr. T. Austin.

Ailred's Rule of Nuns, &c., ed. from the Vernon MS., by the Rev. Canon H. R. Bramley, M.A.

Lonelich's Merlin (verse), from the unique MS., ed. Miss Mary Bateson and Prof. E. Kölling, Ph.D.

Merlin (prose), Part IV, containing Preface, Index, and Glossary. Edited by Dr. W. E. Mead.

Early English Verse Lives of Saints, Standard Collection, from the Harl. MS., ed. Dr. C. Horstmann.

Supplementary Early English Lives of Saints, ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.

The Early and Later Festivals, ab. 1400 and 1440 A.D., ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.

Select Prose Treatises from the Vernon MS., ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.

Early English Confessional, ed. by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.

A Lapidary, from Lord Tollemache's MS., &c., ed. by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.

Early English Deeds and Documents, from unique MSS., ed. Dr. Lorenz Morsbach.

Gilbert Banastre's Poems, and other Boccaccio englischings, edited by Prof. J. Zupitza, Ph.D.

Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, ed. from the MSS. by Dr. Axel Erdmann.

William of Nassington's Mirror of Life, from Jn. of Waldby, ed. Sidney J. Hertrage, B.A.

A Chronicle of England to 1327 A.D., Northern verse (42,000 lines), ab. 1400 a.d., ed. M. L. Perrin, B.A.

More Early Welsh Wills from the Probate Registry at Somerset House. (Editor Wanted.)

Early Lincoln Wills and Documents from the Bishops' Registers, &c., ed. by Dr. F. J. Furnivall.

Early Canterbury Wills, edited by William Cowper, Esq.

Early Norwich Wills, edited by Walter Rye, Esq.

The Cartularies of Osney Abbey and Godstow Nunnery, englischit ab. 1450, ed. Rev. A. Clark, M.A.

The Three Kings' Sons, edited from the unique Harl. MS. 326, ab. 1500 a.d., by Dr. Leon Kelner.

The Macro Morals, edited from Mr. Gurney's unique MS., by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A.

A Troy-Book, edited from the unique Land MS. 585, by Dr. E. Wülfing.

Alliterative Prophecies, edited from the MSS. by Prof. Brandl, Ph.D.

Miscellaneous Alliterative Poems, edited from the MSS. by Dr. L. Morsbach.

Bird and Beast Poems, a collection from the MSS., edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.


Nicholas Trivet's French Chronicle, from Sir A. Acland-Hood's unique MS., ed. Miss Mary Bateson.


De Guileville's Pilgrimage of the Sowle, edited by G. N. Currie, M.A.

Stories for Sermons, edited from the Addit, MS. 25,719 by Dr. Wiek of Coblenz.

**EXTRA SERIES.**

Caxton's Godfrey of Boloyne, or Last Siege of Jerusalem, 1481, ed. Dr. Mary N. Colvin. (At Press.)

The Chester Plays, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. Hermann Deubing. (At Press.)

A Parallel-text of the 6 MSS. of the Ancren Riwe, ed. Prof. Dr. E. Kölling.

Trevisa's Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum, re-edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.


The Romance of Boctus and Sidrac, edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.

The Romance of Clariodus, re-edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.

Sir Walamas, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.

Sir Degrevant, edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. Luck.


Maundeville's Voyage and Traveila, re-edited from the Cotton MS. Titus C 16, &c., by Miss M. Bateson.

Arthur and Merlin, re-edited from the unique MS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.

Guy of Warwick, Copleand's Version, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.

The Seige of Jerusalem, Text A, edited from the MSS. by Dr. F. Kopka.

Liber Fundacionis Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum: the 15th century englisching in the Cotton MS. Vespasian B ix, ed. Norman Moore, M.D.

Awdelay's Poems, re-edited from the unique MS. Douce 502, by Dr. E. Wülfing.

William of Shoreham's Works, re-edited by Professor Konrath, Ph.D.

The Wyse Chylde and other early Treatises on Education, ed. G. Collar, B.A.

Caxton's Dictes and Sayengis of Philosophirs, 1477, with Lord Tollemache's MS. version, ed. S. J. Butler, Esq.
Dec. 1890. The first Original Series Text for 1891, Dr. T. Miller’s edition of the Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of England, Pt. I, § 2, is now ready. The second Text, Dr. Druelbrin’s edition of the ‘Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter,’ from its two MSS. is all done, save the revision of the Preface.

For the Extra Series of 1891, the first Text Part III of Guy of Warwick, ed. Prof. Zupitza, is ready; and the second, Dr. Schick’s edition of Lydgate’s Temple of Glass, is nearly ready.

The Original Series Texts for 1892 will probably be either Professor C. Horstmann’s edition of Capgrave’s Life of St. Katherine, or his first volume of the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., of both of which the text is all printed, and Mr. Gollancz’s re-edited Exeter Book—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part I, the Text, with a modern Englishing, which has been long in type. Of the two concluding Parts VI and VII of the Cursor Mundi, by Dr. Haenisch, Dr. Kaluzza, and Dr. Hupe, the German workers’ portion is all printed, and the Parts need only for issue short Forewords by the editor, Dr. Richard Morris. Perhaps the most important Text yet issued by the Society for early usages of words—Lanfranc’s Science of Cirurgie, early 1400 A.D., and edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker—is nearly all printed. It lifts up to its early date not only all the surgical and medical terms which we had before only from the Elizabethan writers, but such words as boastingly, cellule, initiation, julep, &c., &c. The value of the book for Dictionary purposes cannot be too highly estimated. Some of the last-named Texts will form the issues for 1892 and 1893. Members are therefore asked to send Advance Subscriptions, in 1891 for 1892 and 1893, in order that the 1892–3 Books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finished. The Society’s experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society’s purpose will be ready to push on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation’s thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year’s work will then be ready for issue on New Year’s Day. Lists of other Works in preparation for the Society are on the last page of the Cover and the first of this inside quarter-sheet; and Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years’ work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years’ work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

For the Extra Series of 1892 &c., Mr. Donald’s edition of the prose Romance of Melusine, ab. 1500 A.D., Prof. Ingram’s, of the first Englishing of Thomas a Kempis’s De Imitatione Christi, ab. 1440–50, and Dr. Deibling’s re-edition of The Chester Plays from the latest and best MS., are also almost all in type. Dr. Mary N. Colvin’s edition of Caxton’s Godfrey of Bologna or The Last Siege of Jerusalem, 1481, is partly printed, and the Introduction and Notes are nearly ready. The second Part of Bp. Fisher’s Works, his Life and Letters, edited by the Rev. Ronald Bayne, is almost complete. It will therefore be necessary to ask Members for advance Subscriptions, in order that the Books for 1892 and 1893 may be issued when they are ready in 1891. During 1891 the Extra Series books for 1892 are almost sure to be ready.

Mr. G. N. Currie is preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville’s Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs’s MS., Mr. Gibbs having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse Pelerinaige de l’Homme in 1330–1 when he was 36. 1 Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330–1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford; 2 and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John’s Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited by Mr. Currie for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge

1 He was born about 1295. See Abbé Gourier’s Bibliothèque française, Vol. IX, p. 73–4.—P. M.
2 These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.
University Library: 1 "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World, 2 copied by Will. Baspowe, whose copy was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his Pilgrim's Progress. It will be edited by Mr. Currie for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Heritage's edition of the Geeta Romanorum for the Society. In February 1641, 2 Jean Galoppe—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—toured Deguilleville's first verse Pilerainaige into a prose Pelerinaige de la vie humaine. 3 By the kindness of Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs, as above mentioned, Galoppe's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's Pelerinaige de l'Homme, A.D. 1355 or -6, was Englished in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's Englishing of Deguilleville's A B C or Prayer to the Virgin, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has two gaps, of which most of the second can be filled up from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The rest of the stopgaps must be got from the original French in Harleian 4390, 4 and Additional 22,937 5 and 25,594 6 in the British Museum. Lydgate's version will be edited in due course for the Society.

Besides his first Pelerinaige de l'Homme in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'Ame separée du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Jesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, The Pilgrimage of the Soule (perhaps in part by Lydgate), exists in the Egerton MS. 615, 7 at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Calvis), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortening too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier Englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose Englishing of the Soule will be edited for the Society after that of the Man is finisht, and will have Galoppe's French opposite it, from Mr. Gibbs's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no Englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his Oldest English Texts for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. Dr. Logeman then raised the question of how the other MSS. should be treated; and he was authorised to prepare a Parallel-Text edition of the first ten Psalms from all the MSS. This Text will be an extravagance; but as the Society has not yet committed one in Anglo-Saxon, it will indulge in one now. And every student will rejoice at having the whole Psalter material before him in the most convenient form. Dr. Logeman and Mr. Harsley will be joint editors of the Parallel-Text. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of Prof. Arber, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints. Five of its 1566 Texts, and one of its 1867, still need reproducing. Donations for this purpose will be welcome. They should be paid to the Hon. Sec., Mr. W. A. Dalziel, 67 Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N.

Members are reminded that fresh Subscribers are always wanted, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English Lives of Saints, under the editorship of Prof. Carl Horstmann. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found interesting incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthwhile for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Land set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. The

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1 Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.
2 According to Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs's MS.
3 These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.
4 16th cent., containing only the Vic humaine.
5 16th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.
6 15th cent., containing the Vic humaine and the 2nd Pilgrimage, de l'Ame; both incomplete.
7 Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny, &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.
differences between the foundation MS. (the Laud 108) and its followers are so great, that, to prevent quite unwieldy collations, Prof. Horstmann decided that the Laud MS. must be printed alone, as the first of the Series of Saints’ Lives. The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes. The Glossary to the whole set, the discussion of the sources, and of the relation of the MSS. to one another, &c., will be put in a final volume.

When the Saints’ Lives are complete, Treviss’s englissing of Bartholomaeus de Proprietibus Rerum, the medieval Cyclopaedia of Science, &c., will be the Society’s next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe’s edition ofÆlfric’s prose,¹ Dr. Morris’s of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat’s of Ælfric’s Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölbìng has also undertaken for the Society’s Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the Ancren Rìmodel, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English.

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year’s income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1886–7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has copies of 2 or 3 MSS. in hand for future volunteer Editors.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonels Kölbìng and Horstmann, volunteers Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisich, Kaluzia, Hupe, Adam, Holthusen, &c. &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Dr. Erdmann; Holland, Dr. H. Logeman; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser;—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Hungary, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by Prof. Child, Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Dr. Mead and Prof. Perrin. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society’s work has called forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society’s life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society’s efforts.

Among the MSS. and old books which need copying or re-editing, are:—

**ORIGINAL SERIES.**

Maumetrie, from Lord Tollemache’s MS. The Romance of Troy. Harl. 525.

Biblical MS., Corpus Camb. 434 (ab. 1575).

Purvey’s Ecclesiæ Regimen, Cod. Tìtus D 1.

Hausknecht’s unprinted Works.


A Lanterne of List, from Harl. MSS. 2324.

Soule-hel, from Harl. MS. 2373.

Lydgate’s unprinted Works.

Boethius, A.D. 1410, &c.: Pilgrim, 1426, &c. &c.

Vegetius on the Art of War.

Lydgate and Burgh’s ‘Secreta Secretorum,’ from Sloane MSs. 2463.

Early Treatises on Music: Descant, the Gamme, &c.

Skelton’s englissing of Diodorus Siculus.


Lyrical Poems, from the Harl. MS. 2253.

Penitential Psalms, by Rd. Maydenstoon, Brampton, &c. (Rawlinson, A. 330, &c.).

Documents from the Registers of the Bishops of all Dioceses in Great Britain.

Ordinances and Documents of the City of Worcester.

Chronicles of the Brute.


Book for Recluses, Harl. 2372.

Lollard Theological Treatise, Harl. 2345.

H. Selby’s Northern Ethical Tract, Harl. 2338, art. 20.

The Founder and Director of the E. E. T. Soc. is Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George’s Sq., Primrose Hill, London, N.W. Its Hon. Sec. is W. A. Dalziel, Esq., of the Victoria Road, Pinfubury, Park, London, N. The Subscription to the Society is in 21s. a year for the Original Series, and 21s. for the Extra Series of re-editions.

¹ Of these, Mr. Harale is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe’s book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercelli Hoomilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzii.
Bede's Ecclesiastical History.
95

Oxford
HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
AD ALIEN PAS

partly tpenned pasion. hip bispop hadaps
he hip dead lice lip. pon latan pclelde-fceinsw
pas. pas he in pshn cy-nel bentune nokrepwnp
from pshh b-niz pepe-dh pone syphe-side pasion.
In pas he has de clinean gytan fyer-spunap. pas
hce-lamlice piddi clyde-penpunade-yronom.
Rde-zehpy-dhi rmb-pasp gclundede lanp-bodade.
plshide-paan-lyozon hir-zthian teal pas he untunpasp.
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pas-jonpasp adfr frondside-pond fside. rmbclophi
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pstranypum. laedde mon hip lichoman-rolindja
pna. di monpna lctunpe pas he byroppad pasapf.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History.
Ms Tanner 10, page 40th.
The Old English Version
of
Bede's Ecclesiastical History
of
The English People.

EDITED

WITH A TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION.

BY

THOMAS MILLER, M.A., Ph.D.
FORMERLY FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLISH LEKTOR AT GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY.

PART I.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCCXC.
The first edition of this version was that of Wheelock (Cambridge, 1643). This gives correctly the text of Ca. The second was that of Smith (Cambridge, 1722). It has not been republished since. Wheelock adds a few readings from B. and C. Smith reproduces Ca., correcting a few errors in Wheelock, and introducing good emendations from the other MSS. He gives a very full collation of B., incomplete of T. and O., and very slight of C. As C. was burnt in the fire of 1731, this omission is disastrous.

The present edition was undertaken, while I was studying the syntax of Alfred, for my own use with a view to obtain a correct and uniform text. T. was selected as the basis, and its defects supplemented from B., as belonging to the same recension. The text was completed and written out twice, keeping the original object in view. But after repeated collations and careful study of the MSS., it became evident that Bede was an Anglian and not a West-Saxon work, and that the first necessity was to exhibit a text, representing as far as possible the Anglian archetype. This led me to discard B., and adopt a 'contamination' of texts founded on T. C. O. Ca. in order of preference. The scribe or editor of B.'s text has dealt very freely with his author, changing forms and words.
and recasting sentences. That which renders his work interesting to a student of syntax, makes it for dialectical purposes comparatively useless.

The consequent expenditure of time and labour has been very heavy. It was only after considerable hesitation, that I resolved to sacrifice so much that had been already completed. But I look with confidence for the approbation of scholars in the course I have followed. Great pains have been taken to secure a correct text. T. has been collated twice throughout. O. has been collated throughout, and twice in those portions used to supplement T. B. has been collated throughout, and twice at the beginning and end where T. is defective. Smith and Wheelock were collated and the resulting text collated throughout with the MS. Ca. The fragments of C. have been in part collated twice: see the detailed statement under the description of this MS.

All defects of that MS., which for the time forms the basis of the text, have been stated in the critical notes with variants of all the others. In cases of omission, if more than one MS. omits, the fact is stated. A star is affixed to conjectures, a dagger to corrupt portions. Smith's pages and the Latin chapters are given in the margin to facilitate reference from existing Lexicons and other works. The Latin chapters are therefore put at the head of pages: the Roman numerals are copied from the English MSS.

The translation has been made to meet the requirements of the Early English Text Society, who are publishing the work.

My best thanks are due to the library authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for facilities in consulting MSS. I have also to acknowledge my obligations to Professors Nettleship and Napier, Dr. Neubauer and Mr. Madan, Oxford; to Professor Lumby and Mr. C. J. Clay,
Cambridge, as well as to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, C. C. C., whose untiring courtesy has lightened the labours of many scholars. Messrs. Warner and Bickley have obligingly aided in determining the age of MSS. Dr. A. Schmidt kindly sent me his dissertation, which I have cited in the Introduction. Mr. P. H. Miller, A. R. H. A., gave me information as to illuminated MSS., quoted in the description of T.

The second part will contain full apparatus criticus and glossary, with a conspectus of the dialectical peculiarities of all MSS.

Göttingen, July, 1890.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Description of MSS.</td>
<td>xiii to lix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of the Printed Text</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common origin of MSS.</td>
<td>xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Text followed</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two classes of MSS.</td>
<td>xxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection of T. B.</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection of C. O. Ca.</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation between T. B. C.</td>
<td>xxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* in &amp;c. for and in O. E.</td>
<td>xxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** in Bede</td>
<td>xxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in, un, en in O. German</td>
<td>xxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and in O. Frisian</td>
<td>xxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono, &amp;c. in MSS. of Bede</td>
<td>xxix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono not = ‘if’</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eno in Blickling Homilies (note)</td>
<td>xxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heono forms in Northern documents</td>
<td>xxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)ono sense and usage</td>
<td>xxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inu &amp;c. in O. German</td>
<td>xxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eno in Tatian</td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac interrogative (Anglian)</td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercian origin of O. E. Bede</td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in, on oldest English</td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Kentish (an)</td>
<td>xxxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Saxon, Saxon-Kentish</td>
<td>xxxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Surrey</td>
<td>xxxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Northampton</td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

**Introduction, continued**—

- *Mercian (Worc., Glouc., Salop)* .................................................. xxxvii
- *East Anglia* .................................................................................. xxxviii
- *West-Saxon Literature* ............................................................... xxxviii
- *local survey* ................................................................................ xxxix
- *Vespasian Psalter* ......................................................................... xxxix
- *Northern Gospels* ........................................................................ xl
- *Durham Ritual* ............................................................................ xli
- *O. E. Bede* ................................................................................... xlii
- *O. E. Bede and Vespasian Psalter* ............................................. xlv

**mid** in oldest English ........................................................................ xlv
- *Charters* ....................................................................................... xlv
- *Kentish Glosses* ........................................................................... xlv
- *West-Saxon literature* ................................................................. xlv
- *Blickling Homilies* ......................................................................... xlv
- *Vespasian Psalter* ........................................................................ xlv
- *Northern Gospels* ......................................................................... xlv
- *Durham Ritual* ............................................................................ xlv

**in poetry** ........................................................................................ xlv
- *O. E. Bede* ................................................................................... xlv
- *MS. T. full statistics* ...................................................................... xlvii
- *form of preposition* ....................................................................... xlviii
- *Bede and V. P. correspond* .......................................................... xlviii
- *decay of* ...................................................................................... xlviii

**leoran** in *Bede* .............................................................................. xlix

**leort** ............................................................................................ li

**Notable words in Bede** ................................................................. li

**Grammatical notes** ....................................................................... lii

**Syntactical notes** .......................................................................... liii

**Text of T.—scribes 2, 5** ................................................................... liii

**A, O, before nasals in T.** ............................................................... liv

**V. P.** .............................................................................................. liv

**Rushworth** ................................................................................... liv

**Kentish** ........................................................................................ liv

**Chad** .............................................................................................. lv

**Layamon** ....................................................................................... lv
### Introduction, continued—

| A before L and consonant in T. &c. | lv |
| " " " " in Charters (note) | lv |
| Alfred and O. E. Bede | lvi |
| West-Saxon Genealogy | lvi |
| Mercian Scholars | lvii |
| Scots in O. E. Bede | lvii |
| Later notices of O. E. Bede | lviii |
| Lichfield the birthplace of O. E. Bede | lix |

### Text and Translation:—

| Preface | 2 |
| Contents | 7 |
| Book I. | 24 |
| " II. | 94 |
| " III. | 152 |
| " IV. | 252 |
| " V. | 384 |
| West-Saxon Genealogy | 486 |
ERRATA.

P. 64, l. 18, for seo read se.
P. 76, l. 20, read frecernisse.
P. 85, l. 14, read 'which were sacred among them.'
P. 97, l. 23, for 'peerless' read 'angelical.'
P. 114, add as note to Chap. No. VI, 'erasure in T. No. dubious.'
P. 155, l. 4, for 'eleven' read 'twelve.'
P. 262, l. 19, for ðy read þe.
P. 310, note to l. 18, for 'seafontonegædan Ca.' read 'omitted in Ca.'
P. 321, number of page wrongly printed as 231.
P. 324, l. 23, read frecernisse.
P. 358, l. 4, read neara.
P. 368, l. 4, read Ecgeferðes.
P. 372, l. 1, read swa hwæt.
P. 393, l. 26, for 'expects' read 'begs.'
P. 417, l. 24, for 'converse with' read 'visit.'
INTRODUCTION.

There are four MSS. of this version, and some fragments of a fifth.

T. = Tanner 10 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, size $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is defective at the beginning up to p. 54, 2 (Bk. i, 16); and at the end from 442, 23 (Bk. 5, 14). Seven leaves have been torn out for sake of the illuminated letters probably, as these latter defects only occur at the beginning of chapters. These gaps may be seen in the table at the end of the description of the MSS. A scrap of one is left (p. 56 note).

T. now contains 138 leaves, among which is reckoned the blank leaf at the end of Book 3. T. was written by five scribes. The hand of the first extends without a break to the end of leaf 100 (352, 29 gewyrhte). Leaf 101, and the first five lines of 102, to the end of the chapter (p. 356), are by the second scribe. The rest of 102 is by scribe 1, and extends to 358, 30. Then 103 to 113a (end of Bk. 4) are by scribe 3. Then 113b to line 13 of 114a, are by scribe 2, to Aedelwald (386, 5). From of his in the same line 13 of MS. to line 17 beon (386, 9) the words are written by scribe 1. The rest of 114a is by scribe 2 (386, 9 ða to 386, 17 medmicel). The first 12 lines of 114b to the end of the chapter are by scribe 1 (386, 17 ßæc to 386, 26). Then 114b line 13 to 115b 13 are by scribe 2 (386, 27 to 390, 3 meahite). Then 115b 13 to 124a is by scribe 4 (390, 4 swa swa to 410, 8 sacerdes). Then 124b to 129b is by scribe 5 (410, 8 mid ðy to 424, 29.
earmlice). Then 130a to end is by scribe 4. The last word is unwillsumlice (442, 23).

The scribes differ absolutely in handwriting and to some extent in spelling. The facsimile shows the beautiful hand of scribe 1. It reproduces page 40b. The numbers of book and chapter are by a late hand, which has inserted or tampered with the numbering, which however never was carried out over the MS. I have referred to this in the notes. The first scribe evidently had the direction of the whole: his hand recurs amid the writing of all others, except scribe 4, whose style approximates in the form of letters, but differs completely in their combination, which is loose and diffuse: his longer letters e.g. ơ are also utterly unlike. Scribe 2 writes in a sprawling hand with thin strokes. His lines are irregular horizontally. A striking contrast is seen on p. 114a, where scribe 1 evidently sets him a copy, which he tries to imitate: however he relapses immediately. Scribe 3 writes a rough vigorous hand. At the top of p. 108b the first two words are by scribe 1. The work of scribe 3 extends halfway down 113a where Book 4 ends. Space was evidently calculated beforehand, for Book 5 (scribe 2) begins on the reverse, without the interposition of a blank leaf, as at the end of Book 3: there is a defect at the beginning of Bks. 3, 4. Scribe 2 was at work on the beginning of Book 5 before scribe 3 had finished, for the latter contracts his lines to avoid writing over the space covered by the long tail of the initial on the reverse. The parchment may have been still damp. The writing of scribe 5 is very rude. Scribe 1 writes a word or two occasionally (124b 5, 6; 128a 4; 129a 20 to 24), but not continuously, and finally dismisses him at the end of five pages. He is the most illiterate of the five.

It appears that in the community where this scribe (No. 1) lived, he could not command the services of any thoroughly competent assistant. His own scholarship and penmanship are of a high order. The facsimile gives a small, but elegant specimen of his powers as an illuminator. His colouring here is delicate. It is often brilliant, and I have traced in places specks of gilding, which has disappeared. There is some resemblance in the facsimile to
the last letter of the second line in the page of facsimiles given in the Durham Ritual (ed. Stevenson). Mr. P. H. Miller, who has made drawings of illuminated West-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum, kindly compared a photograph of the facsimile page, and also a photograph of p. 113 with Irish illuminated MSS. in Dublin (esp. Book of Kells), and pronounces the style to be quite distinct from the Irish type, and of the usual English character. The powers or patience of scribe 1 began to fail early in Book 4. The initial of ch. 11 (p. 294) is ornate but without colour, so is ch. 17 (p. 310), ch. 18 (p. 314), ch. 19 (p. 316). Colour is resumed at the next (p. 324); but the initial IN of the following is plain and uncoloured, and there are no other capitals. Colour is not used again. The first letter of ch. 27 was not written: in the large blank space a small letter has been inserted by a late hand. The same holds of the remaining chapters of Book 4. This fine illumination is not found outside the sphere of scribe 1, and ceases when he stops (p. 358). The beginning of Book 5 shows him at work again, in connection with scribe 2, on an elaborate headpiece, while at the same time scribe 3 was finishing Book 4. It is without colour. The hand is tremulous in some letters inserted among the work of scribe 5 at the foot of page 129 (l in dælde), and does not recur later. So this for the most part carefully written MS. ends with very inferior or rude workmanship.

Clearly the work cannot have been produced at any populous centre, or in a large monastery where there would have been a choice of trained men. It is clear too from the interlacing of hands, that all the scribes were contemporaries. From the writing most authorities place the MS. about the end of the tenth century. My own judgment favours a somewhat earlier date. There are some medieval Latin glosses by a reader of the MS. who has also used strokes to separate words, which at times resemble accents. The colour of the ink distinguishes his work.

C. = Otho B. XI. British Museum.

"Previous to the fire of 1731 this MS. consisted of 231 leaves. In 1734 Oxley reported it as 'burned,' and Planta says 'Desider-
A description of its contents when perfect is given by Dr. Smith in his catalogue 1696 and more in detail by Wanley in his Cat. libb. Septentr. apud Hickes, p. 219."

There are now 53 fol., of which 38 are of Bede: the rest belong to the A. S. Chron. etc.

The carefully mounted fragments contain portions of Bk. 3, ch. 7-29 (fol. 1-6); Bk. 4, ch. 11-32 (fol. 7-22); Bk. 5, ch. 1 to end (fol. 22-36). Fols. 37, 38 are out of order: the first is a small fragment of Bk. 5, ch. 3, the second of Bk. 1, ch. 23, 24. The extant leaves are not continuous; and are more or less charred and fragmentary. But 1; 4-10; 15-22; 25-30; 32-36 are fairly legible and perfect. Fortunately 32-36 are continuous and hardly injured, and so can be used to supply in part the defect in T. and O. Other readings are taken from the occasional citations in Wheelock and Smith. There were several scribes employed; but it is difficult to apportion their respective shares. The prevailing hand writes in characters nearly of the same size as the first scribe in T. but with lighter strokes, neatly formed, and growing at times larger, as on leaf 6. The hand changes in character from 35, and is less refined, being thicker and stiffer. A corresponding change in spelling will be noticed. This hand continues from 480, 20 facing to the end.

The MS. belongs to the latter part of the tenth century. Wanley writes of it as follows, when still complete (p. 219): ‘Otho B. XI. Codex memb. in fol. min. ex duobus simul compactis constans, in quo continetur, I. Pag. 1. Bædæ Ven. Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, Saxonicè versa per Ælfredum Regem. Exemplum Antiquum primitus Eccles. B. Mariae de Suwika. II. Pag. 231 Chronicon Saxonicum à Julio Cæsare, usque ad Ann. Dom. 1001 inclusivè,’ etc. etc.

Lists of bishops show that the MS. originated or lay for a long time in the South. ‘Suwika’ is probably the Priory of Southwyke, Hants (Dugdale Monast. ed. 1846; vi, 243).

B. = 41 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 14 × 8½ inches. This MS. is complete and written on 242 leaves (483 pp.). At the end on pp. 483-4, the scribe addresses the reader in six verses: *etc. . . . be þas bóc úwrat bam handum twam, etc.* On
pp. 484–8 follows a homily in a later hand. Then on p. 488 an
inscription (Latin and English) stating that the book is a gift
of bishop Leofric to St. Peter’s Church, Exeter. The English
runs: *Das boe gef leofric b into scē petres mynstre on eancesstres þær se
bisceopstol is for sawle alisednysse 7 gif hig hwa ut æþrede god hine
fordo on þære ecn. . . . e.* This is similar to the inscription at the
end of ‘Leofric’s Book of the Gospels’ in the University Library,
Cambridge (II. 2. 11), a MS. written in large elegant characters.
Those in B. are somewhat larger and less refined. Similar in-
scriptions are to be found in two MSS. in the Bodleian: see Wanley,
p. 81 and p. 83. The Bede is not however mentioned among the
books contained in the list of Leofric’s benefactions which is to be
found in the Codex Exoniensis and elsewhere. (Earle, Land Charters
and Saxonic Documents. Oxford, 1888, p. 249; Wanley, p. 80.)

Still we may fairly take the inscription as fixing the date of the
MS. about the time of the Conquest. Some points in language also
indicate a southern origin. Apparently the scribe at the end
claims to have written it all himself. The first page is certainly
in a quite different hand. Besides the letters on p. 484 are \( \frac{1}{6} \)
of an inch in height, while those on p. 1 are only half as large. Again,
those on p. 163 are just a little larger than those on p. 1, and the
hand is smaller between pp. 107 and 204 (though not continuously)
while resembling the larger hand in style. There were then
certainly two scribes and perhaps a third. The general hand is
fine and bold, rougher at first but improving as the book goes on.
This book contains a variety of other matter of interest written on
the wide margins. Wanley describes the contents fully, p. 114 sqq.

\( O. = \) Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 279, size \( 10\frac{1}{6} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \) inches.
This MS. contains 161 leaves. It is defective at beginning and
end, up to *ealand* Bk. i, 25 and after *at nyhstan* Bk. 5, 19 (p.
56, 28; p. 462, 4). No other leaves are missing, but the MS. is
copied from an original in which two or more folios were lost; for
the text on \( 11^b \) runs continuously, *onfengon fræ his sylfes* Bk. 2,
5, 7 (see notes, pp. 110, 118). The omission is equal to three
folios of \( O. \) The same omission is found in Ca. In neither MS.

b
is any notice taken of the defect. O. exhibits a great variety of hands. The writing changes at times more than once in a page, even abruptly in the middle of a word, e.g. on 43\textsuperscript{a} the syllable \textit{wor} is written in one, \textit{ulde} in another hand. The general character of the writing is firm and fine, with letters taller than those of T. Occasionally it is very elegant and skilful. Again it falls off and the strokes are weaker and more rounded; this is notably the case towards the end. The fine MS. is defaced with erasures, interlineations and marginal additions. Some of the erasures deserve especial notice. One of the most usual substitutes in erasures is \textit{y} written with two straight strokes, with and without the dot (the dotted \textit{y}, is avoided in T.). This occurs e.g. in \textit{nyddeartlicer}, \textit{yrfe}, \textit{gymenne}, \textit{ætycnesse}, \textit{gehylde}. The Vespasian Psalter has \textit{ned}, \textit{erfe}, \textit{gemnis}, \textit{otecon}, \textit{gehælde}. Early W. Saxon has \textit{ie} in these cases. \textit{I} appears in erasures in \textit{gerihte} (verb) \textit{edniwunge} (with blank after \textit{i}). The V. P. has \textit{geedneowad}, \textit{reht}. Early W. Saxon has \textit{ie}. In all these instances the erasure is unquestionable; in some, remains of an \textit{e} are traceable. Other erasures are \textit{leafnesse}, \textit{ea}, written above; \textit{widerwearde}, \textit{e} on erasure of \textit{o} and \textit{a} above; \textit{forgefan} appears with \textit{a} written above, then imperfectly erased and \textit{y} written on the erasure; but \textit{e} left untouched. \textit{Jara} occurs with erasure of \textit{e} after \textit{J}; \textit{veorca} is written with \textit{o} above the line (V. P. \textit{werc}). These erasures are not carried out consistently, e.g. \textit{ned}, \textit{need}, \textit{rehte}, \textit{wiper-word}, \textit{niowan} occur. The important point to notice is that the later W. Saxon forms replace Anglian, not early W. Saxon vowels.

A striking example of erasure occurs on 59\textsuperscript{b} \textit{dyssum} (Bk. 3, 29, p. 248, 3), where \textit{y} is on an erasure but the remains of a curve attached to \textit{s} show that \textit{a} stood originally. So T. scribe 5 has \textit{Dassum} 422, 19, which is also in Z's fragments. The form seems Northern, e.g. Mt. 26, 29 (L). Another is \textit{yrmbum} where erased \textit{e} has been partially utilised to form \textit{y} with the top turned horizontally to the right (a frequent form in C. but not in O.).

For the form see discussion in Bosworth's Orosius, p. xviii.

Clearly this MS. was written in a flourishing community, where there was an abundance of trained scribes, relieving one another frequently at the desk occasionally for a few lines only. For such
a monastery we should most naturally look in the south of England. The evidence of the erasures taken in conjunction with the forms left untouched show us southern scribes at work with an Anglian original before them. This fitful correction may have been spread over a considerable time, for some of the corrections do not resemble the readings in Ca. But there is no doubt from evidence of hand and colour of ink, that many are of the same date as the original writing. Some of the marginal additions and interlineations are in a different hand and may be due to comparison with another text. That no thorough revision, or comparison with the Latin, was attempted is shown by the occurrence of the unnoticed defect in Bk. 2, chap. 5-7.

Ca. = Kk. 3, 18. Cambridge University Library: size $12\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$. This MS. is written on 97 leaves ending on p. 193. There are three blank leaves at the beginning and three at the end, the first and last of all being pasted down in the binding. On the first is written in vermilion a couplet, which is repeated on p. 194.

Historicus quondam fecit me Beda latinum,
Ælfred rex Saxo transtulit ille pius.

On the first page Ælfred is altered roughly into Ælured.

The MS. is complete, exhibiting only the original defect noticed under O. It also contains the W. Saxon genealogy, which is not in B.

Ca. is the only MS. which has page headings (Liber Primus, etc.) and numbers the chapters (see note p. 24). The numbers in the first book seem to have been tampered with, to bring them into correspondence with the Latin (see note p. 42). Further Ca. does not insert any passage not to be found in O., and faithfully repeats the many omissions due to homoiooteleuton (see notes' passim). The additions are limited to emendations of O.'s text or change of words. What appears as erasure, interlineation or marginal addition in O. is in its right place in Ca. e.g. 100, 7, pat . . . onlyhtnesse is at the foot of the page in O. It is possible that some corrections in O. may be due to Ca.: but writing and spelling show that this can only have been rare. A very few emendations in O. seem later, as they have not been adopted in Ca.
For illustration I compare the first page of O. The first words of O. are ealand tenent. Ca. writes ealond tenent with t above n (Ca. often has o before nasals where O. puts a). On same page (1a) O. has ærenddracan, Ca. inserts the second d above: O. has onbead, Ca. has onbead with sæde written above. (Ca. has several English glosses.) Here B. reads cyðde. O. has rice for original ece apparently, Ca. has rece with i above and dot under e.

O. has hæfde him jeepen, Ca. hæfde, seo wes him forgifen. O. has cyningcynne (=B). Ca. has cynecynne. These show a copyist at work with a certain independence. That Ca. consulted at intervals another MS. is not impossible, but a thorough revision would have betrayed the defect in Bk. 2, 5-7. This second MS. may have been the source of some glosses, e.g. endes is glossed hiwæs (196, 19) where B. has hiwæs. Again the chapter in which the defect begins is numbered V in Ca. but the next number in Ca. is VIII.

Wanley says of this MS. (p. 153) 'circa conquisitionem Angliae eleganter scriptus.' This would make it coeval with B. I am inclined to place it somewhat later. The whole was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Latin glosses had been written between the lines, in effacing which some accents may have been erased.

Z. = 3 passages published by Professor Zupitza in the Zeitschrift f. deutsches Alterthum, V. 18, 1886, pp. 185-6, under the heading 'Drei alte Excerpta aus Aelfreds Beda.' They are on a leaf of Cott. Domitian A. IX. fol. 100, 'in a hand of the beginning of the 10th century.' Wanley, p. 239 says: 'Domitianus IX. . . . III., Notse 2 breves de S. Augustino Anglorum Apostolo, ex Beda, ut videtur, desumptae.'

I. = p. 278, 28, se nigeða—280, 6, geðwærice.
II. = p. 62, 26, se halga—62, 30, breotone.
III. = p. 104, 12, Æa—104, 19, cyning.

The initial letters of each piece are ornate and coloured. The only important variant is in 104, 13 where the text runs gehalgade mellitus ævest on ongelðiode ðone mellitum. After gehalgade there is a small erasure.
INTRODUCTION.

Others are:—
62, 29, in for to.
280, 4, næning.
280, 4, forgiefen sie.

The rest concern spelling only. There are some Anglian forms not in T.’s text. 104, 12 āssum (cp. 422, 19). 280, 3 dernre. 280, 4 rehtlice. 280, 5 welle (cp. 412, 1). The preterite plurals are siondan, wæron. We may notice the doubling of vowels in æteecte, oofre, riime, wiif. These extracts seem older than any of the MSS. They prove, as far as they go, the faithful transmission of the text. The variations show that the earlier text contained Anglian forms now no longer in the text of T.

In occurs three times, in breetone, in þære biode, in ða tid: and on twice, on ongeldiode, on oofre. This agrees with T.’s text and usage. In 280, 4 mid rehtre æ stands. This dative shows a southern tendency, cp. forgiefen = 280, 4 (O. Ca. rihtre, B. rihtum, T. rehte). O is used before nasals, from; lond, 2; monig; ongel, 2; ond; mon; a is found in alderburh = aldorburg, T. = ealdorburhg. O. = ealdorburg, Ca. = ealandburh (sic), B. (p. 104, 16).

There are some copies of Caedmon’s hymn to be found in the blank spaces of Latin MSS. of the History

(a) the Northumbrian version at the end of the Moore MS. Kk. 5, 16, U. Lib. Cam. The wretched writing is in striking contrast to the calligraphy of the MS.

(b) MS. Hatton 43, fol. 129 Bodleian, first published by Prof. Napier of Oxford in ‘Modern Language notes,’ May 1889, who kindly pointed out this passage to me (and d also). It begins nu we sceulon, has tida (8), on foldum (9), accentuates éce once only (in line 8). 11th century hand.

(c) MS. Laud 243, Bodleian fol. 82b, copied in Stevenson, ‘Church Historians of England. . . Bede translated,’ London 1853. It begins nu we sceolan; and reads eorðe (5) = T. O. Ca. B. on folden (9), halig sceyppend is at end. 12th century.

(d) MS. Bod. 163, fol. 152b, a defaced copy; began nu we; reads tida (8), on foldum (9). 11th century.

(e) Wheelock quotes variants from ‘T.’
INTRODUCTION.

The Latin MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, which the librarian, Dr. Sinker, kindly examined for me, contain no English version of the hymn. But the readings of this 'T.' gehwylc (3), ylda (5), tida (8), on foldum (9) agree with the remains in (d). Of the word before almhtig only a is left in (d).

These variants seem to show that the current copies of the hymn were independent of the version of Bede. We in the first line has perhaps crept in from these copies. It is wanting in the Moore and Tanner MSS., is inserted above the line in O., and is then found in Ca. B, and the marginal copies.

The Bede Glosses (O. E. T. pp. 123-179) have no relation to the version of Bede. Several in the long list belong to passages omitted in the translation.

### SOURCES OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

Where T. is extant, its text is printed; then, as they are extant, in order of preference, the text follows—i, C. 2, O. 3, Ca.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>54, 2</th>
<th>sticide</th>
<th>Ca.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54, 2</td>
<td>56, 14</td>
<td>cwoedulra</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56, 14</td>
<td>56, 28</td>
<td>mycel</td>
<td>Ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56, 28</td>
<td>58, 29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60, 1</td>
<td>92, 17</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92, 17</td>
<td>96, 8</td>
<td>monige</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96, 8</td>
<td>132, 32</td>
<td>heofonum</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>134, 1</td>
<td>136, 18</td>
<td>wig</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>136, 18</td>
<td>150, 20</td>
<td>on his</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>150, 20</td>
<td>152, 22</td>
<td>hond</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>152, 22</td>
<td>158, 23</td>
<td>daghwamlice</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158, 23</td>
<td>162, 10</td>
<td>pet</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>162, 10</td>
<td>204, 33</td>
<td>onfengon</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204, 33</td>
<td>208, 4</td>
<td>gelysde</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>208, 4</td>
<td>304, 7</td>
<td>swa</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>208, 5</td>
<td>304, 7</td>
<td>C. O.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>304, 7</td>
<td>306, 19</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>306, 19</td>
<td>442, 23</td>
<td>unwillsumlice</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>442, 23</td>
<td>462, 4</td>
<td>nyhstan</td>
<td>O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>462, 4</td>
<td>472, 27</td>
<td>rih</td>
<td>Ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>472, 27</td>
<td>486, 15</td>
<td>gemette</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The common origin of all the MSS. is proved by several considerations.

1. The division into chapters, is substantially the same in all MSS.

2. All our MSS. place the Interrogationes at the end of the third book; their translation was perhaps an afterthought. They formed a separate work (libello responsionum) and were written by Pope Gregory (Bk. 2, i).

3. All agree in placing the appeal to the reader (Praeterea omnes etc.), not as in the Moore MS. at the end of the Praefatio, but at the conclusion of the work, as in MS. Cott. Tib. c. II. 8th century, and several Cambridge MSS. (late). This arrangement I found also in the Hatton MS. 43 (end of 10th century).

It seems that the text followed by the translator was not that of this earliest MS. (M).

Through the kindness of Prof. Lumby and Mr. C. J. Clay of the Pitt Press, Cambridge, I have been able to consult the proof sheets of the first two books of Beda, text of Moore MS. with variants from Cott. Tib. c. II. (L1) and from a number of (late) Cambridge MSS.

A comparison of twenty-eight variants showed—

Only one example decidedly favouring M.;

*Mox* M. omit *L1 = sona* 132, 4.

Four decidedly favour *L1*;

*quieta pace* L1. *in pace* M. *on smyltre sibbe* 32, 9.

cotidie L1. (M. sec. m.) *daeghwamlice* 62, 14.

lenius L1. levius M. *likelecor* 68, 5.

electus L1. effectus M. *gecoren* 146, 14.

The rest of the variants (except perhaps three) rather favour the text of L1. That this text was followed is also shown by the omission of *Ricula* and *Aedilberct* in Bk. 2, c. 3=104, 19 (cp. Sweet, O. E. T. p. 132). The same conclusion follows from a comparison of Bk. 4, c. 14. This is contained in M. and 'Cotton. II,' omitted in the English and 'Cotton. I' = L1. (See Smith p. 157 note.) This variation repeats itself in the later MSS. (Ib.). The two Cotton MSS. come from the same original
(Sweet, Ib.). But the English supports the reading *si mens est* found in both M. and L¹, Bk. 1, 27 (*initium* in the Hatton MS. is on an erasure) and shows that the translator put a stop after *peccati*, and joined *si mens est in delectatione*, p. 88, 5.

In 178, 22 *gebete of aetah*, the variation from the Latin is partly explained by the reading *stramine substracto* in another MS. See Baedae H. ed. Holder, p. 312. This fact I owe to Dr. A. Schmidt's careful Dissertation 'Untersuchungen über K. Æ's. Beda—übersetzung,' Berlin, 1889.

4. There are common peculiarities or corruptions found in all MSS., e.g. 2, 18; 2, 20; 36, 6; 70, 24; 180, 17; 286, 33; 286, 1; 306, 20; 310, 5; 314, 11; 326, 6; 332, 24; 336, 19; 358, 2; 372, 11; 372, 31; 394, 24; 400, 21.

A single, but striking exception to this general agreement parts off the MSS. into two classes—

(i) T. B. (2) C. O. Ca.

In Bk. 3, 16–20 the two classes are completely divergent.

(a) 202, 9–204, 33 exhibit two different versions.

(b) 206, 1–208, 4 are found in C. O. Ca. only.

(c) 210, 3–220, 18 are found in T. B. only.

Various suppositions are possible:

(i) A defect in the MS. from which both classes were derived may have been supplied by two different editors.

(ii) The defect may have been in one class only. This is contradicted by the facts before us.

(iii) Improbable as it may seem, I am inclined to believe that the translator stopped short abruptly. In the story of Aidan, Bede's criticism is soon to take an unfavourable turn (end of c. 17). Reflections on this Scot hero are generally omitted (see below, p. liv.) The break was originally made too early, and prolonged too far.

In the table of contents chapters 17–20 are not noticed (p. 16). This is some presumption against their having been in the original translation. But c. 16 is included in the table of contents. The beginning of the chapter is identical in all MSS. The divergency begins at 202, 9 with the account of the actual miracle, which we are promised at the beginning of the chapter.
This of course supposes a separate supplement by two editors.

(a) The version of the first class (T. B.) is simpler: but we find occasionally unusual expressions as gewyreldon (202, 20).

In the other class we have gebywe wes (=gewuna wes, 202, 27), he is nemned lindisfarenensis (=204, 5), ymb geara fyrstmearc (=204, 6), also unusual.

(b) In the part peculiar to the second class, the unusual expression midligendes (C.) was misunderstood by scribes working at O. Ca. (206, 26 notes).

Dr. A. Schmidt (Diss. p. 18) points out that this is the only passage where we find translated the recurring phrase 'a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam,' which marked the difference between the Easter of the Scots and English. This is remarkable, see p. liv.

(c) 3, 19 is inferior to 5, 12. It glorifies a foreigner, see p. liv.

The connection of T. and B. is illustrated by common faults. 198, 10; 276, 19, 20; 334, 4; 362, 32; 364, 7; 382, 11; 382, 14; 188, 31; 240, 8. There is one clear example of common omission 170, 19. Here however homoioteleuton may account for the single coincidence. It would seem that the relation was not a close one. B.’s text however has been freely handled, expansions, omissions, and substitutions are very frequent. So the distance of both T. and B. from their common original possibly was not very great: see below the comparison of agreement between T. C. B. Though B. constantly sides with C. O. Ca. against T. in case of omissions by T., there is no real case of an omission common to C. O. Ca. B. (The omission of wundrigende 7 432, 29, by O. Ca. B. can hardly be taken into account.)

On the other hand C. O. Ca. are very closely related: for instance by omission in 448, 3 (notes); also in

334, 31 to 336, 2 (7 to gefealth).
338, 3 (bæt to sciman).
358, 25–27 (mid—bær).
362, 5, 6 (life—anum).

These four coincidences, so near one another, cannot be mere
chance. They prove that C. is only an elder brother in the family to which these three belong.

The relation between T. B. C. is shown by a comparison of readings on pp. 112 and 118 where O. Ca. are defective. In fourteen test cases, B. sides eleven times with T., three with C. The only coincidence of omission is magon (118, 2) where B. recasts the text. (Wheelock prints C.)

It follows that T. C. offer independent testimony on any question of reading.

There are some peculiarities in the text which fix the relation of the existing MSS. to the archetype and determine its locality.

ON for AND is Mercian and corresponds to O. H. G. UN, IN, O. Frisian AN.

The form on = ond is a marked feature in the text. This form on (an) is occasionally found in old English. The Bewcastle inscription (Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 124) has the form ean; (line 4 ean kyniq eac). In the Corpus Gloss (O. E. T.) the Latin atqueve is twice glossed, 75 end suelce, 238 on suelce. (In the first adqueve stood originally as in Epinal 98 adqueve: hence the double gloss.) The form an stands in the Leiden Glosses, ro (O. E. T. p. 111), ultro citro: hider an didir, cp. however Corpus 2148.

In Bede Glosses (O. E. T. p. 182) the form is o. (o waele = et cladis 89.)

In Charters O. E. T. Surrey, p. 452, 28 on[d], may be an instance: but cp. lines, 23, 32, &c... In charter 38 line ro (Kentish) d in ond is ‘crowded in’ (O. E. T. p. 455 note).

The reading in Mt. 27, 19 (Rushworth) is nawiht be siæ on þæm sohfeste gemœnes= nihil tibi sit et iusto illi. Cp. the Corpus MS. (W. Saxon) Mt. 8, 29 hvæt ys þe 7 us gemœne. (The Gospel of Nicodemus however uses the construction gemœne ongen ðisne rihtwisian: see Toller, s. v. gemœne.)

In Orosius 8, 17, on is found in both MSS.

In a homily published by Prof. Napier as ‘Leben des Chad’ in Anglia X. 1888, p. 131 sqq. on for ond occurs four times (lines 56, 239 bis, 252), twice before l, once before o, once before m.
Prof. Napier, p. 132, points out that the life is taken from Beda Hist. 4, 2, 3; and refers its origin to the first half of the 10th century (p. 139). The MS. belongs to the first half of the 12th century (p. 131).

The resemblance to the English Beda is at times very close. Cp. Chad, 105 sqq.: sticcemetum him neolecan od pat he becom ofer bone hrof hes gebedhuses, in pam se bisceop caedda wes pat he ingongende all gefylde 7 in ymbhwyrfte ymbsald═Beda, p. 264, 24 sqq. See however Anglia, p. 132.

The homily is Anglian (p. 132, 135 sqq.).

An examination of the passages cited in the glossary to Layamon shows that the B. text of Layamon has six examples of an 36, 46, 5444, 13211, 25385, 25976. The A. text has two 3690, 25649.

The archetype of the Bede MSS. must have had this form. The text now printed contains sixty-three examples.

(i) In T. there are fifty-three examples; scribe I has almost invariably ð, the others on (as in the other MSS.).

(ii) The fragments of C. give four examples (22, 7; 360, 10; 382, 3; 476, 18): (in two of these cases, T. is defective, once has ond, once ac). See below, p. xxxviii.

(3) O. exhibits on twice (426, 18; 446, 12) in both places confused with the preposition. In the second the 7 has been erased and on written above; evidently on was in the copy before the scribe.

In a third instance (140, 14 see note) both sense and variants show that on (conjunction) is alone correct.

(4) Ca. reproduces O. But also where O. is defective we find four examples (6, 4; 22, 7; 30, 25; 38, 24). In three of these it has escaped owing to confusion with the preposition. In 30, 25 it corresponds to etiam, and raises the question whether ond is ever used═'also.'

(5) B. alone preserves the correct reading in 140, 14; B. agrees with Ca. in 6, 4; 30, 25, and with the other MSS. in 426, 18. But in 22, 7 B., as often in cases of difficulty, omits. (ond life not in B.)
These discrepancies are reconciled only by assuming that on was a peculiarity of the archetype, but was changed where recognised as a conjunction by the scribes.

Even T. trips at times, but may claim to represent the archetype most faithfully. Next to T. comes C.: these two are the two oldest MSS. and are independent witnesses.

I have for clearness everywhere expanded the form. But on is an independent form subject to certain laws.

First I take some parallels from Old German, and Old Frisian.

(a) Tatian uses in for inti. (Siever's index gives ten examples, to which add 80, 1 and strike out 231, 3.) Of ten examples two are before vowels, four before th, one each before d, m, l, s.

(b) In the older Physiologus both un and unde are used. Un occurs fifteen times, only once before a consonant (tac un div), unde fifty-five times, nine before vowels (Denkmäler deutscher poesie und prosa... Mullenhoff und Scherer, Berlin, 1873).

(c) In Old Frisian and with the article thi &c., forms anthi, antha, anti, antes, anden, so also anquette. (See Heyne: Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Dialecte, p. 138, and the examples cited in Rieger, Alt- und Angelsäch. Lesebuch, p. 223.)

(d) En for ende occurs once in Helianid 990 (Mon.).

(e) I pass over the use of in as the almost exclusive form in O. L. G. Psalms. See Heyne (s. v.): Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler.

(f) For en, enda in Norse, see Vigfusson—Gering, Gloss. to poetic Edda—Wilken, Gloss. to prose Edda.

An analysis of sixty-three instances of on noticed in Bede shows that (1) five occur before vowels, (2) eighteen before h, (3) twenty before p, (4) nine before s, (5) five before f, (6) two each before c, w, (7) one each before d, l.

As h in Old English is so weak (Sweet, H. of E. Sounds, p. 134), we may fairly combine (1) and (2). We then get results in conformity with those obtained from O. H. G. and O. Frisian. In any case the usage in Bede exhibits a law of preference, which we must recognise. The paucity of examples seems to show that in England the use of on was local. The evidence cited exhibits it as a Mercian provincialism. (Chad—Layamon.)
(H) ONU is an Anglian form corresponding to O. H. G. INU, ENU.

The free use of ono, onu, ona, is another peculiarity of the version.

It must have been well represented in the archetype. A table will best exhibit the variants. I add the Latin, as it aids us in weighing the evidence, and clears up the meaning of this particle, which has been misunderstood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>LATIN</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Ca.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70, 16</td>
<td>(apodotic)</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(defect)</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74, 27</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>ono hwæt</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 1</td>
<td>ergo</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 17</td>
<td>si itaque</td>
<td>ono gif</td>
<td>hu gyf</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 gif</td>
<td>7 gif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 33</td>
<td>itaque</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 14</td>
<td>si ergo</td>
<td>ono nu</td>
<td>hu nu</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 nu</td>
<td>7 nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 19</td>
<td>autem</td>
<td>ono eala</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 21</td>
<td>si itigur</td>
<td>ono nu hwæt nu</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 nu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80, 19</td>
<td>si ergo</td>
<td>ono nu nu</td>
<td>eala</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 nu nu</td>
<td>7 nu nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84, 6</td>
<td>et si</td>
<td>ono nu</td>
<td>hu nu</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 nu</td>
<td>7 nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 19</td>
<td>si autem</td>
<td>ono gif</td>
<td>hu gif</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 gif</td>
<td>7 gif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 21</td>
<td>itigur</td>
<td>ono hu</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 23</td>
<td>ecce itaque</td>
<td>ono hu</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118, 20</td>
<td>et ergo</td>
<td>onu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130, 4</td>
<td>si autem</td>
<td>ono gif</td>
<td>7 gyf</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>7 nu gif</td>
<td>7 nu gif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132, 24</td>
<td>ecce</td>
<td>ono hwæt</td>
<td></td>
<td>(defect)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136, 20</td>
<td>quid plura?</td>
<td>ono hwæt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142, 12</td>
<td>verum</td>
<td>ond and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146, 26</td>
<td>at vero</td>
<td>ono hwæt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152, 17</td>
<td>qui (connective)</td>
<td>(defect) hwæt ond</td>
<td>ono hwæt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158, 3</td>
<td>ergo</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
<td>(defect)</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, 6</td>
<td>ergo</td>
<td>(defect) ða</td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164, 19</td>
<td>igitur</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172, 30</td>
<td>ergo</td>
<td>ona</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 ða</td>
<td>on (prep.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192, 20</td>
<td>ergo</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ða</td>
<td>ða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198, 18</td>
<td>qui (connective)</td>
<td>ono eala</td>
<td></td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 no on erasure.
2 latter o out of d.
T. has the particle most freely in the Interrogationes (1, 27), where it is in harmony with the turn of style, by which Gregory imparts vivacity to his dialogue. Thirteen out of thirty-eight examples come from this 'libellus.' Now just at this point C. is defective. Still where C. is extant or has been cited, it offers *ond* always except once (*hu*). *Ond* (*and*) is a scribe's ready substitute.

But *ono* was not peculiar to one class of MSS. Its existence in both and in the original is clearly demonstrated by the evidence of O. Ca. B. O. wavers. *Ono* escapes at 70, 16, but is elsewhere in the Interrogationes replaced by the uniform 7. It is impossible to suppose that the translator, who here rises so well to the occasion, should have reduced such a variety of Latin terms to the dead level of a monotonous 'and.' Further on in O., perhaps as the form became familiar, *ono* reappears, once even (302, 23) where T. has *ond*. The hesitation of the scribes is shown by the erasures. Once only, 130, 4, 7 *nu* is used as the equivalent of *onu*, as if the scribe had confused it with *ō* (= *on*) + *nu*. The occurrence of this particle in O. so often shows its independence of C.

Ca. has admitted *ono* twice (322, 31 is certain), in the second passage O. is defective. That with O. before him this scribe should not have written *ono* oftener is a striking fact. Twice prepositions

1 *ono* inserted above line, erasure of 7 (?)
INTRODUCTION.

The words *ono*, *mid* are readily confounded by the eye.

B. deals with the form characteristically. This scribe, or editor, has a turn for rhetoric and often recasts whole passages. His variety of expressions reproduces forms familiar in the South, as we may see by comparing the Northern and West-Saxon Gospels. He never admits *ono*, but once puts *and*, once *ond* (in the apodosis), once *on* (preposition), where Ca. has *mid*.

It is clear from the table that *ono* never means 'if,' though Bede has been quoted in support of this sense. It is sufficient to point out that, (1) where *si* stands in Latin, *gif* or *nu* are added; (2) that the other MSS. omit *ono*; (3) that *nu* = 'if' is found, e.g. Mt. 7, II nu nu *ponne* (R.) = *gif* *ponne* (L.) = *si* ergo; Mt. 10, 25 *nu* (R.) = *gif* (L.) = *si*.

The scribes were evidently not familiar with the form. Evidence refers it to the Anglian dialect ¹.

Twice in the table we see *ono*, where in Latin there is *ecce*. This furnishes us with a link connecting the word with the Northern *heono*. The form *eonu* is cited from the dictionaries, as meaning 'moreover' (see Toller). Foreign analogies support forms, (1) without *h* (O. H. G.), (2) with *h* (Icelandic).

First as to form.

The usual form in the Rushworth Matthew (Farman) is *henu*, which in ch. 2, 1 is altered to *honu* (marginal note). This form *henu* is also in Mk. 1, 2 (still Farman). But in Mk. 16, 6 (Owun) we find *heonu*. In Lk. 13, 6 (R.), and in Jn. 1, 29, 36, 47 (R.) the form is *heono*. In Lk. 23, 14 *ono* is probably due to a defect in the MS.

In the Lindisfarne Mt. *heonu* is usual. In 2, 19; 11, 8; *heono* is altered to *heonu*. But *heono* is found elsewhere in the Lindisfarne Gospels, e.g. Mt. 11, 10; 17, 5; Jn. 1, 29, &c., Lk. 13, 16. In Mt. 1, 20; 2, 11; *heno* occurs, *heona* Mt. 24, 25. In Mt. 12, 47 *heuno* stands.

The Durham Ritual employs mostly *heono*. But *heone* occurs p. 11, 17 (same verse has also *heono*) and p. 107, line 10.

¹ *eno, ana (?)* Blickling H. 237, 4; 241, 3 = 'lo' or 'moreover.'
The form *hona = 'ecce' is found in a piece published by Cockayne (see Toller, s. v. *heomo*).

This variety supports the identification of the forms in Bede with the Northern *heomo*, &c.

Next as to sense.

The Gospels and Ritual use it only in glossing *ecce*. In Mt. the L glosser uses no other word. Farman is freer, e.g. *henu vel her is vel sihpe i, 23. Again sihpe is in 7, 4; 19, 16; 19, 27; 24, 26; alone or as an alternative.

Now the word *sehde* (* sehde, seôde, seôd*) is the usual gloss in the Vespasian Psalter for *ecce*. We thus have reached a point where the two translations of *ecce* are combined; and on either side of which only one is found (L.; R.; V.P.). In Bede *sehde* does not occur.

We must now show that the uses both as adverb and interjection are compatible.  (i) The West-Saxon Matthew, which does not employ *heomo*, uses *wutoldlice, soflice, nu*, &c., which are equivalent to *autem*, &c. (2) In undoubted exclamations *nu* is used, Mt. 21, 5; 25, 5, &c. (W. S.). (3) Contrast the Glosses in Mt. 12, 47: *autem = hâ R.* = *uutedlice L. = sôlîçe ha*, Corpus. (4) We find the gloss *hæd* [i.e. *hwæt*], vel *uutedlice*. (5) *Hwæt* in MS. B. of Bede stands for *igitur*, &c., and replaces *onu*. (6) B. also uses *eala*, for *autem, ergo* as a particle of transition. (7) In the Blickling Homilies we find *eala sôlîçe* (31, 1); *eala nu* (85, 14, 29); *eala hû* (161, 31).

Aelfric does not notice these particles *heomo, ono*, either in the sections on adverbs or on interjections, in his grammar.

O. H. G. confirms these results. Graff, A. H. S. i, 300 cites *inu = num, nam, en, ecce*: also *innamu, inno*, &c., &c.: and from Tatian and Notker *eno = numquid, nonne*; also *eno ni*, &c., cp. use of *seno* (Id. 6, 114).

Grimm, Deutsche Gr. 3, 756; 248 connects Gothic *an*, English *heomo*, Icelandic *hanamu* with the O. H. G. forms. I may add that the usage *inno ube* in Boethius (ed. Graff, p. 39) is really = *ono gif* in Bede: the apodosis only is interrogative (Boeth. ib.). So in Isidorus de Nat. Dom. c. 3; after the refrain Item si, &c., the question begins in the apodosis, and *inu ibu = ono gif*.
Inu, &c. are not found in the O. Saxon Heliand.

In Tatian eno, eno ia, eno ni are interrogative. But so is ia alone; and eno stands for autem ... non (122, 3). So the interrogative force is not inherent. For ece T. uses seno, seno nu, but se-

nu also = at nunc (Graff, 6, 114).

Onu, heonu are not interrogative; for questions the Anglian dialects employed ac, ah. The Corpus Gloss (26, Sweet, O. E. T.) has sicini: ac jus. The Vespasian Psalter has ah. The Northern form is also ah. Bede has ac 70, 1; ac ne 196, 18; ac ge ne 268, 25 (this order often in Northern Gospels). West-Saxon Gospels use hu ne, e.g. Mt. 13, 56.

In fine we have in (h)onu, and ac (as interrogative) peculiarities, belonging to Northumbria and Mercia, and not used in the Saxon South. The usage would incline us to place the origin of Bede in North Mercia, touching on one side the district of the Rushworth Gospels, on the other that of the Vespasian Psalter.

I pass to the use of in and on as found in Bede.

The use of these prepositions varies according to locality. I will try to define the local limits of usage, and the course of change with time.

IN, ON exist side by side.

The earliest documents discriminate. I cite Sweet Oldest English Texts.

The Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus, Glosses.

on, an, acc. place where, direction, Ep. Erf. 51, 91; Cp. 121, 246.

motion to surface, Cp. 86 (? O. H. G. ruorit, see Graff, 4, 1172-5).

dat. at a place, Erf. 370; Cp. 769.

in, acc. motion into, Cp. 1136.


1110.

in scipe, Cp. 319.

in bece, Cp. 1148.


case undetermined, Ep. Erf. 530; Cp. 1091, 1081.

Corpus is Mercian. Epinal and Erfurt, Kentish.
The Ruthwell Cross (p. 125) has *on* twice: acc. motion on to (2): *dat.* place where (11).

The Blickling Glosses (p. 122) *acc. on* motion on to (14), *in* motion into (19), *dat. on* place at which, *on* ‘during’ of circumstances (6).

The Casket (p. 126) maintains the distinction: *in* place where, *dat. (2)*, *on* motion on to *acc. (5, 7)*.

These documents are earlier than 800 A.D. They exhibit cooperation, without exclusion of either preposition.

The next in time containing examples belong to the latter part of the 9th century (O. E. T. p. 174-9).

These have, at one time or other, been classed with the Kentish documents, and I will consider them along with the certain documents, in order to include all that can be urged as to the use of *in* upon Kentish ground.

*ON* gradually expels *IN*: —


(1) Already considered.


(3) Durham Admonition about 900? (I) Halsuncege, *on* seven times; (a) three, in adjuration; (b) local, *on weorolde*; (c) ‘in the I case of,’ *on eow*; (d) ‘in accordance with,’ two examples. (I) Rubrics, *in* twice, *in husum infalled* (compound). Skeat identifies I and II by the writing (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1879, 51-2): but some forms in II are Northern.

(4) Martyrology, &c., *on* ten times, *in* eight (including supplied letters, but omitting later supplement).

*on* motion, direction, 27, 9 (l. *strungen*), 18.

*in* „ „ 33, 26, 17.

*on* place, ‘at,’ ‘on,’ 28, 48, 51. Gen. II.

*in* „ „ ‘at,’ ‘in,’ 13, 14, 18, 37.
INTRODUCTION.

on time, 'on,' 11, 39.
on state, circumstances, 51.
in ,, ,, 50.

The usages of the prepositions approximate here, but the two never exactly coincide.

(5) Kentish Psalm and Hymn (Kluge Angelsächsisches Lesebuch, p. 108-11).
I. Psalm, an 4. on 10. in 6.
Time on only. Coincident are on unrihtum, in synnum (61); on ferde, in ferde minum (compare V. P. use of on heortan p. xxxvi)
In idioms on is more usual: also in seems influenced by reminiscences of theological Latin.
II. Hymn on nine, in once (43), in fæder wuldre (Latin influence ?).

(6) Satan (Grein, i. 129 sqq.).
On seventy-four, in sixty-two examples.
The usages are often coincident. on (in) heofnum, helle, wuldre, wynnum, rice, bendum. 'Into,' 'towards': on (in) middangeard, ðone (in is preferred). Time when: in fyrdagum, on geardagum (on preferred: proportion of all examples on: in = 7:1). On eordan occurs seven times, and is only form. on earde once. On heofnum seven times, in heofnum twice.

Poetry is of course no criterion as to prose usage at a given date.

(7) Charters (O. E. T. Nos. 34-7; 39-44) on 27, an 12, in once (44, 7 sole examples in this charter of either prep.) in ece erbe: we have on ece ærfe three times in No. 42 (Kentish); and in ece ærfe twice in No. 48 (Mercian).
The use of on (an) is varied and not purely local: e.g. = 'in':
on byrg 35, 3; 36, 10; 37, 33. = 'among': 35, 4; 35, 5; 37, 6. = 'at,' 'on': 35, 4; 43, 4. = 'by' (adjurations): 39, 5 &c.: = 'in,' of writings: 40, 21. = 'for' &c. (destination): 39, 15; 42, 3; 42, 16. = 'with' &c. (circumstances): 37, 9; 41, 21.
The above extend from A.D. 805, to 868, or 888 (Sweet. O. E. T. p. 450).
To the above I add some charters from Earle: Land Charters, &c.
P. 53. Charter of Ecgberht (778) eight examples of on indicating points of the compass, &c., curiously varied with be.

P. 141. The endorsement on No. 44, O. E. T. 'in a somewhat later hand': nine examples of an.

P. 152. (Late copy ?) three an, one on, one in.

(8) Kentish Glosses (Sweet, Reader ii.) = later Kentish, twenty-seven examples of on as preposition, to which add on = contra; for'd on = in posterior. In twice only as adverb (in ga 876, 878).

The usage is varied:

place, 'in,' 'on,' 228, 446, &c.
motion, 'to,' 'into,' 227, 981.
time, 134, 255, &c.

state, circumstances, 23, 185, &c.

The later Charters are under West-Saxon influence.

To sum up: if we include everything, in is never preponderant in Kent. Original unquestioned documents exclude it. On the other hand, an is an undoubted Kentish form, and in some documents the prevailing one (cp. No. 41). The use of in is a declining one: even by the end of the 9th century in is almost gone.

ON spreads northward.

I take now the remaining Charters.

The earliest Saxon Charter (O. E. T. No. 3, A. D. 778), which gives either preposition, has in (only) seven times. Latin influence is shown by ' ad peadan stigele' (line 3). It names Bedwin in the line of the N. Downs and comes from the archives of Abingdon. It therefore lies without the purer West-Saxon district. The next (No. 20; 847) exhibits nothing but on, an (twenty-seven on, once an). Localities in Wilts and Dorset.

The Saxon-Kentish Charters (25, 26, 28, 29, 30; 843-863) exhibit on three, an seven times.

A charter in Earle (p. 142, line 17, A. D. 875) gives one example of an—Saxon-Kentish.

The great Surrey document (O. E. T. No. 45, 871-889), deals once more with a district beyond the line of the N. Downs and in the Thames district. It has thirteen on, seven an, five in.
This in could in strict West Saxon be readily replaced in each case by on (lines 31, 32, 41, 51).

From this time on the spread of West Saxon official language affects all documents, as may be seen in Earle (from p. 154 onwards).

The great charter of Eadmund to bishop Æfric, conveying lands in Northamptonshire on the borders of Warwick, is rich and varied in prepositions. It exhibits on thirty times, but no in. (A.D. 944, Earle pp. 178–180.)

The earliest Mercian charter with examples is No. 11—in twice, A.D. 767—Middlesex.

The two next (47, 48, A.D. 836–840) diverge.

The first—Hanbury, Worcester—has in twice, on twice: the latter from Wootton, Gloucester, has three on, seven in—a clear preponderance.

I supplement this paucity of evidence from less trustworthy sources (Earle).


Two on, two in (in broc; cp. on broc. O. E. T. No. 20 passim).

P. 41. Æthilbald of Mercia to Milred of Worcester, ‘a genuine charter’ (Earle); in (only) five times: four local, one adjuration.

P. 285 (original missing): ‘a bad copy of a rare piece’ (Earle). Biornwulf of Mercia in council at Cloveshoo: two in, three on; in rime (4); on scehyhte (10); on Æðelbalda dæge (13, 18); in da tiid (22)

P. 309. A ‘secondary’ document (MS. of 11th century) of Offa, A.D. 757–775, has nineteen in, one on, seven innon, one into.

Junction of Teme and Severn, South Worcester.

P. 310. Another of Offa (‘secondary’); eight on, four in.

Junction of Stour and Avon, North Gloucester, &c.

We may safely assume from these a proportion of in to on = 2 : 1.

The Mercian-Kentish charters on the other hand (O. E. T. 53, 55, 58) give three on, one in. The localities are Kentish.

The later Mercian dialect is exhibited in charters given in Sweet,
Reader ii. Nos. 31-44, A.D. 904-1058. Wenlock in Salop, A.D. 901, has in only five times (Latin influence). The sum total gives sixty-four on, eighteen in.

Earle, p. 441, gives a (disputed) charter of Eadgar to Pershore, A.D. 972. Where English and Latin are intermingled we have thirty-seven in, eight on, one into; where the English stands alone, thirty-three in, two hundred and twenty on, eleven into. The examples of in occur in groups (local) e.g. p. 446, 18 sqq.; p. 448, 5 sqq. As this second passage relates to the Teme district, we have strong confirmation of results derived above from Earle, p. 309. Local persistence is strongly marked in Sweet, No. 39. (in: on = 6: 2), A.D. 1038. Tappenhall, Worcester.

For East Anglia the evidence is scanty.

The Suffolk charters (Reader ii. 45-47) give nineteen on, no example of in (into thirty-eight times). All late.

The will of bishop Ælfric, about 1038 (Earle, p. 240), has no example of in.

The Blickling Homilies contain twenty-eight examples of in, eight of which are found in the Homily (No. 11.) which contains the date 971; the majority local.

ON excludes IN in Old Saxon and West Saxon.

I pass to West Saxon literature. Late West Saxon uses on exclusively, early West Saxon has a few exceptions.

I note that the Old Saxon Heliand does not use in as a preposition, and that its general usage as to innan is in conformity with West Saxon.

The Cura Pastoralis contains a solitary instance of in. (Sweet, Preface, xxxix. Napier, Anglia, io, p. 139, who adds that he only found one example in all Ælfric.)

The Orosius has in more frequently

(a) With Latin names, in Asiria (2, 4); in Meōn 52, 13, &c., chiefly in early pages, failing towards end, twenty-three examples.

(b) Before other proper names in Estmere (three examples), in Denemearece (one).

(c) In stade, 20, 9.

(b), (c) are in the narrative of the voyages.
INTRODUCTION.

There are also nine examples of the adverb *in*.

The desire to exclude is obvious.

Boetius has three examples (2, 4; 2, 13; 64, 31, Cott.), all early in the work.

The Corpus MS. of Anglo Saxon Chronicle has twenty-six examples: place where, fifteen; motion to, eight; time when, three. Twelve examples are with names (eight English), seven with *stowe* or *stele*. Twenty-five are due to first scribe (up to end of 891). The last is in 894. Only three occur in the part covered by Alfred’s lifetime (855, 878, 894).

If we compare MS. A. with the other MSS., we find E. preserves *in* seven times, D. three times, B., C., F., each once (381, where all have *in*).

A local survey shows us *in* declining and *on* pushing forward from Wessex. Alfred’s *Cura Pastoralis* is purest. *In* is excluded from the Orosius as the work advances, and still more jealously from the Boetius. It survives in the older Anglo Saxon Chronicle chiefly in formal idioms. The extension of *on* is bounded by the North Downs, even in Alfred’s own day, but it has overspread Kent, and flowed up the Severn Valley to Worcester. Rural districts escape right and left, Teme Valley—Avon and Stour Valley—Wotton in the Cotswolds—Tappenhall—and to the North, Wenlock in Salop. But *on* has occupied East Anglia and reached the west border of Northampton. And we shall presently see it gaining ground even further North.

*IN* is predominant.

I pass to the interlinear versions.

Here the Latin affects the English. This influence is very marked in the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (O. E. T. pp. 188-420). The first thirteen pages give ninety-eight *in*, seven *on*; pp. 383-394, one hundred *in* and three *on*.

An examination of the eighty-two examples of *on* gave these results. Thirty were temporal, e.g. *on marne*, ten times; *on næht*, seven times; *on ærmergen*, four; *on efenne*, two. Of the remainder, many were adverbial idioms; *on veg*, three; *on fiængen*, four; *on bec* (= *retrorsum*), twelve; *on heortan* (= *corde*), thirteen. With an
INTRODUCTION.

adjective, as in alre heortan minre (=in toto corde meo), both Latin and English have the preposition in: except 11, 3; 44, 6; 57, 3.

As a rule when on is used there is no Latin preposition. There are some half dozen examples to the contrary: on eordan= in terra, generally in eordan; on are= in honore, but also in are; on tid once= in tempore, generally in tid: but on cude tid (no prep.); on folcum = in populis; on dege = in die: onræsað ge on men, (=inruitis in homines), is due to the verb; cp. 58, 4.

The glosser rarely inserts in unless authorised by the Latin: e.g. in via hac qua is glossed in vege dissuum on ðæm; in die clamavi et nocte = in dege ic cleopede 7 on næht. The use of compounds is illustrative: onælan mostly, but also inæled inæled: generally onhaldan, but inæld=inclina (143, 5). On the other hand geinbryrde = compuncti (34, 16), but onbrydniße (59, 5).

The Latin Charter Cott. Aug. ii. 3 (Earle, p. 29) was once part of the same MS. (Wanley, p. 258). The grant refers to the valley of the Northern Stour (Worcester and Stafford), and belongs to A.D. 736. It seems natural to place the Psalter in this neighbourhood or an adjoining district. The writing shows an early date (800–850, O. E. T. 184).

IN is still predominant but declining.

The Northern Gospels.

The influence of Latin is here very evident. The glosser begins by a close adherence to the text, and gradually emancipates himself.

The Lindisfarne Matthew.

The first eight chapters give one hundred and thirty one in, four on. We find in næht; in eferntid, where there is no preposition in Latin. On is only used for super, supra. On the other ongann (4, 17), where R. has ingann.

The Rushworth Matthew.

The same eight chapters give one hundred and nineteen in, twenty on. We find in where there is no preposition in Latin, in inna= intra (2, 9); in mode (2, 3); in sceat alegde = desponsata (1, 18); in gaste = spiritu (5, 3). The compound ingann = coepit; inbeornad = accendunt. But on corresponds eleven times to Latin

1 Exceptions: 20, 10; 101, 26.
in; six times to super, supra; three times is idiomatic on nilft, on basecline, on borg nioma (= mutuari 5, 42). Indifference is shown by fellun on hus (7, 25) feollon in hus (7, 27); on heofune, on eorphe (6, 10, both in the familiar paternoster), in h. 5, 12, 16, &c.; on scipe, in sceipe.

Take now chapters 22-26 in the same Gospel: the proportion of on to in has risen to 1 : 5 (about) in L., and to 1 : 2 in R., in round numbers. At the same time an examination of parallel passages in chaps. 9-28 in L. and R. show that L. has fifteen on = Latin in, and seven on for other reasons, while R. has sixty-four on = Latin in, fifty-two on for other reasons. And in L. indifference is again shown in Mt. 26 31, where in ista nocte = in vel on dasser neht, while preference is shown in 26, 34 on disser neht = in hac nocte 1.

Gospel of Saint John.

The Lindisfarne text is glossed by Aldred, the Rushworth by Owun, who copies L. with some changes. Chaps. i-5; L. has in: on = 5 : 1. R. has in : on = 3 : 1. Chaps. 19-21; the proportion in both is nearly 1 : 1, but on is slightly in excess, and the increase extends to various usages.

Indifference is marked, e.g. in chaps. i-5 after verbs of believing, L. has five in and four on; R. has four in and five on; while L. refers on with accusative for Latin accusative, but not exclusively.

We should note that 'all the characteristics of the second scribe [Aldred] are more marked from John xix, 4 onwards' (Waring, quoted by Skeat, Preface to John, p. x, note 5). In the English inscription at the end of John there are three on and one in.

Durham Ritual (ed. Stevenson, with Skeat's collation, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1879, p. 52 sqq.).

In twenty-one pages taken at different points the proportion was eleven in to four on; there was no progressive increase. But pp. 192-199 give twenty in and twenty-seven on, owing to thirteen repetitions of on cregesc, on laedin in eight short lines.

Eighty-seven examples of on from pp. 1-107 showed seventy-seven for Latin in. Indifference was marked, e.g. four examples of in diebus illis give on, in each twice: four examples of in con-
spectu give on, in each twice. The Paternoster, p. 172, has in heof', but p. 175 on heof'. So 172, v. 2 in nome. 172, v. 5. on nome. Such glosses occur as in ondget vel on ðoht; also (102, line 2) in hoc = on ðas vel in ðis. A good distinction is made in 65, v. 3, as to trees growing on mountains, on fields, in a town, in streets. This use of in for the narrower circle is seen pp. 195–7. Nomina locorum &c., where in is used with byrig, ceaster and names of towns nine times, on only once. On the other hand on is used with magē, eard, lond ten times, in with magē three times.

Thus the latter part of the 10th century the date of the Northern documents shows on advancing, as compared with the Vespasian Psalter. The remoter North is rather more conservative than South Yorkshire—Harewood. Western Mercia is clearly the stronghold of in.

IN predominates in Bede.

I pass to Bede, recalling the fact that T. C. are in date not very remote from the Northern documents.

I take some passages where C. is extant and uninjured.

1. Folio 1 of C. = text 168, 3—170, 12. ðær to gebohte.

T. has eleven in, three on, exactly corresponding to C., except in 168, 34, where C. has wrongly ond [scribe misinterpreting on].

O. Ca. have fourteen on, one in (168, 11).

B. has fourteen on, no in (168, 13 passage omitted).

2. Fol. 4 of C. = text 236, 6—238, 6 Mercena—7.

T. C. have fifteen in, two on (236, 8, 19).

O. Ca. have sixteen on, one in (236, 28).

B. has eleven on, four in, one to (236, 32).

3. Folios 19, 20, 21, 22 of C. = text 374, 3—386, 8.

This gives portions from second and third scribes of T.

T. has fifty-three in, ten on.

C. has fifty-four in, six on, two passages wanting; once no preposition.

O. has fifty-seven on, five in, one passage wanting; once no preposition; once on inserted.

Ca. has fifty-six on, four in, one passage wanting; twice no preposition; once at; once on inserted.
B. has forty-two on, one an, fourteen in, once inn; two passages wanting; once no preposition; once 7; once to; once cet.

As T. C. belonging to different classes coincide so very closely, we conclude the archetype had in. The southern origin of the others accounts for on; but O. B. do not agree.

We must now compare the Latin and English (T.).

I. Latin in in all places, except (a) 168, 8, where on represents force of inibi; (b) 168, 20; 168, 34; where nothing corresponds to on; (c) 168, 32; 170, 6; 170, 7; where nothing corresponds to in.

II. (a) on twice with nothing in Latin; (b) in similarly four times.

III. T. C. agree (a) in writing on without anything in Latin.

(b) "", on for Lat. in, 378, 21; 384, 19.

(c) "", on idiomatic 376, 9; 378, 19; 380, 6; 380, 8; 382, 23; 384, 25.

(d) "", in without Latin preposition; 374, 10 (bis); 374, 30; 376, 14; 78, 6; 380, 20; 382, 1; 382, 18; 384, 14.

T. has (a) on=Latin in 374, 22, where C. has in.

(b) in 374, 11, where no Latin preposition. C. omits words.

For 380, 14, see Critical Note.

Further contrast 378, 29 on his mode (T. B.) with in his mode (C. O. Ca.): again 376, 9 on da tid all MSS., but 382, 18 in da tid (T. C. B.), on da tid (O. Ca.). These minor variations show a certain freedom of usage, such as we have already seen.

In the portion of the First Book contained in T. this MS. has in: on=8:1. Of the sixteen examples of on, two, on ærmergen, on ærvenne (92, 13), are in harmony with the Vespasian Psalter and Rushworth Matthew: three more occur in the expression on angel-deode (cynne), which is the usage noted in the fragments of Z. Cp. also usage of Durham Ritual above.

In pp. 410, 8–424, 29 (the portion belonging to scribe 5) we find fifty-two in, eight on.

We have Bede then, in this point, more in harmony with the
Vespasian Psalter than with any other document. Allowing for lapse of time, and freedom from the influences working on the glosser, we may pronounce the relationship a very close one in this one particular. In point of time also Bede may fairly stand between the date of the V. P. (early 9th century), and the Northern Gospels (end of 10th).

*MID with the accusative and dative is Anglian (Norse).*

The tribal differences in the use of *mid* are to be found at a time anterior to the settlement in England. The subsequent decay is already traceable in the variations as to syntax, which help to determine the position of the English Bede.

I cite O. E. T. as before.

*MID with dative only (or Instrumental).*

Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus Glosses have but one example (796 = 1591) of undetermined case: the usage instrumental.

The Ruthwell Cross gives three examples of the instrumental dative.

The Leiden Riddle has the dative plural of the person in the sense of 'among,' where the Exeter text has *for* (O. E. T.)

The Bede Glosses have instrumental dative once (70).

The Codex Aureus has instrumental case twice, expressing 'means.'

But in the Martyrology the instrumental dative occurs three times, the accusative singular (person accompanying), *mid hine* three times. I omit later supplement.

Local documents.

Kentish charters, thirty examples: seventeen dative, one instrumental case, twelve undetermined. Two of dative personal (38, 8 plural: 41, 5 singular). The rest imply 'means,' &c.

Saxon Kentish charters, dative plural, manner twice, case undetermined once.

The great Surrey document has seven examples: four of dative, two of instrumental, one undetermined, expressing means, &c., none personal.

The early Mercian charters have four examples: two of instrumental, two of dative 'means,' &c.

Later Mercian Charters (Reader ii. p. 198 sqq.) have sixteen examples (nine of dative, six undetermined, one dubious). One is
personal. Others express manner, &c. The dubious form is mid Annaniam 7 Saphiram (40. 16), which seems to be accusative; if so, it is an isolated example in the charters (cp. ‘cum Anna et Zaphira,’ Earle, p. 318).

The Suffolk documents (Reader, p. 209 sqq.) have twelve examples: six dative, six undetermined, expressing accompaniment, and not strictly personal.

The evidence of the charters is then against the use of mid with the accusative. The solitary exception just noticed (personal and singular) is Mercian. But the paucity of personal examples must be recollected, out of sixty-nine only three.

The Kentish Glosses yield only two examples, both dative, both personal, neither pronominal (939 plural: 973 singular).

The West Saxon evidence has been discussed by Professor Napier in Anglia 10, p. 138, who affirms that in genuine West Saxon (C. Pastoralis, Orosius, Boetius, Parker MS. of Anglo Saxon Chronicle up to 891, Ælfric’s Homilies and Lives of Saints as far as published) there is no undoubted example of accusative.

The index to the Blickling Homilies cites two examples, mid mycel megeo engla, twice repeated in Homily XIII. The phrase has a poetic colour. I find also mid God feeder in the ascription at end of Homilies VIII, p. 105.

**MID with accusative and dative (or Instrumental).**

The Vespasian Psalter and Northern documents have both accusative and dative.

The V. P. and Hymns have 192 examples of mid thus distributed: forty-one are undetermined, twenty are instrumental cases (including mid dy, mit te), twenty-five are accusative, one hundred and six are dative.

Of the accusative, eight are mid mee; four mid ðec; six are mid hine; two mid ðone (halyan, nestan); one mid dryhten; one plural mid usic; two instrumental mid ða swidran, one mid hond may be accusative or dative also.

The accusative is not only in the minority, but is almost confined to the personal usage with pronouns. Only one example (pronominal) is plural.
Northern Gospels.

A comparison of forty-four examples in L. and R. Matthew gives the following results—there are two extra in L.

L. D. S. person 7, thing 2.
    D. P. ,, 17, ,, 6.
    A. S. ,, 11, ,, 3.

MID hine five times. No example of accusative plural.

There is a design to exclude it: in Mt. 13. 56 usih is altered to us.

R. D. S. person 6, thing 4.
    D. P. ,, 14, ,, 2.
    Instrumental i.
    A. S. persons 12, ,, 2.
    A. P. ,, 3, ,, 0.

MID hine seven times.

The examples are spread over the Gospel. I have omitted undetermined cases.


Chapters 1–7 and 19–21.

Aldred (L). D. S. person 3, thing 3.
    D. P. ,, 3, ,, 4.
    A. S. ,, 12, ,, 0.

No example of acc. plural. MID hine six, MID Vec two.

Owun (R.) reproduces Aldred with one or two exceptions: see 3, 22 (error); in 6, 66, MID Vec is perhaps an error.

Durham Ritual.

Eighty examples give these results:

D. S. person 20, thing 7.
    D. P. ,, 22, ,, 5.
    A. S. ,, 23, ,, 2.
    A. P. ,, 1 

The acc. sing., Vec occurs twenty-one times, done once as pronoun, once as article. The other examples are MID sed (16, line 8), MID has (113, 23).

MID with accusative in poetry.

The usage in poetry, though somewhat less limited, is correspondent. Grein, Sprachschatz 2, s.v. mid, cites fifty examples
with accusative singular. Of these only six do not imply personal association. Of the accusative plural he gives five examples, of which two are not free from objection (Gen. 2208, Leas. 36). The other three are pronominal: \textit{mid une twih}; \textit{mid eowic}; \textit{mid usic}.

The Kentish Psalm and Hymn have \textit{mid} four times, no accusative.

Satan has \textit{mid} forty-seven times. Two are accusative of person: \textit{mid pece}; \textit{mid weard}. Two are examples of the phrase \textit{mid his swidran hond}, which might be dative. But V. P. 97, 1; 107, 7; Heliand 185, favour accusative.

We must remember that Old English poetry is in the main of Anglian origin.

These results, though not so full, are as free from doubt as those derived from \textit{in, on}. \textit{Mid} with the accusative is excluded from Wessex, may have existed in Kent, and is just traceable in East Anglia. It is frequent in the West and North, but only under close restrictions.

The usage in Bede (I omit \textit{mid py}).

First, I take passages I, II, III, dealt with under \textit{in}.

There are in all twenty-three examples, of which four are undetermined. T. has two examples of accusative \textit{mid pa cwene} 236, 7 (here C. has dative, O. Ca. = T.). \textit{mid pa adle} 378, 23 (C. dative again; O. Ca. have \textit{pa}, above the line in O). On the other hand, T. has instrumental 168, 21 (\textit{pon}), where O. Ca. C. \textit{pon} accusative. In 376, 22, T. has \textit{mycelre}, C. O. Ca. \textit{micle}. In the nineteen definite examples B. has dative uniformly.

Clearer results are obtained from Bk. I.

The text has forty-seven examples, thus distributed:—

\begin{tabular}{lll}
D. S. & person & 1, \& thing 8. \\
D. P. & ,, & 6, ,, 7. \\
A. S. & ,, & 3, ,, 4. \\
Instrumental 5. & Undetermined 13. \\
\end{tabular}

The agreement of T. O. Ca. is absolute, except that in 74, 10, O has \textit{pine} (Ca. \textit{pinre}), a possible slip of the pen. On the other hand, B has (1) accusative once for dative, 54, 28, \textit{godcunde} (a possible slip), (2) five examples of dative replacing accusative, (3) one of dative for instrumental. In 84, 30, B. reads plural \textit{uncleannessum}. 


The testimony in favour of the tradition of the text as we have it in T. is again strong. Evidently B. excludes the accusative, but it is found elsewhere in this MS., while the scribe's effort to obliterate it is clearly shown on p. 454, 8 of MS. = 460, 27 of text, where the m of Iohannem is enclosed with dots, implying that it was to be struck out; but bone follows, which, not admitting of ready alteration, is left untouched.

I finally take from T. only the work of scribe 5 (pp. 410, 8–414, 29). Here, out of eighteen examples of mid, ten are dative, one instrumental, seven accusative, all mid hine. The distinction is striking, 416, 11 mid hine; 416, 15 mid him (plural); 416, 18 mid hine.

These points are remarkable: (1) the use of the accusative singular of person, especially of pronoun, (2) avoidance of plural acc. (In MS. T. we have D. S. p. 39. t. 158. D. P. p. 73. t. 101. A. S. p. 55. A. S. t. 53. A. P. p. 1. Ins. 90. Und. 131).

The form of the preposition is a further test. From the earliest times mid, mid coexisted. Epinal, Corpus and Bede Glosses, Ruthwell Cross and two Charters (24, 8; 48, 3) have mip, which is read also in Boetius 2, 2 (ed. Fox). Erfurt Glosses, Codex Aureus, Martyrology and Charters generally have mid.

But in the extreme North mid prevails, while in South Yorkshire—Harewood—mid, mid are commingled. V. P. has mid only, as in Bede. The entire usage of the preposition thus tends once more to link these two together.

The history of this preposition, as it appears in variously modified forms in many languages, is one of shift and change. (1) Sanskrit smāt is limited and decaying; (2) Greek μετά has three cases in Homer, only one of which holds its ground fully in prose; (3) it is lost in Latin; (4) mip in Gothic has dative only, and tends to limitation (Gabelentz, Gloss.); (5) mit (acc.) in O. H. G. is rare; Graff 2, 660; Grimm D., Gr. 4, 707 cite only nine examples; the usage with sīh, dih corresponds to English; (6) med with accusative in poetic Edda seems limited (Gering, Gloss.; his examples are chiefly personal singular and plural). Cp. also Wilken, Gloss to prose Edda. But in other Icelandic literature the accusative seems freely used (Vigfusson). (7) 2 exx. (acc.) only in Heliand (Cott.).
This comparative testimony, and the history in later English, seem to show that the accusative survived, owing to convenience of distinction (hine, him). That verse should also retain the case is in accord with the archaistic tendency of all higher poetry.

It is clear that in the points discussed we are dealing with old-standing differences between the tribes who occupied England. The old Saxon of the Heliand corresponds to the West Saxon of Cura Pastoralis: absences of certain forms and usages mark both. It is absolutely impossible to assume that these barriers of race were suddenly broken down, and that Alfred of Wessex adopted the idiom of a subject Anglian tribe.

I append some rare words from the version. One or two recognised Anglian words also give further comparisons.

Leoran is frequent in the Vespasian Psalter and Northern Gospels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page.</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O. Ca.</th>
<th>C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144, 7</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td>forðferde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146, 21</td>
<td>geleorde</td>
<td>gewende</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146, 23</td>
<td>forðleorde</td>
<td>geferde</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td>forðferde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174, 16</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>becom</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198, 10</td>
<td>leoran</td>
<td>gewitan</td>
<td>faran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244, 15</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>leornode</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312, 27</td>
<td>forðleorenne</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td>forðferendne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 27</td>
<td>geleorene</td>
<td>geleorniganne</td>
<td>geferanne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 28</td>
<td>geleorde</td>
<td>geleornode</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 32</td>
<td>geleorde</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td>geferde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330, 31</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340, 7</td>
<td>geleored</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td>gefered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422, 14</td>
<td>forðgeleordon</td>
<td>= T</td>
<td>forðgeferdon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446, 7</td>
<td>defective</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>474, 5</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>forðferde Ca</td>
<td>forðferde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>474, 12</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>ferde , ,</td>
<td>forðferde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476, 21</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>leorde</td>
<td>ferde , ,</td>
<td>forðferde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evidently leorde, &c. were in the archetype. B. coincides oftenest with T. (showing the affinity of the two), and the scribe’s blunders, leornode, &c., are very instructive. As the other recension (C. O. Ca.) rarely admits it, the exclusion must have begun already in the original from which the second recension is copied.

Lætan has in Anglian leort as preterite (Vespasian Psalter North—rare in R., Mt., Siev., § 394 An.) This form is found 412, 12; 416, 21; 424, 9; 406, 12 (forleart). Here the other MSS., C. included, have West Saxon forms.

Ænlice, 97, 23, which I have translated ‘peerless,’ should be ‘angelical.’ For the omission of g, cp. œnlum, Kentish Hymn 5.

Batiende, 404, 1 (batigende B., botiende O., with erasure before o), is a true form. Cp. Icel. batna as medical term (Vigfusson). The correction into betigean in Leechdoms, iii. 54, 33, is therefore unnecessary (Toller, s. v. betigean).

Fes 78, 13 seems Anglian equivalent of West Saxon fœned. Cp. Mt. 9, 20; 14, 26; 14, 36; 23, 5; Mk. 6, 56; Lk. 8, 44; in Northern and West Saxon versions: cp. V. P. 44, 14.

Festre = utilius, 38o, 3. If the word is right, the sense is new.

Frecernes frecennes, frecelnes, frecednes all are found in Bede. The form with r once in C. (382, 8), otherwise only in T. It should be in the text 76, 20; 324, 23.

This r recalls the Northern (esp. Durham R.) forms æfern, &c.

Ge- is not prefixed in some words: feran 122, 2; g unn<
lefan 124, 27; lomlice, 442, 12.


Gesyngagad, 320, 12 = prosperatum. Ca. O. gefyrðrad, in O. fy r on erasure, þr above live: nothing in B.

Glæsfulne, 398, 3, a doubtful form. C. has glæsful, O. glæsfull, with fæt above.

Ca. has glæs fæt full, B. glæs fæt mid. Ful as substantive seems to be always neuter (A. S., O. S., Icel.). As þæt follows, the reading of T. may be an error.

Goað, goiende, 88, 15, 17. C. has geþ, gende; B. geð (only); O. Ca. hogað, hogiende. Cp. Icelandic gevja, go, ‘bark’ = Gk λοξω. See Fick. i, 76, gu.
INTRODUCTION.

Meorde, 376, 16. O. Ca. meda; B. mede (Northern and V. P.).
Swylce, 382, 3; 382, 6. Other MSS. swyle, swile, (but B. = T. in second passage). See Ettmüller, Lex. 752.

-Wintre, -niht, adjectives are found compounded with these words, e.g. 480, 26; 392, 12, 14.

Wonpe appears as a preposition in T. C. See 238, 2; 252, 9. In the former passage O. has wona pe with a above line, in the latter wana pe. Ca. has wona (only) in both. B. has (1) wana, (2) læs ðe.

In 26, 18, Ca. B. have wana, C. wonede.

I add some notes as to forms, chiefly Anglian, nearly all from T. The references are to Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik, 2te Auflage, 1886.

§ 237. G. sing. Finano (226, 15), all MSS.
      e dropt huntað (196, 25), mæsepreost (106, 8) T.: but O. has e on erasure. Cp. in word minum, St. John, p. 5. xxiii. (ed. Skeat).
      N. pl. godo, neuter 224, 14).
      G. pl. Breeton (120, 3). Nordanhymbro (146, 6.)
      gebeodo (174, 3). ælo (324, 8.)
      gewrito (408, 3; 448, 8, [O. Ca.]).
      tinterigo (434, 6; 440, 14.)

§ 262; cp. § 237, An. 1, 2.

I stems.


§§ 249, 250. WO stems.

G. sing. troes (192, 13), G. pl. trea (224, 15).
The forms laruw, lattow are found; ðeaw is written ðeowe (102, 13; 173, 2). Cp., vice versa, the verb ðeowe = ðeowe, 210, 17.

272. U stems, neuter.

G. sing. fea (130, 34; 216, 8), D. sing. fea (324, 26).
§ 260. WA stems.


The forms blodlæsos, blodlæseow (392, 11, 16), I have obelised.

§ 273. U declension.


§ 276. N stems.


§ 284. An. 4. Instrumental sing.: sume neahte (156, 15. T., sumre O. Ca. B.) In North. the word is sometimes masc. (Sievers.)

ADJECTIVES.


§ 300. WO stems.

N. sing. masc. geara (98, 3).


§ 300. An. 1.

A. pl. neut. féoo. (434, 16).

§ 304; cp. § 276, An. 2.

N. sing. fem. haligra (120, 23), twelfa 124, 7.

In 56, 3 the adjectives seem neuter (=tutius); to refer them to sidfæt is harsh.

§ 325. G. Pl. twelfa (154, 5).

PRONOUNS.

§ 332. N. Pl. woe (282, 23, see Critical Note).

N. dual wid (394, 1).

§ 337. An. 3.

Instr. sing. þe (262, 19 note; cp. 380, 21).
INTRODUCTION.

G. pl. ðeara 354, 13; 388, 32 (MS. O. in 396, 30 with e erased).
A. sing. ðene (350, 23); cp. ðene Mt. 20, 22 (R.).
G. D. sing. fem. þær (244, 11; 272, 11, &c.).
ðassum (422, 19; also in Z. cp. p. xiv).
§ 342. husilice (434, 14).


Verb substantive earon, sy (plur. 92, 25), weosan (inf.), værun, weran, værom (376, 3), waron (282, 6 note), ware (opt. 384, 25).

Miscellaneous.—Syntax. The plural hy of the third person has a noun in apposition osweo (256, 18 all MSS). This is an extension of the usage, commonly found of apposition to a dual pronoun of 1st and 2nd person (Koch, Gr., § 300). The 3rd plural usage is found in Icelandic. In 154, 5 we have his veotena twelfa sum = cum duodecin lectis militibus. If we follow the Latin, it is a departure from the general usage, as in Beowulf, 207 fiftea sum = 'with fourteen others'. The his makes some difference. The phrase feara sum may be cited in favour of either interpretation. The frequent use of ond in the apodosis is common to all the MSS. e.g. 222, 5 (7 þær), 306, 3 (7 eac), &c. The use for 'also' in 30, 25 (on = ond) is doubtful. The Latin is etiam. Both MSS. here agree.

All issues raised lead to similar results, placing the origin of the version in Mercia, and exhibiting T. as the best representative of the archetype.

Some deductions however must be made from this assumed value of T. The text is not quite uniform, and one scribe has some very marked peculiarities.

I reserve the full discussion of the dialect for the second volume, which will exhibit the variants of the other MSS. in full.
Two scribes (2 and 5) are only engaged on the MS. of T. for a few pages each.

They have some common peculiarities of orthography. (1) ae for ae. (Contrast scribe 1 and scribe 2 at beginning of Book 5, where their writing is intermingled.) (2) oe for e. (3) ae, æ for e, and vice versa. (4) io for eo. (5) u for w (uu once, 422, 26). (6) Double vowels aa, ee, ii, oo, uu, more frequently than is the habit with their collahorateurs.

The scribes must have taken these spellings from the copy before them. This is proved by the corrections 412, 9; 424, 10.

These peculiarities are in part at least archaic. Their frequent occurrence in these two, and their comparative rarity elsewhere, show a process of change, in which I suspect scribe 1 of being the moving spirit, but in which all scribes without exception participate. Possibly the process introduced many of the current forms of West Saxon literature, which at this time deface all dialects: cp. p. xvii.

Two tests will exhibit this influence at work.

A, O, before nasals. Late W. Saxon prefers a.

The proportion of a to o (excluding bone) is in scribe 1 for Book 1, about one to thirty-eight. In scribe 5 it is about one to eight. But in scribe 2 a is hardly found (hwonan, 352, 31; ablan, 390, 2). The form fromgan, 384, 22, recalls the V. P., and is found elsewhere, 126, 22; 330, 22. Cf. Kent. Gl. 313. This scribe has a preference for o: holonga; bletsonge; somninga; hiofones; Liidis-fearona.

V. P. writes consistently o (Zeuner, die Sprache des k. Psalters, p. 10).

R. Matthew has chiefly o, but with several examples of a. We may contrast R. Mt. and—(28), ond—(37), with scribe 1 of T. (Bk 1), and—(2), ond—(9): (see Svensson: Om språket . . . af Rushworth-handskriften, pp. 10, 11. Otten: The language of the Rushworth Gloss to . . St. Matthew, pp. 6, 7. Leipzig, 1890).

In Kentish a is common from early times, and in the charters an is at times the almost exclusive form of the preposition (Nos. 39, 41, 43).
O prevails in Chad (Anglia, 10, 139).

Layamon has both o and a (Callenberg: Layamon und orm . . . verglichen (Diss.) Jena, 1876. See §§ 1, 7).

Scribe 2 exhibits this Mercian o most faithfully.

A before 1 + consonant. Late W. Saxon has ea.

In Bk 1, scribe 1 has a to ea in proportion of one to two nearly (ald ‘old’ : eald = 2 : 1, but all ‘all’ : eall = 3 : 8). Scribe 5 (including -wald-) has the proportion nearly 1 : 1 (ald : eald = 4 : 3; all : eall = 3 : 5). Scribe 2 (again including wald) has a to ea = 11 : 7 (all : eall = 3 : 5; ald- ‘old’ does not occur. The letter combination however gives proportion a : ea = 5 : 1).

V. P. has no example of ea (Zeuner, p. 25). But in the charter of 735 belonging to the same MS. ealdwulf is among the signatures 1.

In the Rushworth Matthew a is more frequent; but ea preponderates in eall, a in ald (Svensson, pp. 21, 22; Otten, pp. 10, 11).

In the oldest Kentish documents a prevails exclusively (Zeuner, p. 25). But ea slips in, first in proper names (Nos. 8, 33, 34, 35, 38, A.D. 770 to 831). Then in No. 39, A.D. 831, ea is found exclusively in all words: and so from this time on varyingly.

Finally, the Kentish glosses with frequent ea, have only four examples of a (Zupitza).

Chad has a preponderance of ea over a (2 : 1, cp. Anglia, 10, p. 35). I find on examination that eall has expelled all in all cases except one (l. 107), and that eald is the sole form (three examples).

Layamon has a in all: in some derivatives of ald we find ea. See Madden, Glossary, under all, ald, &c. The return to a is very marked.

Again, scribe 2 is most faithful to the older form.

The rude hand of scribe 5 has added on peculiarities, which, though not without a parallel in the other scribes, are concentrated in a few pages so markedly, as to impart a special character to his work. He remains however faithful to the general tradition

1 Mercian and Mercian Kentish charters (O. E. T. and Reader ii); (1) up to 900 A.D., 74 a, 2 ea; (2) 901-1000, 6 a, 4 ea; (3) beyond 1000, 6 a, 43 ea.
of the text in regard to the use of in, and still more so as regards mid. This I have already noted in discussing these words.

As we have seen, there is no trace of a West Saxon original. But there is an early tradition assigning the translation to Alfred. (1) Ælfredic Homily on St. Gregory (Cam. U. Libr. MS., p. 157, 16 sqq. = Thorpe, ii. 116) : Manega hálige bec cyðað his drohtnumge 7 his hálige lif, 7 eac historia anglorum, 8a ðe ælfræd cyning of ledene on englisc awende. Ælfred considers Alfred's translations the only correct ones (Ib. English preface). (2) The Latin couplet in MS. Ca. already quoted (above p. xv.) is precise. (3) William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Lib. ii. § 123: 'Denique plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit... cuius præcipui sunt libri, Orosius, Pastoralis Gregory Gesta Anglorum Bedæ, Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiae...'

The only internal evidence in favour of Alfredian authorship is the insertion of the W. Saxon genealogy, which comes down only to the king's accession.

Our MS. authorities at this point are Ca., B., C.—the last only as cited by Wheelock. Ca. inserts it after the Praefatio. Now as Ca. never elsewhere inserts anything not in O., we may assume that the genealogy stood in this MS. also. It is not in B. The various readings cited from 'B.' by Wheelock, are really taken from the Corpus (Benet) MS. of the A. S. Chronicle, as a comparison shows.

C. = Otho B. XI. contained also the Chronicle, which was printed from this MS. by Wheelock in the same volume with his edition of Bede. C. reproduces the Corpus Chronicle (Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, &c., ed. 1865, p. liii). Wheelock's vv. II. from 'C.' may therefore be from the MS. of the Chronicle in this case also. Smith silently omits the genealogy. Had he found it in two out of his three authorities he would probably have noticed the fact.

The omission in B. is a presumption against its insertion in T. In fine, the genealogy probably was contained only in two out of our five MSS., those two which in the case of on are most decidedly under West Saxon influence.

Various theories may be put forward to reconcile the tradition of
Alfredian origin with the Anglian dialect of the text. Alfred may have adopted an existing translation. Apart from the difficulty of accounting for the origin of so important a version before his time, we have Alfred's precise statement in the Introduction to Cura Pastoralis that such translations were not made previously (5, 18 sqq.). The version may have been executed by Mercian scholars under orders from the king. Compare the statement of William of Malmesbury (ii. § 122): 'Præterea, quia nullus in suo regno literarum erat peritus evocavit ex Mercia Wicciorum episcopum Werefrithum, qui iussu regis Dialogorum libros in Anglicum sermonem convertit.' Cp. Asser M. H. B. p. 486. Flor. Wig. M. H. B. p. 557.

The evidence of the dialect favours production on Mercian soil. One characteristic of the translation supports this view. The translator shows some familiarity with Scotch localities and circumstances, and a certain tenderness for national susceptibilities.

In Book 5, 9, the ambiguous 'transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem' is correctly explained as in pæm morlondum dα de siondan to nordate Pehoa ricees (41o, 20). Just afterwards the vague 'a nonnullis . . . vocatur' is given with precision, pe Scotiæ nemdon. Again, in Book 3, 3 (s. f.), the abrupt omission of 'quae videlicet insula ad ius quidem Britanniae pertinet,' in the English version is very marked: ac hweper (16o, 4) = 'sed,' has no meaning, owing to the absence of the clause to which it introduces the antithesis. Again in Book 5, 23, the severe censure implied in fraudium disappears in gestrodo, a word suitable to the border foray to 'lift cattle.'

The omission just noticed refers to Hii (Iona), the chief seat of monasticism, and the centre which united the priesthood of Ireland, Scotland and England for the diffusion of missionary enterprise. From Iona came Aidan the apostle of Northumbria, as well as Finan, Colman, Tuda, who followed as bishops there. The first bishop of Mercia, Diuma, also a Scot, was ordained by Finan. The second bishop was Cellach, also a Scot, who resigned his bishopric and retired to Iona. His successor, the third bishop of Mercia, was indeed an Englishman, but educated and ordained by Scots. Bishop Finan had baptized Peada
the son of Penda, and so introduced Christianity into the province.

The tender regard for things of Scotland is associated with the Paschal controversy. The exultant chapter at the end of the History, in which Bede recounts the conversion of the monks of Iona to the observance of the orthodox Easter, is rendered with no inferior warmth by the translator. But he omits Book 5, 15, which speaks of the perversity of Iona on this point, and the chapter heading (which is translated), correctly renders 'Scottorum ecclesiae' by cyrisean on Hibernia. The omission of Book 3, 16 sqq. has already been commented on (see p. xx). This consideration also accounts for the very remarkable omission of Book 3, 25, 26, giving an account of the triumph of the orthodox under Wilfrid, with the defeat and retirement of Colman. The allusion to his defeat at the opening of Book 4, is carefully suppressed. The partiality for Aidan already pointed out is very evident in the sudden pause in the middle of the sentence after 'zelum dei' (Book 3, 3), and the omission of what follows down to the end of the paragraph (to 'didicerunt').

This suppression is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the fidelity which reproduces Bede’s bitter language as to the Britons (Bk. 5, 23 and elsewhere), and the insertion of Bk. 4, 4, which is as creditable to Colman and the English, as it is discreditable to the Irish ('Scotti'). Perhaps too national jealousy dictated the omission of the vision of the Hibernian Furseus in the archetype (see p. xxi).

We must look for the seat of such feelings not in the royal court of Alfred, but in one of the Mercian monasteries. Later accounts, while they silently exclude Alfred’s authorship, exhibit the version as well known on the Welsh border. Giraldus Cambrensis was acquainted with the Latin Historia Ecclesiastica, which he quotes freely in his Topographia Hibernica (Distinctio i, cap. 3, 29, 31). But in his Itinerarium Kambriæ (Lib. i. c. 6) he speaks of 'omnes libros Anglicos Bedæ, Rabani, regis Aluredi.' Here an express distinction is drawn.

The country priest Layamon names Bede among his few
authorities: He nom þa englisca boc þa makede seint Beda. an oper he nom on latin, þe makede seinte Albin 7 þe seire austin, þe fulluhte brouhte hider in. Boc he nom þe pridde, leide þer amidden, þa makede a frenchis cler, Wace wes ihoten (31–40).

The familiar tone, however uncritical, in which he speaks of Bede, contrasts with his formal introduction of Wace. Layamon’s church lay on the right bank of the Severn, by Bewdly in North Worcestershire. About twenty miles to the north lay Wenlock Abbey, whose foundress, St. Milburga, was one of the patron saints of Paisley Abbey in Scotland, and whose foundation received benefactions from Alfred’s daughter Ethelfled ‘lady of Mercia’ (charter in Earle, p. 159). Here we might imagine the translation to be preserved. A copy may have existed to the south in the ancient foundations of Pershore or Evesham (ib. p. 238, 441). So we have seen that MS. C. probably lay in the Priory of Southwick in Hants. So, too, the Tanner MS. seems to have been written in some monastic community, but we have no certain means of determining the spot. Possibly it was an outlying ‘cella.’

Lichfield also early possessed a notable monastery. This city claiming to be the see of the first Scot bishops, as it certainly was of Chad, formed a centre for Scot tradition. It was too for a time the seat of an archbishopric. The district of the Vespasian Psalter is close at hand, and South Yorkshire not far distant. Its importance, history and situation mark it out as a possible birthplace for the old English version of Bede.

THE OLDENGLISH VERSION

OF

Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE
PRAEFATIO\textsuperscript{1}.

Ic Beda Crístes peow and mæssepreost sende gretan ðone leo-
fastan cyning Ceolwulf. 7 ic ðe sende þæt spell, ðæt ic niwan awrat
be Angelþode 7 Seaxum, ðe sylfum to rædanne 7 on emtan to
smeageanne, 7 eac on ma stowa to witanne 7 to læranne; 7 ic
getreowige on þine geornfulnysse, forþon ðu cart swyðe gymende 7 5
smeagende ealdra manna cwyðas 7 ðæda 7 calra swypost þara
mærena wera ure þeode. Forþon þis gewrit ðæðe hit gód sagæ
be godum mannum, 7 se ðe hit gehyræþ, he onhyreþ ðam, ðæðe
hit yfel sagæþ be yfelum mannum, 7 se ðe hit gehyræþ, he flyhæ
þæt 7 onscumæþ. Forþon hit is gód godne to herianne 7 yfelne to
leanne, þæt se geðeo se þe hit gehyre. Gif se ðæðe nolde, hu wurð
he elles gelærd? For þinne þearfe 7 for þinne ðeode ic þis awrat;
forþon ðe God to cyninge gecæþ, þe gedafenað pine þeode to
læranne. 7 þæt þy læþ tweoge hwæþer þis seð sy, ic cyðe hwanan
me þas spell coman.

II.

Ærest me wæs fultumiend 7 laereow se arwurf æbbad Albinus,
se wæs wide gefaren 7 gelærd, 7 wæs betst gelærd on Angel-
cynne. Swyðost he me sæde of þæþodores gemynde, se wæs biscep
on Cantwara byrig, 7 Adrianus þabbud, forþon he swyðost wæs
mid him gelærd. Eall þæt he on Cantwara mægþe 7 eac on þam 20
þealandum þe þær to geþeodæð wæron, eall þæt he ðæðe on ge-
wertum ðæðe on ealdra manna sægenum ongeat ðæðe fram lærning-
cañhtum þæs cadigan papan Sæþ Gregories, þa he me ealle, þa
þe gemyndwurfæð wæron, þurh Noþhelm ðone æfestan mæsse-

\textsuperscript{1} There is no heading in the MSS. 1. 1. Text follows Ca. 1. 2. cyning
PREFACE.

I, Bede, servant of Christ and priest, send greeting to the well-beloved king Ceolwulf. And I send you the history, which I lately wrote about the Angles and Saxons, for yourself to read and examine at leisure, and also to copy out and impart to others more at large; and I have confidence in your zeal, because you are very diligent and inquisitive as to the sayings and doings of men of old, and above all of the famous men among our people. For this book either speaks good of the good, and the hearer imitates that, or it speaks evil of the evil, and the hearer flees and shuns the evil. For it is good to praise the good and blame the bad, that the hearer may profit. If your hearer be reluctant, how else will he gain instruction? I have written this for your profit and for your people; as God chose you out to be king, it behoves you to instruct your people. And that there may be the less doubt whether this be true, I will state the sources of my narrative.

II.

My first assistant and teacher was the venerable abbot Albinus, a man who had travelled much and studied, and was the best scholar in England. He told me chiefly about Theodorus, of blessed memory, who was bishop in Canterbury, and of the abbot Adrianus, under whom he had chiefly studied. All that heascertained in Kent and the adjoining districts, from written documents and the traditions of old inhabitants, or from disciples of the blessed pope St. Gregory, all that was memorable, he transmitted to me through Nothhelm, the pious priest of London,
preost on Lundenbyrig—oððe hine to me sende, oððe on stafum awrat 7 me sende. Frum fruman þyssa boca oð þa tid, þe Anglecyn Cristes geleafan onfeng, of ealldra manna sægenum—; oð þas andweardan tid swyðost we geleornodon, þæt we her writað, of lorningenihtum þæs eadigan papan See Gregorius, under hwilcum 5 cyninge þæt sône geworden wæs, þurh Albinus myngunge þæs abbudes 7 þurh Noðhelmes ærendo 7 ðæstægene. Swyðe fela hi me sædon fram gehwylcum bispocum, 7 hwylcum cyninga tidum Eastseaxe 7 Westseaxe 7 Eastengle 7 Norðanhumbre þære gife onfengon Cristes geleafan. Þurh Albinus swiðost ic gcdris. 10 læhte þæt ic dorste þis weorc ongyynn, 7 eac þ mid Danieles þæs arwurðan Westseaxna biscopes, se nu gyt lifsgende ðs. Fela he me sæde ymbe Suðseaxe 7 embe Westseaxe; 7 eac ymbe Wiht ðæt igland swyðost he me sende on gewritum. 12 þurh Cedde þone arwurðan Myrcna bisceop 7 Ceaddan ymbe Myrcna þeode 15 7 Eastseaxena þ; 7 eac ymb þara bispocam lif 7 forþfore we gæascodon fram þam broðrum þæs mynstræs, þæ þe sylf astemnedon, þæ Læstinga ea is nemned. Þa þing þe on Eastenglum gewordene wæron, sume we þa of ealdra manna gewritum oððe sægene metton, sume we mid Isses gesægene þæs arwurðan abbudes 20 geleornodon. 7 þæt on Lindese geworden wæs ymbe Cristes geleafan, þurh gesægene þæs arwurðan bispoces Cynebyrhtes 7 þurh his ærendgewritu 7 oðra lifsgendra swiðæ getreowra we geleornodon. 7 eac þæt we on Nordanhymbrum gæasedon ymbe Cristes geleafan oððe ðysne andweardan ðæg, nalað mid anes mannes 25 gepeahre ac mid gesægene unrim geleafhûra witenæ, þa þe þa čing wiston 7 gemundon, 7 syððan þæt ic sylf ongeat, ne læt ic þæt unwritten. Þæt ic be þam halgan fæder Cüþbyrhtes wrat oððe on þyssa be oððe on ðære, þa dæda his lifes, sume ic ærest nom of þam gewritum þæ þe ic awreten gemette mid þam broðrum 30 þære cyricean æt Lindesfearona ea, sumu, þa þe ic sylf ongitan mihte þurh swiðæ getreowra manna gesægene, ic toycte. 7

1. 5. 7 Ca., B. (before learning-). 1. 7. 7 Þurh B. 7 not in Ca. 1. 11. þ mid, read myngunge, here or after Albinus? 1. 14. †—† The passage from Þurh to East Seaxena is corrupt. B. has 7 Þurh Cedde þon arweordan Myrcna bysceopes ymb Myrcna þeode 7 Eastseaxena. 1. 24. Nordanhymbra Ca.
either sending him to me in person or forwarding a written statement. From the beginning of these books till the English received the faith of Christ, we have derived what is here written from the traditions of old men, (thenceforward) up to the present, chiefly from the disciples of the blessed pope St. Gregory, with the dates according to the kings' reigns, all recorded through abbot Albinus and the reports and statements of Nothhelm. They told me very much as to the bishops and the dates of the kings, under whom the East Saxons, West Saxons, East Angles and Northumbrians received the grace of Christ's faith. And it was chiefly through Albinus that I was encouraged to commence this work, (encouraged) also by Daniel the venerable bishop of the West Saxons, who still survives. He told me much about the South Saxons and West Saxons; and also about the Isle of Wight, (but this last) chiefly by letter. And through Cedd, the venerable bishop of the Mercians, and Chad, about the people of the Mercians and East Saxons†, and about the life and death of the bishops, we have learnt from the brethren of the monastery, founded by them, which is called Lastingham. Events in East Anglia we have traced partly from the writings of older men or their traditions; partly we have ascertained them from the statements of the venerable abbot Isse. The progress of Christ's faith in Lindsey we have learnt from the statements of the venerable bishop Cyneberht, and through written reports from him and other very trustworthy persons still living. (I also relate) what we have ascertained about the faith of Christ in Northumbria up to the present day, not on the authority of a single person, but from the statements of numberless faithful witnesses, who knew and remembered the events, and afterwards what I myself knew, I did not leave unrecorded. What I have written about the holy father Cuthbert, either in this book or in another, his deeds and his life, I have taken first from the writings I found among the brethren of the church at Lindisfarne, and the particulars, which I myself could ascertain from the report of very trustworthy persons,


INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI.

I. Be gesetnysse Breetene oððe Hibernia Scotta ealandes, ond heora þam ærran bigengum.

II. Þæt se ærra Romwara casere Gagius Iulius Breetene gesohte.

III. Þæt se æftæra Romwara casere, Claudius haten, þæt ylce ealond gesohte; 7 Orcadas þa ealand geþeadde to Romwara cyndome; ge eac Uespasianus fræm him sented wæs, 7 he Wihtæ 10 ealond þam Romaniscan kynedome underþeadde.

III. Þæt Lucius Brytta cyning sende gewritu to Eleutherio þam papam, bæd hine cristenne beon, and eac abæd.

V. Þæt Seuerus se casere onseng micelne ðæl Breetene, 7 þone mid dice toscæadde fram oðrum unatemedum þeodum.

VI. Be Dioclitianus rice, 7 þæt he cristene men wæs ehtende.

VII. Sce Albænus prowung 7 his geferena, þe on ða ilcan tid for Drihtne heora blod aguton.

VIII. Þæt, ðæþeo ehtynysse blan, seo cyrice on Breetene hwæthwugu fæc sibbe hæfde, oðða tide þæs Arrianiscan gedwolan.

VIII. Þæt ricsiendum Gratiano Maximus se casere wæs on Breetene acenned, 7 eft mid mycle weorede ferde on Gallia rice.

X. Þæt ricsiendum Archadio Pelagiæ se Bryt wið Godes gife geleafan unrihtlice lare onseng.

XI. Þæt ricsiendum Honorio Gratianus 7 Constantius wæron on 25 Breetene acende; 7 se ærra wæs on Brytton ofslegen, 7 se oðer wæs on Gallia rice.

XII. Þæt Bryttas fram Scottum 7 Peohtum wæron forhergode; 7 hi to Rome him fultumes bædon.

1. 3. For the Wessex genealogy see end of volume. After òlce Ca. has III (numeral). 1 The Capitula precede the Praefatio in B. 1. 4. on
I have added on. And I now humbly beg and entreat the reader that, if he find or hear anything different about this, he will not blame me.

CONTENTS.

Book I.

I. About the position of Britain and Ireland, the island of the 5 Scots, and about their first inhabitants.

II. That the first emperor of the Romans, Gaius Julius, visited Britain.

III. That the second emperor of the Romans, called Claudius, visited the same island, and subjected the Orkney islands to the 10 Roman dominion; that also Vespasianus was sent by him and brought the Isle of Wight under the Roman rule.

IV. That Lucius, king of the Britons, sent letters to pope Eleutherius praying to be made a christian, and his prayer was heard.

V. That the emperor Severus took a large part of Britain, 15 and separated it with a dyke from the other savage tribes.

VI. About the reign of Diocletian, and that he persecuted the christians.

VII. The passion of St. Alban and his companions, who shed their blood for the Lord at the same time.

VIII. That when the persecutions ceased, the church in Britain had peace for some time till the days of the Arian heresy.

IX. That in the reign of Gratianus the emperor Maximus was born in Britain, and again proceeded to Gaul with a vast host.

X. That in the reign of Arcadius, Pelagius the Briton took up 25 false doctrine contrary to belief in God's grace.

XI. That in the reign of Honorius, Gratianus and Constantius were born in Britain; and the first was slain in Britain, the other in Gaul.

XII. That the Britons were wasted by the Scots and Picts, and 30 entreated help from Rome.

(= 'et') Ca., B. (often in MSS.) 1. 10. Uespasionus Ca. Uespasionus B. 1. 19. hwat h,uyu Ca. sum B.
XIII. Dēt ricsiendum Theodosio, pæs tìdum Palladius se bispoc
was sended to gelyfendum Scottum on Crist, Bryttas to Rome
fram Ettio pam cyngingæ wæræn him fultumes biddende 7 pær
nænigne hæsfôn.

XIII. Dēt Bryttas mid þy mærran hunge negedde þa elreordian
5 of heora gemærum adrisan; 7 sona æfter þam mycel eorþwæstm 7
firenlust 7 mancwœalm 7 adla 7 gehorra þære ðeode wæræn æfter-
fyñgëndæ.

XV. Dætte Angelœod ðaæs gelaðod fram Bryttum on Breetone;
7 heo sona ærest heora þa wicþerweardan seor adrisan; ac nalæs 10
æfter micelre tide þæt hi geweredon wið him, 7 heora wæpæn
hwyrfdon wið Bryttas heora gefaran.

XVI. Dætte Bryttas ærest on Angelœode sige genaman; ðaæs
Ambrosius heora heretoga Romanisc man.

XVII. Dæt Germanus se bispoc mid Lupo to Breetene on scepe
15 cumænde, ærest þaæs sæs 7 æfter þam ðara Pelagianiscan hreohnyssé
mid godeundæ mægene gestilde.

XVIII. Dæt se ylca þa dohter ðæs ealdormannes blinde onlihte;
7 æfter þam to ðam halgan Albane becumænde þær ærest his
reliquias onfeng, 7 eac þær to asete ða reliquias þara halgera 20
apostola 7 eac ðeðra martyræ.

XVIII. Dætte se ylca bispoc for ðam intingan untrumnyssé
þferia gehæfd 7 þa brynas þara husa gebiddende adwæscætæ; 7 he
sylf ðürh gesihþpe fram his adle ðaæs gehæled.

XX. Dæt þa ylcan bispocas Bryttum on gefœhtæ godcundænæ 25
fultum forgeafon; 7 swa ham weraen eft hwæorfeænde.

XXI. Dæt eft spryttendum þam twigum ðæs Pelagianiscan woles
Germanus mid Seuero to Breetene eft cumænde ærest þam healtæn
gæoægan his stæpe he geedniwode, 7 æfter þam Godes fólce,
genidœredum ge eac gebettum þam gedwolmannum, he him geedni-
30 wode þone stæpe rihtes geleafæn.

XXII. Dætte Bryttas sumæ tide gestildon fram utgefœhtæ; 7
hie sylfe þreæton on ingefœhtæm, 7 on manegum manum hi sylfe
besenctæn.

1. 1. pallidius Ca. paladius B. 1. 2. Before Bryttas MSS. insert 7.
1. 7. geðora Ca. gehræro C. gehræro B. 1. 23. feria Ca. þær wæs B.
XIII. That in the reign of Theodosius, in whose days bishop Palladius was sent to the Scots who believed in Christ, the Britons sought help from king Aetius at Rome and received none.

XIV. That the Britons, forced by severe famine, drove the barbarians beyond their borders; and soon after this an abundant harvest and luxury, mortality, sickness and ruin of the people followed.

XV. That the Angles were invited into Britain by the Britons: who first soon drove out their adversaries, but not long afterwards made a treaty with them and turned their arms against the Britons their allies.

XVI. That the Britons first won a victory over the Angles under the leadership of Ambrosius, a Roman.

XVII. That bishop Germanus came by ship to Britain with Lupus, and by divine power first calmed the wildness of the sea and afterwards that of the Pelagians.

XVIII. That the same bishop restored to sight the blind daughter of the magistrate; and after that coming to St. Alban there first received his relics, and deposited with them relics of the holy apostles and of other martyrs besides.

XIX. That the same bishop was detained there from illness, and by his prayers quenched the conflagration of the houses, and was himself cured of his sickness by a vision.

XX. That the same bishops brought divine aid to the Britons in battle; and then returned home.

XXI. That when the pestilent heresy of Pelagius sprouted afresh, Germanus returned to Britain with Severus and first restored to a lame youth the power of walking, and then, by condemning or reforming heretics, brought back the people of God to walk in the ways of true faith.

XXII. That the Britons for a time had rest from foreign wars, and wasted themselves in civil contests and plunged into many sins.
XXIII. Dæt se halga papa Gregorius Augustinum sende mid munecum Angelœode to bodiganne Godes word 7 geleafan 7 eac swylyce mid trymmendlice ærendgewrite hi gestrangode, pæt hi ne ablunnen fram þam ðam gewinne.

XXIII. Dæt Augustinus wæs cumende on Breetone ærest on 5 Tenet þam ealonde; 7 Cantwara cyninge Cristes geleafan bodode; 7 swa mid his lefnysse Godes word bodigende on Cent eode.

XXV. Dæt he Augustinus on Cent þære frymÐelican cyrican lif 7 lare wæs onhyrigende, and on cyninges byrig bisceopsetl onsfeng.

XXVI. Dæt se ylca, bæscop geworden, onbead Gregorio þam papan 10 ða þe on Breetene gedon wæron, 7 somod be þam nydppearlícian ðingum hi andsware biddende onsfeng.

XXVII. Pæt se ylca papa Gregorius sende Agustino pallium 7 maran fultum Godes word to læranne.

XXVIII. Dæt he se papa Æðelbyrhte þam cyninge gewrit 7 15 gyfe sende: ðætte Agustinus Cristes cyrican geedniwode, 7 Scê Petres mynster getimbrade.

XXVIII. Dæt Agustinus Cristes cyrican geedniwode 7 worhte mid þæs cyninges fultume Æðelbyrhtes.

XXX. Dætte Agustinus þæt mynster para apostola Petrus 7 20 Paulus getimbrade; 7 be his þam ærestan abbude Petro.

XXXI. Dætte Æðelfrið Nordanhymbra cyning Scotta þeode mid gefeohhte ofercom, 7 hi of Angelœode gemærum adrof.

Her endað seo forme bóc.
Her onginneð seo oðer bóc.

I. Be forðfore þæs eadigan papan Gregorius.

II. Dæt Agustinus Brytta biscopas for rihtgeleaffulre sibbe lærde 7 monade, ge eac gedonum beforan him heofonlican wundre; 7 eac hwylc wracu him forhogiende æfterfyligde.

III. Pæt he Agustinus Mellitum 7 Iustum to bispocump gehalgode: 30 7 be his forðfore.

IV. Dæt Laurentius mid his efenbispocump Scottas wæs mani-
XXIII. That the holy pope Gregory sent Augustine with monks to preach God's word and faith to the English, and also encouraged them with comforting letters not to give up their task.

XXIV. That Augustine first landed in Britain on the Isle of Thanet, and preached Christ's faith to the king of Kent; and then by his permission proceeded to preach God's word in Kent.

XXV. That Augustine in Kent imitated the life and teaching of the primitive church, and received an episcopal seat in the king's town.

XXVI. That the same, on becoming bishop, reported to pope Gregory what was done in Britain, and at the same time asked and received the pope's answer on necessary points.

XXVII. That the same pope Gregory sent Augustine a pallium and more help to teach God's word.

XXVIII. That the pope sent to king Æthelberht a letter and presents; that Augustine restored Christchurch and built St. Peter's monastery.

XXIX. That Augustine restored and built a church of Christ with the help of king Æthelberht.

XXX. That Augustine built the monastery of the apostles Peter and Paul, and about its first abbot Peter.

XXXI. That Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria, overcame the Scots in battle, and drove them over the English border.

Here ends the first book.

Here begins the second book.

I. About the death of the blessed pope Gregory.

II. That Augustine instructed and admonished the British bishops for the sake of catholic unity, and also by performing a miracle before them; and what punishment overtook them for disregarding him.

III. That Augustine consecrated as bishops Mellitus and Justus; and of his death.

IV. That Laurentius and his fellow bishops admonished the
gende on ña annysse ñære halgan cyrican, ealles mæst ymb Eastrena healdnyssa: 7 þæt Mellitus to Rome com.

V. Forðferendum þam cyningum Æðelbyrhto 7 Sæbyrhto, heora æfterfyligendas wærón deofolgyldle folgiende; forðam Mellitus 7 Iustus ña bicosas of Brotene gewiton.

VI. ðætte Laurentius se arcebiscop wæs gepread fram þam apostole Æcæ Petre; Eadbaldum þone cyning to Criste gecyrde; 7 Mellitum 7 Iustum þa bicosas to bodigenne hider gecyrdon.

VII. ðæt Mellitus æfter Laurentio arcebiscop geworden wæs; þa ligeas his byrnandre ceastre gebiddende adwæscte.

VIII. Be cynedome Eadwines; 7 þæt cumende Paulinus him godspell bodade, 7 ærest his dohtor mid ðorðum monnum gelæerde mid halgum gerynum Cristes geleafan.

VIII. ðæt se papa Bonesatius þone ylcan cyning, onsendum gewrítum, wæs trymmende to rihtum geleafan.

X. Hwylc gepeahht se ylca cyning mid his ealdormunnum hæbbende wæs be þære onfengynysse Cristes geleafan.

XI. ðæt se ylca Edwine mid his þeode geleafful geworden wæs; 7 þæt Paulinus hine gefullade.

XII. ðæt seo magæ Eastengla Cristes geleafan onfeng.

XIII. ðæt Paulinus on Lindesege magæ bodigende wæs Cristes geleafan.

XIII. Be þære sibbe 7 stillnyssse Eadwines cyninges rices.

XV. Be forondheim Iustus þæs arcebiscopes: 7 þæt Honorius for him gecoren wæs 7 fram Paulino on Lindcylene gehalgod wæs; 25 7 þæt he fram Honorio þam papan ærendgewrito 7 pallium onfeng.

XVI. ðætte, ofslegenum Eadwine fram Pendan Myræna cyninge, Paulinus se bisceop wæs eft cumende to Cent 7 on Hrofeceastre biscopestl onfeng.

Her endað seo ọðer bóc.

and her onginneð seo priddæ.

1. 6. fraþa aplé Ca. fram þam aplé B. 1. 18. was B., not in Ca. 1. 25. lindcylene Ca. lindcylene B. 1. 28. myræna B. mycna Ca. 1. 29. bisceop Ca. byscop B.
Scots as to the unity of Holy Church, and above all as to the observance of Easter: and that Mellitus went to Rome.

V. On the deaths of kings Æthelberht and Sæberht, their successors turned to idol worship; wherefore bishops Mellitus and Justus withdrew from Britain.

VI. That the archbishop Laurentius was chastised by the apostle St. Peter, and converted king Eadbald to Christ; and of the recall of the bishops Mellitus and Justus to preach.

VII. That Mellitus became archbishop after Laurentius, and by his prayers quenched the flames of his burning city.

VIII. About the realm of Eadwine; and that Paulinus came and preached the gospel to him, and first instructed his daughter and others in the holy mysteries of Christ's faith.

IX. That pope Boniface sent a letter to exhort the king to the true faith.

X. Of the counsel taken by the king with his chief men as to the reception of Christ's faith.

XI. That Eadwine and his people received the faith, and of his baptism by Paulinus.

XII. That the East Angles received Christ's faith.

XIII. That Paulinus preached Christ's faith in Lindsey.

XIV. Concerning the peace and quiet of Eadwine's reign.

XV. Of the death of archbishop Justus; that Honorius was chosen in his place, and consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln; and that he received a letter and the pallium from pope Honorius.

XVI. That when Eadwine was slain by Penda, king of Mercia, bishop Paulinus returned to Kent and received the bishop's seat at Rochester.

Here ends the second book.

And here begins the third.
I. Dæt þa forman æfterfyligende Eadwines cyninges þone geleafan his agenre þeode besmiton: 7 Oswald se cristenensta cyning þara ægðer geenwiode.

II. Dæt se ylca cyning biddende of Sceotta þeode biscope onfeng Aidanum on naman gehatenne, 7 him on Lindesfarona ealonde 5 bispocsetl forgeaf.

III. Be Aidanus life þæs biscopes.

III. Be eaufaestnysse 7 wundorlicre arfaestnysse Oswaldes cyninges.

V. Dæt seo mægð Westseaxna, bodigendum Birino þam biscope, 10 onfeng Godes word; 7 be his æfterfyligendum Ægelbyrhto 7 Leotherio.

VI. Dætte Cantwara cyning Erconbyrht bebead deofolgyld beon toworpene: 7 be his dehter Ercengota 7 hire magan Ægelburge Gode gehalgedum fæmnnum.

VII. Dæt on þære stowe, ðær ofslægen wæs se cyning Oswald, gelomlicu wundurgeweorc gewordene wæron: 7 þæt ðær ærest anes wegferendes mannes nyten gehæled wæs, 7 æfter þam an mæden, seo wæs ær lama.

VIII. Dæt þære ylcan stowe myl wið fyre wæs freomigende.

IX. Dæt ofer his reliquias þæt heofonleoht calle niht wæs ofergestondonde 7 scinende; 7 þæt deofolseoce æt his reliquium wæron gelacnode.

X. Dæt æt his byrigenne an lytel cnihtr fram lengtenadle wæs gelacnod.

XI. Dætte on Hibernia sum man fram his reliquium fram deaðes liðe wæs gehæled.

XII. Dætte forðferdum Paulino þam biscope Ithamar for him æt Hrofeceastre bispocsetle onfeng. 7 be wundorlicre cadmodnesse Oswines þæs cyninges, se fram Oswio wælhræowlice wæs ofslægen. 30

XIII. Dæt se bispoc Aidan þam scypfærendum þone storm towardne foressegde, 7 eac him gehalgodne ele sealde, mid þam hi pone storm gestildon.

1. 15. gehagedu Ca. gehalyode B. 1. 20. myl wið B. mid (only) Ca., C. 1. 31. storm B. stream Ca. 32. foressegde B. sægde Ca.
I. That the first successors of king Eadwine defiled the faith of his people, and Oswald the most christian king restored both (the faith and the royal power).

II. That the same king on his request received a bishop from the Scots named Aidan, and gave him a bishop's seat in the island of Lindisfarne.

III. About the life of bishop Aidan.

IV. About the religion and admirable piety of king Oswald.

V. That the West Saxons received God's word on the preaching of bishop Birinus; and of his successors Ægelberht and Leutherius.

VI. That Erconberht, king of Kent, ordered the destruction of idols: and about his daughter Ercengota and her relative Æthelburh, virgins consecrated to God.

VII. That on the spot, where king Oswald was slain, frequent miracles took place; and that there first a traveller's horse was healed and afterwards a girl previously lame.

VIII. That mould from the same place was efficacious against fire.

IX. That a light from heaven stood and shone all night over his relics; and that demoniacs were cured at his relics.

X. That a little child was cured of fever at his tomb.

XI. That in Ireland a man at the point of death was healed by his relics.

XII. That on the death of bishop Paulinus, Ithamar received the see of Rochester in his place. And of the wonderful humility of king Oswine, who was cruelly slain by Oswio.

XIII. That bishop Aidan foretold a coming storm to men on board ship, and gave them also consecrated oil, with which they calmed the storm.
XIII. Dæt se ylca *biscop þæt* togewelhene fyr þære cynecilan burghe gebiddende onweg gewende.

XV. Dætte Middelenglā mægð under Peadan Pendan suna wæs cristen geworden.

XVI. Dæt Eastseaxan þone rihtan Godes geleafan, ðone hi gefyrn 5 awurpon, under Sibrihte heora cyninge, mid geornfulnyss Osvies cæs cyninges, 7 Cedde him bodiendum, eft onfengon.

XVII. Dæt se ylca *biscop* Cedde ofonde fram þam cyninge Æðelwalde sume stowe mynster on to timbrianne, 7 þa mid halgum gebedum 7 fæstenum Drihtne gehalgode; 7 be his forðore.

XVIII. Dæt Merena mægð, ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge, Cristes geleafan onfengon; 7 Oswio se cyning for þam sige sealdan him for Gode æhta micle 7 twelf bocland Gode mynster on to getimbriane seald 7 forgeaf.

XIX. Dæt Ecbyrht se halga wer of Angelcynnes cyne acenned 15 munuelif wæs lædende on Hibernia.

XX. Dæt, forðerdum Tudan, Wilfrīð wæs sended on Gallia, 7 þær wæs gehadod fram Æðelbyrhte þam *biscop*; 7 Ceadda on Westseaxum fram Wine *biscop*. 7 hi begen wæron Norðhymbrum to biscopum gehalgode.

XXI. Dæt se mæsepreost Wigheard arce*biscop* to gehadianne on Brotene to Rome wæs onsended, þonone sona hi hider onsendon gewritu þæs apostolican papan 7 þær cyddon hine forðerende.

XXII. Dæt Eastseaxan on þa tid ðæs mancwealmes to deofolgyldle wæron eft gecyrde, 7 eft þurh ðæ geornfulnesse Germanus ðæs 25 *biscopes* hi sona fram heora gedwolan wæron eft gecyrde.

Her endað se þridde bóc.

Her onginneð se forðie bóc.

I. Dætte forðerdum Deusdedit ðon arce*biscop*, Wigheard wæs þam biscophade to onfonne to Rome onsended: ac him þær forð- 30 serendum, Deodorus wæs to arcebiscope gehalgod 7 mid Adriane þam abbude wæs to Brotone onsended.

II. Dæt Deodorus se arce*biscop* *gondferend ealle* Angelcynnes
XIV. That the same bishop by his prayers diverted the fire brought up against the royal city.

XV. That the Middle Angles became christians under Peada, son of Penda.

5 XVI. That the East Saxons returned to the true faith of God, which they had formerly rejected, under their king Sigberht, through the zeal of king Oswio and the preaching of Cedd.

XVII. That the same bishop Cedd obtained ground from king Æthelwald to build a monastery, and consecrated it to the Lord with holy prayers and fastings; and concerning his death.

XVIII. That the Mercians received the faith of Christ when their king Penda was slain, and king Oswio, in return for the victory granted him, gave and assigned for God’s sake many possessions and twelve boclands to erect a monastery on to God.

15 XIX. That Ecgberht, a holy man of English descent, lived as a monk in Ireland.

XX. That on the death of Tuda, Wilfrid was sent to Gaul, and there was ordained by bishop Æthelberht, and Chad by bishop Wine in Wessex; and both were consecrated as bishops for Northumbria.

XXI. That the priest Wigheard was sent to Rome to be ordained archbishop in Britain; whence letters of the apostolical pope were presently sent here and announced his death there.

XXII. That the East Saxons in time of plague returned to idolatry, and soon again were converted from their error by the zeal of bishop Germanus.

Here ends the third book.

Here begins the fourth book.

I. That on the death of archbishop Deusdedit, Wiglieard was sent to Rome to receive episcopal ordination, and on his death there Theodore was consecrated archbishop and sent with abbot Adrian to Britain.

II. That archbishop Theodore visited all the churches in
cyricean mid * rihtgeleaffulre sødfæstnyssé, 7 swylce eac mid halgum gewritum 7 stæfæftum hi georne het beon lærede: 7 þæt Putta for Damiano æt Hrofeceastre to biceope wæs gehalgod.

III. Þæt Ceadda, be þam ðæ we ær bufan spræcon, Myræna mægðe wæs biceop seald: 7 be his life, 7 be his forðfore, 7 be his 5 byrigenne.

IV. Þæt Coloman se biceop, forleenere Breetone, twa mynstro on Scottum geworhte, ðæter þam Scottum, ðæter ðam Engliscan, ðe he mid hine ðider gelædde.

V. Be deanæ Oswies 7 Ecbyrthes þara cyninga: 7 be þam 10 sinoðe þe geworden wæs æt Heortfeorda, þam wæs foresittende se arcebiceop ðeodorus.

VI. Þæt adune asetton of þam biscoprice Winfridæ, Seaxulf his biscoprice onfeng: 7 Erconwold Eastseaxum wæs biceop seald.

VII. Þæt on Bercingum þam mynstre mid heofonlice leohete 15 getacnod wæs, hwær gesette beon sceoldon þa lichaman haligra fæmnæna.

VIII. Þæt on þam ylcan mynstre sum lytel sweltende cníht be naman genemde ða mynstersfæmnæn, ðe him æfterfyligende wæs: 7 þæt oðru of lichaman utgangende sumne dæl gesæh þæs 20 heofonlican leohetes.

IX. Hwylce heofonlicu tacnu ætywde wæron, þa ða seo modur sylf ðære gesomnunge of middanearde ferde.

X. Þæt Thorhtgyð seo Godes þeowen þreow gear æfter ðære hlæfdian forðfore þa geta on life hæfd wæs.

XI. Þæt æt þam lictune ðæes mynstres an blind wif hire wæs gebiddende; 7 forðam onfeng þam beorhte hire eagena.

XII. Þæt se cyning ðære ylcan mægðe Sebbe on munuclicum drohtoðe ðis lif geendode.

XIII. Þæt Westseaxna biscophad for Eleutherio Hædde wæs 30 onfonde, 7 ðone æt Hrofeceastre for Puttan Cwichelm onfeng, 7 for him Gismund: 7 eac hwylce ða wæron Norðanhybra biseopas.

XIV. Þæt se steorra ætywde, se is cometa nemned, 7 þreo monað wæs wuniende, and symble on uhtatid wæs upyrnende.

l. 1. cyricā Ca. ciricean B. rihtre Ca. rihtre B. 1. 2. lærede B. lærende Ca. 1. 3. Damiana Ca. Damiano (ni not original) B. 1. 20. ut-
England, and bade them be instructed diligently in orthodox truth and also in Holy Writ and in secular learning: and that Putta was consecrated as bishop of Rochester in place of Damian.

III. That Chad, about whom we spoke above, was assigned as bishop to the Mercians: and of his life, death, and burial.

IV. That bishop Colman left Britain and established two monasteries among the Scots, one for the Scots, the other for the English, whom he brought there with him.

V. Of the death of kings Oswio and Ecgberht: and concerning the synod held at Hertford, where archbishop Theodore presided.

VI. That Winfrid was deposed, and Seaxulf received his bishopric: and Erconwald was assigned as bishop to the East Saxons.

VII. That a sign was given by heavenly light in the monastery at Barking, where the bodies of the holy virgins should be buried.

VIII. That in the same monastery a little child, at his death, named the nun who should follow him: and that another nun, when about to depart this life, saw some portion of the heavenly light.

IX. What signs from heaven were shown, when the mother of the society was herself leaving this earth.

X. That Torhtgyth the servant of God, three years after this lady's death, was still detained in this life.

XI. That a blind woman was praying in the burial-ground of this monastery, and thereby recovered her sight.

XII. That Sebbe, king of this province, ended his life as a monk.

XIII. That Hædde received the bishopric of the West Saxons in place of Eleutherius, and Cwichelm the see of Rochester in place of Putta, and Gifmund in his place: and also who were then bishops in Northumbria.

XIV. That the star, called comet, appeared and remained three months, and always rose at dawn. In the same year
On þam ylcan geare Ecfrīð Nœðanýmbra cyning adraefde Wilfrīð þone arwyrfan biscoþ.

XV. Dæt Wilferð biscoþ Suðseaxna maegþe to Criste gecyrde, seo hwæðere, him ðanon gewitendum, for ðære grimman feonda ofþrynesse agenme biscoþ habban ne mihte. 5

XVI. Dæt þæt ealond Wiht onfeng cristene bigegan, þæs twegen cynelice cnihhtas æfter þon onfangenan fulluhtes bæðþe sona wurdon ofslegene.

XVII. Be þam sinoþe se wæs geworden on þam felda, se wæs genemned Hæþfeld, andweardan þam ærcebiscoþe Theodore. 10

XVIII. Be Iohanne þam heahseangere þæs apostolican ætles, se for lare com to Breeton. 15

XIX. Dæt seo ewen Æceldryð clæne ñæmne þurhwunode, ðære lichama on byrigenne gewemmed beon ne mihte: 7 be þam hymene þe we be hire geworhton.

XX. Dæt se biscoþ Deodorus betweox Ecfrīðe 7 Æceldredhe þam cyningum sibbe geworhte. 20

XXI. Dæt þa benda sumes gehæftes * tolysedæ wæron, þonne for him mæssan sungene wæron.

XXII. Be life 7 forðfore Hilde þære abbudissan. 25

XXIII. Dæt on hire mynstræ wæs sum broðor, þam godcundlice forgifen wæs seo gyfu to singanne.

XXIII. Hwiæl gesihþ sumum Godes were ætywyde, ær þam þæt mynster æt Coludes byrig mid byrne fornumen wære.

XXV. Be deade þara twegea cyninga Ecfrīþes 7 Hloðheres. 30

XXVI. Dæt se Drihtnes wer Cuðbyrht wæs biscoþ geworden, 7 þæt he þæt gyt on munuclicum life geseted lærde 7 bodade.

XXVII. Dæt se ylca wer Cuðbyrhtus on ancerlife geseted an easpring of drigre eorðan gebiddende up gleawde, 7 ðanne æcer of ðam gewinne his agernde handa ofer þa tid þæs sæwetes onfeng. 35

XXVIII. Dæt se ylca biscoþ Cuþbyrht his forþforæ ða toweardan Herebyrhto þam ancran foresæde.

XXIX. Dæt his lichoma æfter endleofon gearum his byrigenne wæs clæne ælcere brosnume funden 7 gemeted: 7 æfter noht mycele fyriste ðæs his æfterfyligend of þyssum middancarde geferde. 40

1. 16. ecfrīðe Ca. ecfrīð B. 1. 18. tolysendæ Ca. toslitene B.
Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, expelled the venerable bishop Wilfrid.

XV. That bishop Wilfrid converted the South Saxons to Christ, who however, on his departure, could not maintain a bishop of their own on account of the dire oppression of their enemies.

XVI. That the Isle of Wight received Christian inhabitants, and that two of its young princes were slain immediately after being baptized.

XVII. Of the synod held in the plain called Bishop's Hatfield, in the presence of archbishop Theodore.

XVIII. Concerning John, precentor of the apostolic see, who came to teach in Britain.

XIX. That queen Etheldreda remained a pure virgin, and that her body could not decay in the tomb: and of the hymn we wrote concerning her.

XX. That bishop Theodore brought about peace between kings Ecgfrith and Æthelred.

XXI. That the bonds of a prisoner were loosed, when masses were sung for him.

XXII. Of the life and death of abbess Hild.

XXIII. That in her monastery there was a brother divinely endowed with the gift of song.

XXIV. The vision which appeared to a man of God, before the monastery at Coldingham was destroyed by fire.

XXV. Of the death of the two kings, Ecgfrith and Hlothere.

XXVI. That the holy man Cuthbert became bishop, and that he taught and preached while still a monk.

XXVII. That the same Cuthbert, while living as a hermit, by his prayers brought up a spring out of dry ground, and obtained a crop by the labour of his own hand, though it was past the right seed-time.

XXVIII. That the same bishop Cuthbert foretold his coming death to the hermit Hereberht.

XXIX. That his body, after eleven years in the tomb, was found free from all decay: and a short time after his successor departed from this earth.
XXX. Dæt æt his reliquium nu niwan wæs sum man gehæled fram þære adle his eagan.

XXXI. Dæt oðer æt his byrigenne fram lyftadle wæs gehæled.

   Her endæ sce forðæ bóc.
   Her onginæ sce fisæ bóc.

I. Dæt Åelwold See Cuþberhtes æfterfyligend on ancersetle ond life geseted þam winnendum broðrum on sæ gebiddende ðone storm he gesette 7 gestilde.

II. Dæt se bishop Iohannes æne dumbne monn gebiddende gehælde.

III. Dæt se ylca bishop an adliende mæden gebiddende gehælde.

III. Dæt he anes gesiðmannes wif untrum mid gehalgode wætere gelacnode.

V. Dæt se ylca bishop anes gesiðmannes cniht gebiddende fram deaðe gecigde.

VI. Dæt he his preosta ænne of horse fallinge 7 gebrysedne gelice gebiddende 7 bletsigende fram deaðe gecyrde.

VII. Dæt Ceadwala Westseaxna cyning to gefulliane com to Rome: swa eft his æfterfyligend Þæne Þa ylcan þærsewaldas þara eadigra apostola estful gesohte.

VIII. Dæt, forðerðum peodore, Þone arcebiscophád Beorhtwald onfeng; 7, betweox oþra monige þe he gehadode, eac swylce Tobium Þone gelæredestan wer Þære cyrican æt Hrofesceastre bishop gehalgode.

VIII. Dæt se halga wer Ecbyrh becuman wolde on Germaniam 25 to bodianne godecunde lare. Ac he ne mihte: ac Wihtbyrht ðyder becom for him, 7 Þær nowiht ne fremede; 7 þa eft wæs ham hweordefende on Scotland, þanon he ær becom.

X. Dæt Wilbrord on Frysena lande bodiende monega to Drihtne gecyrde: 7 þæt his geferan twegen healicne martyrdom wæron 30 proviende.

XI. Dæt se arwurða wer Swiðbyrht on Breetone, 7 Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna Þcode gehalgode.

XII. Dæt sum on Norðanhymbra mægðe of deaðe arisende sume

1. 20. a postola Ca. apostola. B. estful B. eft Ca. 1. 21. peodore Ca. teodoro B. 1. 27. for B. frö Ca.
XXX. That quite lately a man was cured of an affection of the eyes at his relics.

XXXI. That another, at his tomb, was cured of palsy.

Here ends the fourth book.

Here begins the fifth book.

I. That Æthelwald, who succeeded St. Cuthbert, dwelt as a hermit, and by his prayers for brethren in distress at sea, calmed and stilled the storm.

II. That bishop John by his prayers cured a dumb man.

III. That the same bishop by his prayers cured a sick girl.

IV. That he cured the sick wife of a gesith with holy water.

V. That the same bishop by his prayers recalled from death the attendant of a gesith.

VI. That by his prayers and blessing he similarly recovered from death one of his priests, who had fallen from his horse and was bruised.

VII. That Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome to be baptized: also later his successor Ine devoutly visited the same threshold of the blessed apostles.

VIII. That on the death of Theodore, Beorhtwald succeeded to the archbishopric, and among many others whom he ordained, consecrated the learned Tobias as bishop of the church at Rochester.

IX. That the holy man Ecgberht wished to visit Germany and preach the word of God. And he might not: but Wihtberht went there for him and effected nothing there; and then returned home again to Ireland, whence he first came.

X. That Wilbrord in Friesland by his preaching turned many to the Lord, and that his two companions suffered glorious martyrdom.

XI. That the venerable Swithberht in Britain and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland.

XII. That a man in Northumbria arose from the dead, and
swiðe ondryslǐcu 7 eac to gewilnienne, ða þe he geseah, secgende wæs.

XIII. Dæt ongean þam ofer, to deaðe becumende, geseah him fræm deoflum tobrohte beon ða boc his agenra synna.

XIII. Dæt eft ofer sweltende him þa getealdan stowe mid hel-5 warum his agenra wita geseah.

XV. Dæt monega cyricean on Hibernia lærendum Athamanó þa callgeleaslican Eastra þonfengon: 7 be Ealdeleme, se ða boc 'de uirginitate' 7 eac ofþra manega geworhte: ge eac þæt Suðseaxan agerne biscalas onþengon Eaðbyrht 7 Eollan; 7 Westseaxon 10 onþengon Danielum 7 Aldelmum: 7 be Aldelmes gewritum.

XVI. Dætte Cynred Mercna cyning 7 Offa Eastseaxna cyning on munuclicum hadum to Rome becom, 7 þær heora lif geendode: 7 be life 7 forðere þæs arwurðan biscepæ Wilfrīðes.

XVII. Dæt þæm eaufester 7 abbude Adriano Albinus æfterfyligde: 15 7 fram þæm bispocæ Wilfrīðe Acca his mæssepreost bischopade onþeng.

XVIII. Dæt se abbud Ceolfrið Peohtæ cyninge, Neaton wæs haten, heaheræftigan somod 7 eac epistolam be healdnesse rihtre Eastra þonende.

XX. Be forðere Tobias þæs biscalas æt Hrofescastræ 7 Ecbyrhtes þæs arwurðan biscepæ on ðone forman Easterdæg: 25 7 ðy ylcan geare forðerde Osric Ñorðanhymsa cyning.

XXI. Hwylc se staðol is on andweardnesse Angelcynnæ þeode ge eac ealre Bretone.

LIBER PRIMUS1.

P. 473
Cap. 1.

Breoton ist garseges ealond, þæt wæs iu geara Albión haten: is geseted betwyh norðdæle and westdæle, Germanie 7 Gallie 7 His-30 panie þam mæstum dælum Europe myccle fæce ongegen. Dæt is

1. 10. westseaxan B. west- Ca. 1. 18. was B.; not in C. 1 The heading LIBER PRIMUS (secundus, etc.) occurs first on p. 13 of Ca., and thenceforward is continuous. The Roman numerals at the head of sections are also from Ca. Also in Ca. the first 25 words (in red) of the Latin Praefatio precede Breoton.
told of very fearful, but also very desirable things, which he saw.

XIII. That on the contrary another, on his death-bed, saw the book of his own sins brought to him by devils.

XIV. That again another, when dying, saw the place of his own punishment assigned to him among those in hell.

XV. That many churches in Ireland accepted the catholic Easter, on the teaching of Athaman: and of Ealdhelm, who wrote the book 'De Virginitate' and many others: and also that the South Saxons received as their own bishops Eadberht and Eolla; and the West Saxons received Daniel and Ealdhelm: and of the writings of Ealdhelm.

XVI. That Cynred, king of Mercia, and Offa, king of the East Saxons, came to Rome as monks, and there ended their lives: and of the life and death of the venerable bishop Wilfrid.

XVII. That Albin succeeded the pious abbot Adrian, and Acca his priest succeeded Wilfrid as bishop.

XVIII. That abbot Ceolfrid sent architects to Naiton, king of the Picts, and also an epistle on the correct observance of Easter.

XIX. That the monks in the isle of Iona, with the monasteries subject to them, began then to celebrate the orthodox Easter on the preaching and teaching of Ecgberht.

XX. Of the death of Tobias, bishop of Rochester, and the venerable bishop Ecgberht, on the first Easter day: and in the same year died Osric, king of Northumbria.

XXI. What the condition of the English and of all Britain is at present.

BOOK I.

Britain is an island in the ocean, formerly called Albion, lying between the north and the west, opposite, though far apart, to Germany, Gaul and Spain, the chief divisions of Europe. It
norð ehta hund mila lang, 7 tu hund mila brad. Hit hafað fram suððale þa mægðe ongean, þe mon hateþ Gallia Bellica. Hit is welig þis ealand on westum 7 on treowum misenlicra cynna; 7 hit is gesceæpe on læswe sceapa 7 neata; 7 on sumum stowum wingeardas growap. Swylce eac þeos eorpe is berende misenlicra 5 fugela 7 sæwíhta, 7 fiscumwylllum wæterum 7 wylgespryngum. 7 her beop oft fangene seolas 7 hronas and mereswyn; 7 her beop oft numene misenlicra cynna weolcscyll 7 muscule, 7 on þam beoð oft gemette þa betstan meregroton ælces hiwes. 7 her beoð swyþe genihtsume weolocas, of þam bið gewearht se weolocreada 10 tælgh, þone ne mæg sunne blæcan ne ne regn wyrdan; ac swa he bip yldra, swa he fægerra bip. Hit hafað eac þis land sealleteaspas; 7 hit hafaþ hat wæter, 7 hat baðo ælcre yldo 7 hade ðurh todæelede stowe gesceæpe. Swylce hit is eac berende on wecca orum ares 7 isernes, leads 7 seolfres. Her bip eac gemeted dagates: se stan 15 bið blæc gym; gif mon hine on fyr ðep, þonne fleþp þær neddran onweg. Wæs þis ealand eac geo gewurðad mid þam æðelestum castrum, anes wana prittigum, ða þe wæron mid weallum 7 torrum 7 geatum 7 þam trumestum locum getimbrade, butan oðrum læssan unrim castra. 7 forðan ðe ðis ealand under þam 20 sylfum norðdale middangeardes nyhst ligeþ, 7 leohite nihte on sumera hafað,—swa þæt oft on middre nihte geþit cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæðer hit si þe æfenglomming ðe se on morgen deagung—is on þon sweotol, þæt þis ealand hafað mycelæ lengra dagas on sumera, 7 swa eac nihta on wintra, þonne þa suððælas 25 middangeardes.

I.

p. 474. Dis ealand nu on andweardynsse æfter rime fif Moyses boca, þam seo godeunde æ awritten is, fif þeoda gereordum ænne wisdom þære hean sopfestynsse 7 þære soðan heanesse smæð 7 andetteaf; þæt is on Angoleynnnes gereorde 7 Brytta 7 Scotta 7 Peohta 7 30

1. 6. ferscum willæ (r crossed out) B. We should perhaps insert onwille, or welig. 1. 11. regn C. ren B.; not in Ca. 1. 20. læsjan Ca. lassum B. 1. 24. dagung Ca. dagung B.
I.

II.

The island is rich in crops and trees of various kinds, and it is suited for grazing sheep and cattle, and vineyards are grown in some places. This land also produces birds of various kinds and marine animals, and (it abounds) in springs and waters full of fish. Seals, whales, and porpoises are often caught here, and various kinds of shell-fish and mussels are commonly taken, and in these are often found the finest pearls of every colour. There is also here abundance of molluses, from which is made the dye of 'shell-fish red'; this neither the sun can bleach nor the rain mar, and it grows fairer with age. The land also has salt-pits and hot water, and hot baths in various localities, suitable for every age and both sexes; it also produces ores of copper and iron, lead and silver in masses.

Jet is also found here, which is a black gem; if put in the fire, adders fly from it. Formerly this island was also embellished with the noblest of towns, twenty-nine in number, furnished with walls, towers, gates and the strongest of locks, besides countless other towns of smaller size. As this island lies close under the very north of the world and the nights here are light in summer—so that often at midnight a question arises among the spectators, whether it is the evening gloaming or morning dawn—by this it is clear that the days are much longer in this island in summer, and also the nights in winter, than in the southern parts of the world.

I.

At this present time the island studies and acknowledges one and the same science of sublime truth and true sublimity in the tongues of five nations, according to the number of the five books of Moses, in which the Divine law is written; that is in the tongues of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts and Latins. This one, the Latin, is
Ledenwara: \textit{pet} an is, \textit{pet} Leden, on smeaunge gewrita callum \textit{pam oðrum} gemæne.

On fruman ærest wæron ðysses ealondes bigengan Bryttas ane, fram \textit{pam} hit naman onfeng. Is \textit{pet} sæd, \textit{æt} hi comon fram Armoricanæ ðære mægepe on Breetone, 7 \textit{pam} suðdælas ðysses 5 ealondes him gesæton 7 geahnodon.

\textit{pam} gelamp æfter \textit{þon} \textit{þette} Peahte ðæod com of Scyðdia lande on scipum 7 \textit{pam} ymbærndon eall Breetone gemæro, \textit{pæt} hi comon on Scotland upp, 7 ðær gemetton Scotcæa ðeode, 7 him bædon setles 7 eardungstowæ on heora lande betwih him. \textit{Andswæredon} Scottæas, 10 \textit{pet} heora lande ne wære to ðæs mycel, \textit{pet} hi mihton twa ðeode gehabban. Ac cwædon: We magon eow sellan halwende geþeahte, hwet ge don magon. We witan heonan noht feor oðer ealond eastrihete, \textit{pet} we magon oft leothum dagum geseon. Gif ge \textit{pet} secan wyllæp, þonne magon ge ðær eardungstowæ habban: 15 oðde gif hywlæc eow wiðstondæð, þonne gefultumæð we cow. 

Da ferdon Peohtas in Breetone, 7 ongannon eardigan þa norðdælas ðysses ealondes; 7 Bryttas, swa we ær cwædon, \textit{ca} suðdælas. Mid ðy Peohtas wif næfdon, bædon him fræm Scottum. Da geþæfedon hi ðære arendnesse, 7 him wif seldon, \textit{pæt} ðær seo wise on 20 tweon cyne, \textit{pæt} hi ðonne ma of \textit{pam} wifcynne him cyning curun þonne of \textit{pam} wæpnedcynne: \textit{pæt} get to dæg is mid Peohtum healde.

Da, forþpungenre tide, æfter Bryttum 7 Peohtum, pridde cynn Scotæa Breetone onfeng på Pehta dælæ, \textit{ca} wæron cumene of 25 Hibernia Scotæa ealonde mid heora heretogan, Reada hatte: oðpa mid freondsceipe oðpa mid gefeolhte him sylfum betwih hi sæcel 7 eardungstowæ geahnodon, ða hi nu get habba'S. \textit{Pæt} cynn nu geond to dæg Dalreadingas wæron hatene.

Hibernia Scotæa ealonde ge on brædo his stealles ge on halwend- 30 nesse ge on smytnysses lyfta is betere mycle þonne Breetone land, swa \textit{pæt} ðær seldon snau leng ligeð þonne ðry dagas. 7 ðær nœninig mann for wintres cyle on sumera heg ne maepe, ne scypene his neatum ne timbrep. Ne \textit{pær} monn ænungne sniċendcwe wyrm ne

1. 26 oðpa . . . 7 \textit{pam} Ca. oðde . . . oðpe B. 1. 29. geond Ca. gyl B. (perhaps we should read geona and earon).
1. 30. ge B. \textit{is} Ca.
common to all the others, in the study of the Scriptures. At the very first the Britons were the sole inhabitants of this island, which received its name from them. They, it is said, came into Britain from the province of Armorica, and occupied and appropriated the southern parts of this island. Subsequently it happened, that the Picts came in ships from Scythia, and passed round the whole British coast, till they landed in Ireland. And there they found Scots, and prayed for a settlement and dwelling-place in their country among them. Then the Scots answered, that their land was not large enough to contain two nations. But they said: We can give you sound advice, as to what you may do. We know, not far from this, another island to the east, which we can often see on clear days. If you will proceed there, you may find a dwelling-place: or if any oppose you, we will assist you. Then the Picts landed in Britain, and began to occupy the north of this island, the south, as we said before, being in the hands of the Britons. Now as the Picts had no wives, they asked wives from the Scots. These consented to give them, on condition that, if the matter was doubtful, they should choose the sovereign rather from the female line than from the male; which custom is still observed among the Picts to this day. In the course of time, next after the Britons and the Picts, a third race, that of the Scots, occupied Britain within the borders of the Picts. They came from Ireland, the island of the Scots, with their leader named Reada, and partly on friendly terms, partly after a struggle, secured for themselves a settlement and dwelling-place among them, which they still hold. Up to this day the race is called Dalreadings. Ireland, the island of the Scots, is far superior to Britain in the breadth of its conformation and in salubrity and mildness of climate, so that snow seldom lies there more than three days. No one there mows hay or builds stalls for his cattle, as a provision against winter's cold. No poisonous reptile is to be seen there, nor indeed may any viper live there; for vipers have been brought on board ship from
ætterne gesihþ; ne þær ænig nædre lisian ne mæg. Forþon of Breetone nædran on seipum lædde væron: sona swa hi ðæs landes lyft gestuncan, swa swulton hi. Eac neah þan ealle þa þing, þe ðanon cumað, wið ælcum ættre magon. Þæt to tacne is, Þæt sume menn gesawon, ða þe væron fram nædran geslegene, þæt man scof þara 5 boca leaf, þe of Hibernia coman, 7 þa sceapþan dyde on water, 7 sealde drincan þam munnm; 7 sona wæs þæt atter ofernumen, 7 hi væron gehælde. Is þæt ealand welig on meolcum 7 on hunige; 7 wingeardas weaxap on sumum stowum. 7 hit is fisewylle 7 fugolwylle, 7 mære on huntunge heorta 7 rana. Þis is agendlice 10 Scotta æðel; heonon coman seo ðridde ðeod Scotta, swa we ær cwædon, eac be Bryttum 7 Peohtum on Breetone.

II.1

Wæs Breetene ealand Romanum uncuð, ðeðæt Gaius se casere, oðre naman Iulius, hit mid ferde gesohte 7 geeode syxtygum wintra ær Cristes cyme.

III.

Da æfter þon Claudius se casere, se wæs feorþa fram Agusto eft fyrde gelædde on Breetone, 7 þær butan hefegum gefeohte 7 blodgyte mycelne dæl þæs landes on anweald onfeng. Swylce he eac Orcadas þa ealand, þa væron ut on garsege butan Breetone, to Romwara rice gefeodde. 7 þy syxtan monðe, þe he hider com, he 20 eft to Rome hwearf. Þèðes fyrð wæs getogen ðy feorðan geare his rices, þæt gér wæs fram Cristes hidercyme þæt sixte eac fecower-tigum.

Fram þam ylac casere Claudie wæs sended Uespassianus on Breetone, se æfter Nerone ricsode. Se geeode þæt ealand þon 25 Wiht 7 Romana onwealde underpeodde. Þæt is prittiges mila lang east 7 west, 7 twelf mila brad suð 7 norð. ða feng Neron to rice æfter Claudie þam casere. Se naht freomlices ongan on þære cynewisan, ac betwuh oðera unrim æwyrdleana Romwara rices, þæt he Breetone rice forlet.

1 This chapter is wanting in B. 1. 14. fyrde Ca. fyrde B.
I. 1-3.  

Britain, but they died as soon as they smelt the air of the land. Besides, almost everything from that country is efficacious against all poisons. In proof of this, men have been seen, who were bitten by vipers; shavings have been taken from leaves of books brought over from Ireland and put into water and given to the men to drink, and at once the poison was overpowered and the men cured. The island is rich in milk and honey, and vineyards grow in some places. It abounds in fish and fowl, and is famous for hunting the hart and the roe. This is the proper home of the Scots; hence came that third race of Scots mentioned above, as dwelling in Britain along with Britons and Picts.

II.  

The island of Britain was unknown to the Romans, till the emperor Gaius, also called Julius, came with an army and overran it, sixty years before the advent of Christ.

III.  

15 After this the emperor Claudius, who was fourth from Augustus, again led an army into Britain, and there, without serious resistance or bloodshed, took possession of a great part of the country. He also united to the Roman empire the Orkneys, islands out in the ocean beyond Britain. He returned again to Rome within six months of his first coming. This expedition was made in the fourth year of his reign, which was the forty-sixth from the advent of Christ. The same emperor Claudius dispatched Vespasian to Britain, who became emperor after Nero. He overran the Isle of Wight also, and brought it under the Roman dominion. It is thirty miles long east and west, and twelve miles broad north and south. Nero succeeded to Claudius. He did no service in the state, but among countless other disasters to the Roman empire, he also lost the dominion of Britain.
III.

Cap. 4. Da wæs fram Cristes hidercyme hundteontig 7 fiftig 7 six gear, þæt Marcus, þære naman Antonius, se wæs feowertœopa fram Agusto þam casere, se onfeng Romvara rice mid Aurelia his breðer. Dara cyninga tidum wæs se halga wer Eleuðer bispoc 7 papa þære Romaniscan cyrican. Sende to him Lucius Breetone cyning 5 ærendgewrit; bæd hine 7 halsade, þæt he þurh his bebod cristene gefremed were. 7 hraðe þa gefremednesse þære arfaestan bene wæs fylgende. 7 ða onfengan Bryttas fulluhte 7 Cristes geleafan, 7 ðone onwealhne 7 unwemmedne on smyltre sibbe heoldan ðop Deoclitianes tide þæs yfelan caseres.

V.

p. 476. Da wæs ymb hundteontig wintra 7 nigan 7 hundeahetatig wintra fram Drihtnes menniscnyssse, þæt Seuerus casere, se wæs Æffrica cynnes, of þære byrig ða Lepti hatte,—se wæs seofoenteogeða fram Agusto—þæt he rice onfeng, 7 þæt hæfde seofoentyne gear. Þæs casere framlice rehte ða cynewisan, ac hwædere mid gewinne. 15 He com on Breetone mid fyrdæ, 7 þær mid myclum 7 hefegum gefehtum mycelne dæl þæs ealondes on anweald onfeng; 7 hit begyrde 7 gefæstnade mid dice 7 mid eorðwealle from sæ to sæ fram oðrum elreordum þeodum. 7 he ðær on Eoforwicceastre adle forðferde; 7 Basianus his sunu feng to Breetenrice.

VI.

Cap. 6. Da wæs ymb tu hund wintra 7 syx 7 hundeahatatig æfter þære Drihtnenlican mennyscyssse, þæt Dioclitianus casere, se wæs fram Agusto ðridde eac ðrittigum, se hæfde twentig wintra rice. Se geceas Maximianum him to fultume his rices ge sealde him westdæl middaneardes. 7 he onfeng cynegewædum 7 com on Breetone. 25 Þa betwyh ða monigan yfel þe hi dydon, Dioclitianus in estdaele middangeardes 7 Maximianus on westdæle, hi heándon 7 hergedon

1. 5. lucius B. lucias Ca. cyning B. cyringe Ca. 1. 9. onwealhne 7 B. anweald Ca. onwald C. 1. 26. in estdale to Maximianus B., wanting in Ca. 1. 27. hyndon Ca. hyndon B.
IV.

Then came the hundred and fifty-sixth year after Christ's advent, and Marcus, also called Antonius, who was fourteenth from the emperor Augustus, succeeded to the Roman empire jointly with his brother Aurelius. In the time of these kings the holy Eleutherus was bishop and pope of the Roman church. To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter, praying and entreaty, that under his direction he might be converted to Christianity. And his pious request was quickly carried into effect. Then the Britons received baptism and the faith of Christ, and maintained it unimpaired and undefiled in quiet and peace till the time of Diocletian the bad emperor.

V.

Then came the hundred and eighty-ninth year from the incarnation of Christ, and the emperor Severus, who was an African by descent, from the town called Leptis, succeeded to the empire, and held it for seventeen years. He was seventeenth from Augustus. This emperor governed the state vigorously, but yet not without toil. He brought over a force to fight in Britain, and there, after prolonged and severe encounters, recovered a great part of the island; he then surrounded and fortified it with a ditch and rampart from sea to sea, severing it from the other barbarous tribes. He died from illness in the island at York; and Bassianus his son succeeded to the government of Britain.

VI.

It was then about two hundred and eighty-six years after the incarnation of our Lord, when the emperor Diocletian, who was the thirty-third from Augustus, filled the throne for twenty years. He chose Maximian as his coadjutor, and assigned him the western portion of the world. The latter on assuming the purple came to Britain.

Then among the many ill deeds done by them, Diocletian in the East and Maximian in the West afflicted and harassed the
Godes cyrican 7 yfeledon, 7 slogan cristene men. Onfengon hi Ȼa teoⁿan stowe on ehtnyss Godes cyreʃa æʃter Nerone casere. Wæs seo ehtnyss þyssa arleasra cyinga unmetra 7 sinjalre eallum þam ærgetodon on middanearde, for Ȼon Æørh tyn winter full Godes cyricena hynnyss 7 unsecaððiendra fordemednesse 7 slege 5 haligra martyra unblinnendlice don wæs. Wæs eac Bryten þa swyðe gehyned on myclum wundre Godes geleafan 7 ondetnyss.

VII.

Cap. 7.

Swylce eac on þa tid on Breetone wæs drowiende Ȼs Albaʃus; be þam Fortunatus presbyter on fæmnena lofe, Ȼa he gemy-

enegode þara eadigryrara martyr, Ȼa þe of eallum middangearde 10
to Drihtne coman, cwæð he: Ƿone æðelan Albaʃun seo westm-

berende Bryton forðbæreð. Wæs he Albaʃus hæðen Ȼa gyt, þa

čara treowleasra cyinga beboda wiʃ cristenum monnum grimsedon.

Đa gelamp þæt he sumne Godes mann preosthades, se wæs Ȼa

reþan ehteras fleonde, on gestliʃnyssse onfeng. And mid þy þe he 15

hine þa gesæah on singalum gebedum 7 wæccum Ææges 7 nihtes

beon abysgadne, þa wæs he semninga mid þam godeðundan gyfe

gesawen 7 gemildsad. 7 he sona bysene his geleafan 7 arfaʃtnesse

onhýrigean ongan; 7 swylce eac stecemalum his þam halwendan.

trymnyssum wæs gefæred, þæt he forlet þa Æyrostro deofalgylda 20

7 of innweardre heortan cristen wæs geworden.

Mid þy Ȼa se foreshrecena Godes man fela daga mid him

wæs on gestliʃnesse, þa becom þæt to earan þæs manfullan ealdor-

mannes, þæt Albaʃus hæʃde Æone Cristes andettere digollice mid

him. Đa het he hraʃe his þegnas hine secan 7 acshan. Đa sona 25

þæs þe hi coman to þæs martyrres huse, þa Ȼʃ Albaʃus for þam

cuman, þe he gefeormade, gefyrede hine Ȼa his munugcegeyrelan;

7 eode him on hond. 7 hi hine gebundenne to him læddon.

Đa gelamp hit on þa ylcan tid, þe Albaʃus to him gelædæd wæs,

þæt he se dema stod æt his godgylendum 7 deoflum onseærdnesse 30

bær. Mid þy þe he gesæah Ȼʃi Albaʃun, þa wæs he sona yrre

1. 3. arleasra Ca. -ra B. 1. 11. wæʃm- Ca. -wæʃm- B. 1. 19. on-

byrigean Ca. onhyrian B. 1. 28. hi hine B. hi hine Ca. 1. 31. gesæah B.

beseah Ca.
churches of God, and illtreated and slew christians. These emperors occupy the tenth place among the persecutors of God's church since the emperor Nero. The persecution of these impious kings was more violent and continuous than any before in the world, for with burning of God's churches and condemnation of the innocent and slaughter of holy martyrs it went on incessantly for ten years' time. Britain also was sorely afflicted, to the great glory of the faith and confession of God.

VII.

At this time also St. Alban suffered in Britain, of whom the priest Fortunatus, in his 'Laus Virginum,' when mentioning the blessed martyrs, who came from all the earth to the Lord, thus spoke: 'Fruitful Britain produces the noble Albanus.' Albanus was still a heathen, when the commands of the faithless kings burst forth in fury against christians. It so happened that he entertained a pious man of the priesthood, who was fleeing from the cruel persecutors. And when he saw him day and night busied in continual prayers and vigils, then was Alban suddenly visited by the mercy of God's grace. And he soon began to imitate the example of his belief and piety; and also gradually was taught, by his saving exhortations, to leave the darkness of idol worship and become with sincere heart a christian man. Now when the aforesaid man of God had been entertained many days by Alban, it came to the ears of the sinful governor, that Alban had this servant and confessor of Christ concealed in his house. Then he quickly ordered his attendants to go and demand him. As soon as they came to the martyr's house, St. Alban put on the monk's dress, substituting himself for the stranger who was his guest, and gave himself into their hands. And they brought him bound to the governor. Now it happened at the very time, when Alban was led to him, that the judge stood by his idols and offered sacrifice to devils. On seeing St. Alban he at once burst into a passion, because the saint wil-
geworden, forþam he mid his sylfes willum geþristade, þæt he hine sylfne on geweald sealde swylcere freeðynysse for þam cuman, þe he on gestliðynysse gefeormode. Het hine ða teon 7 lædan to ðam deofolgylendum, þe he æt stod; cwæð him þus to: Forðon þe ðu þone mangengan 7 þone wipfæohtend 7 þone forhycgend ura 5 goda þ þu me helan woldest, swyðor þonne minum þegnum scegean, þonne wite ðu þæt þu scealt ðam yican wite onfon, þe he geærnode, gif ðu gewitan þencste fram þam bigange ure æfestynysse. And Scæ Albanus ða mid his sylfes willan cyðde 7 openade þam eþterum Godes geleafan, þæt he cristen wære. 7 he ne wæs ondredende 10 ða beotunge þæs ealdormannes, ac he begyrded wæs mid wæþnum þæs gastlican camphades; 7 he openlice sæde þæt he his bebodum hyrsumian ne wolde. Da cwæð he se ealdorman 7 se dema him to Saga me hwylces hiredes 7 hwylces cynnes þu si. And þa andswared ech Scæ Albanus: Hwaet limþep þæs to þe of hwylcum wytruman 15 ic acenned si? Ac gif ðu wylle gehyran þæt sop minre æfestynysse, þonne wite þu me cristene beon: 7 ic cristenum þenbergum Scæowian wylle. Da cwæð he se dema: Gesaga me pinne naman, hwæt ðu haten sie. Þa cwæð he: Albanus ic eom geciged fram minum yldrum; 7 þone soðan God 7 þone lifsgendan, se gescop heofon 7 20 eorðan 7 ealle gesceæfta, ic symble bigange, 7 me to him gebide. Þa wæs he se dema yrre geworden; cwæð him to: Gif ðu wille þysses lifes gesælignysse mid us brucan, ne yld þu þæt þu þam myclan godum mid us onseyge. Da andswared Scæ Albanus: Da onsægndyssse, þa ðe fram eow deoflum wæron agoldene, ne 25 magon hi ðam under þeoddum gefulltumian, ne heora lustas ne heora willan gefylland. Ac gyþ sopere is, swa hwylc man swa þissum onlicysssum 7 deofolgyldum ansægndyssse bereð, se forðam mede onfeðr, þæt is ecum tingtregum helle wites. Þa se dema þas word gehyrde, ða wæs he mid miclum wylne 7 yrre onstyreþ; het ða 30 7 bebead hraðe swingan 7 tingtregian Scæone Godes andettere. Tealde 7 wende þæt he mid swinglan sceolde þa* beldu 7 þa anrednesse his heortan anescian, ða he mid wordum ne mihte. Da he þa mid grimmum swinglum 7 tingtregum wæced wæs, 7 he ealle

1. 20. Þone lifsgendan B. Þone soðan lifsgendan Ca. 1. 32. Bedu Ca. byllo B.
fully presumed to give himself over to such risk in place of the stranger, whom he entertained as guest. Then he ordered him to be taken and dragged before the idols by which he stood, and thus spoke: 'As you sought to conceal from me the impious foe and scorner of our gods rather than betray him to my servants, know that you shall receive the same punishment as he earned, if you think to withdraw from the worship of our religion.' Then St. Alban voluntarily declared and confessed to the persecutors of God's faith, that he was a christian man. Nor did he fear the governor's threats, but girding himself with the armour of spiritual warfare, openly said that he would not obey his commands. Then said the governor and judge to him: 'Tell me of what family and of what race thou art.' Then St. Alban answered: 'What matters it to you from what stock I am sprung? But if you wish to hear the truth as to my religion, know that I am a christian, and will devote myself to christian services.' Then said the judge: 'Tell me thy name by which thou art called.' Then said he: 'I am called Alban by my parents; and I ever worship and pray to the true and living God who created heaven and earth and all creatures.' Then the judge grew angry, and said to him, 'If you wish to enjoy with us happiness in this life, delay not to join us in worshipping the great gods.' Then answered St. Alban: 'The sacrifices which were offered by you to devils cannot benefit the devil's subjects, nor fulfil their lusts and their will; nay more, whoever offers to these images and idols, for that receives his reward, the eternal pains of hell torments.' When the judge heard those words he was stirred with great wrath and fury. Then he ordered his men at once to scourge and torture this confessor of God, for he reckoned and supposed that by scourging he would weaken his courage and the steadfastness of his heart, though he could not by words. And then the saint was afflicted with grievous scourging and tortures, and he bore and
pa witu, ce him man dyde, gepyldelicæ 7 geseonde for Drihtne abær 7 arefnde. Pa se dema pet sa onecow 7 pa ongæt, pet he hine mid tintregnæ 7 mid swinglan oferswītan ne mihte, ne from pa bigonge sære cristenan æfestynesse acyrran, pa het he hine heafde becocfan.

Mid ðy he pa to deacæ gelæded wæs, pa com he to swift-stremre eæ, seo floweþ neah sære ceastre wealle. 7 he gesæah sæer micle monna æghwæðeres hædes; 7 wærøn missenlicæ yldo 7 getiæge men. Seo monno monna butan tweeon mid godecundre onbryrðynæses wæs cægiced to þænunge sæs eadigan martyræs. 7 bi 10 swa sæs streamæs brycge abysgade wæron pet hi hwene ær æfenne oferfaran ne mihten; 7, neah þon callum utgangendum, pet se dema butan þænunge abãd on þære ceastre. And ða Sæs Albanus, on þam wæs byrnende wilsunnæses modes, pet he recænust to þrowunge become, eode ða to þære burnan þe ic ær sæde, 15 7 his eagan ahòf upp to heofonum, þa sona adrugode se stream 7 beah for his fœtum, swa pet he mihte dryge ofer-gangan. Þa Sís wundor þa gesæah betwuh oðre se sylfa cwellere ðe hine slean sceolde, þa wæs he sona mid godecundre onbryrðynæses innan monad, pet he wearp pet sweord onweg 20 pet he on handa heafde, 7 him to fœtum fœll; 7 he geornlice bæd 7 wilnade, pet he mid þone martyr oððe for hine þrowian moste, ðe he ær slean sceolde. Ða wæs þes man Súrþ Godes gyof ehtere geworden sōfistnesse freond ond Cristes geleæfan. And þa astah se arwurðesta Godes andettere mid þa menigeo on þa 25 dune upp, seo wæs þa tidlice grene 7 fæger 7 mid misenlicæm blostmum wyrta þ afed 7 geȝyræd æghwyder ymbutan. Wæs pet þæs wyrðe, pet seo stow swa wîlitig 7 swa fæger wære, þe eft sceolde mid þy blode þæs eadigan martyræs gewurðad 7 gehalgod weorþan. On þyssæ dune ufanweardre bæd Sæs Albanus fram Gode 30 him wæter sealð beon to sumre his þænunge. 7 þa sona hræðe beforan his fœtum wæs wyl upp yrnende, pet ealle menn ongytan mihtan, pet ðæt wæter to his þænunge sended wæs, þe he ær to Gode wilnade. 7 nu seo wylle 7 þæt wæter, gefyldedre wilsunnesse

l. 12. utgangende Ca. utgangendum B. 1. 27. afed Ca. afegrod C. B. cp. i. 25. 1. 28. wîlitig C. B. welig Ca.
endured with patience and joy all the pains inflicted on him for the Lord’s sake. When the judge perceived this, and saw that he could not conquer him with torture or scourging, nor turn him from the worship of the Christian religion, he ordered him to be beheaded. As he was led to death, he came to a very rapid stream which flows near the town wall. And he saw there a great crowd of persons of both sexes, of various ages and ranks. The crowd was doubtless summoned by an inspiration from heaven as an escort for the blessed martyr: and they were so detained by the bridge over the river that it was hardly possible to cross till a little before evening. And as almost all had gone forth, the judge remained in the town without escort. And when St. Alban, in whom there was a burning fervour of mind to attain with all speed to his martyrdom, came to the brook which I mentioned before, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, then the stream at once dried up and gave way before his feet, so that he could pass over dry shod. When among others the executioner, who should slay him, saw this marvel, he was at once inwardly warned by the inspiration of divine grace, so that he threw the sword away, that he held in his hand and fell at his feet; and he earnestly prayed and desired that he might suffer with the martyr whom he was to have slain, or in his place. So by God’s grace was this man turned from a persecutor into a friend of the truth and of the faith of Christ. Then went up the venerated confessor of God on the hill with the crowd, which was then green with the season, and fair and painted and adorned on all sides with flowers of various plants. And this was meet, that the place should be so comely and so fair, which afterwards was to be glorified and sanctified with the blood of this blessed martyr. On the top of this hill St. Alban prayed that water might be given him for his use by God. Then, at once, a fountain quickly sprang up before his feet, so that all men might perceive that this water was sent for his service, as he already desired of God. And now the fountain and the water,
7 Sexere Ænunge pæs eadigan martyres wæs forlaetende Æa cyphynesse Æære Ænunge, 7 hweart eft to gecynde. Wæs seow stow hwæthewugu on healhre mile fram Æære ceastre wealle, 7 fram Æære burnan þe he ær drigum fotum ofereode. Æær wæs þa heafde beslagen se strengesta martyr Scēs Albanus, 7 þær he onfeng beah 5 7 sige eces lifes, þone ylcan sige God behêt callum þam Þe hine lufian wyllad. Ac se cwellere, se þe his ærlæse handa æðenede ofer þone ærfæstan sweoran Þæs martyres 7 his heafod of asloh, ne wæs he forlætæn þæt he ofer him deadum gefege: ac him þa eagan of his heafle ascuton 7 ætgædere mid Þæs martyres heafde 10 on eordan feollan. Da wæs eac swylce heafde beslegen 7 gemartyrad se mon, se þe wæs ær Þon mid þam uplican mihte geðread, þæt he wiðsoc þæt he Þone Godes andetterm sloge. Be þam Þonne cuð is, þeah þe he mid wætere fullhtes bæpes æþwegen ne wære, þæt he wæs hwæðere mid þy bæðe his blodes geclænsad 7 Þæs 15 heofonlican rices wyrðe geworden. Da wæs se dema æfter ßyssum mid þa neownysse swa monigra heofonlicra wundra swyple geðrefed 7 gefyrhted, het þa sona blinnan fram ehtynysse cristenra manna, 7 ongan arweorþian Þa prowunge þara haligra martyra, þurh Þa he ær wende þæt he hi acyrran meahæ fram æfestynysse 20 þæs cristenan geleafan. Wæs he prowigende se eadiga Albanus Þy teoðan Þæge Kalendarum Iulianum neah Þære ceastre, Þe Romane heton Uerolamium, seo nu fram Angelœode Werlameceaster oppe Ææclingaceaster is nemned. Da wæs sona, æfter þon þæt smyltnes com cristenra tida, þæt Þær wæs cyrice geworht 7 getim-25 brad wundorlices geweorces 7 his prowunge 7 martyrdom wyrpe. On Þære stowe nu soðlice Þe ßysne andwardan Þæg untrumra manna hælo 7 wyrnes heofonlicra lægæna gelomlícæ beoð mærsade, 7 monigfealde wundra gelimpad.

Wærón eac swylce prowíende on Þa tíð Áaron 7 Iulilius, þa 30 wærón burhwarumen on Lígeceastre, 7 eac oðre monige æghwæðeres hades on missenlicum stowum, Þa wærón missenlicum cwælmonyssum Þrêste 7 ungeheredre leona toslitynysse wundade.

1. 17. neowynysse (dots below and stroke through us) Ca. mid þa n. not in B. 1. 28. haelo onfod Ca. B. omits onfod.
having fulfilled devotion and service to the holy martyr, returned to its natural condition and ceased to give evidence of this service. The place was about half a mile from the wall of the town and from the brook which he crossed before dry shod.

5 Then was this most brave martyr St. Alban beheaded there, and received the victorious crown of eternal life, which God has promised to all who will love him. But the executioner, who stretched forth his impious hands against the pious neck of this martyr and struck off his head, was not permitted to rejoice over his death; his eyes shot out of his head and fell to the earth with the head of the martyr. Then was also beheaded and martyred the man, who had before been rebuked by the heavenly power and refused to be the slayer of God's confessor. As to him, it is certain, though he was not washed with the water of baptism, that he nevertheless was cleansed by the washing of his blood, and made worthy of the kingdom of heaven. Thereupon the judge, much troubled and affrighted by the strangeness of so many heavenly wonders, at once ordered them to cease from the persecution of christians, and began to honour the sufferings of the holy martyrs, by which he previously supposed he could turn them from their devotion to the christian faith. The blessed Alban suffered on the 22nd of June close to the town which the Romans called Verolamium, and is now named by the English Werlameceaster or Wæclingaceaster. Soon after that a season of serenity for christians came, and there was a church wrought and built there of admirable structure, worthy of his passion and martyrdom. At that spot indeed, up to the present day, are still often proclaimed cures of the sick and the performance of divine miracles, and manifold wonders take place. At the same time suffered also Aaron and Julius, who were burgesses of Chester; and many others also of both sexes, in various places, were racked with various tortures and lacerated with unheard-of rending of their limbs. Their strife
Fulfremede compe heora sawle to gefean sendon þære upplican ceastre heofona rices wuldres.

VIII.¹

Cap. 8. And þæs ðe þa sea costnung þære ehtnesse gestilled wæs, þa wæron forðgongende þa cristenan men 7 ða geleafsuman, þa þe hi ær on ða frecnan tid þære ehtnysse on wudum 7 on westenum 5 7 scræfum hi hydden 7 digledon. 7 hi ða edniwedon Godes cyricean ða ðe ær toworpene wæron, 7 eac cyricean timbredon 7 halgodon ðam halgum martyrum, 7 heora stowe bræddon 7 weordodon, swa swa sigefæst tacor, 7 symbeldagas mærsedan; 7 þa godcundan geryno clænan muðe 7 clænre hortan halgedon 10 7 fremedon. Þeos sibb ðunade on Cristes wæron, ðð ða tide þe se Arrianisca gedweolda aras. Dyssum tidum Constantinus, se be Dicocetianefyngendum Gallia rice 7 Ispania heold 7 rehte,—wæs se mon monðwære 7 for weorulde gðd—ferde he forðon Breetone; 7 Constantinus his sunu 15 þam godan casere, se wæs of Eléna þam wife acenned, his rice forlét. Writeð Eutropius þæt Constantinus se casere wære on Breetone acenned, 7 æfter his fæder to rice feng. þæs cyninges tidum se Arrianisca gedwoła wæs upcumen; 7 þæt deadbærende attor his getrewleasynysse, nalaes þæt on callum middangeardes 20 cyricum þæt he stregde, ac hit eac swylce on þis ealond becom. Se gedweola wæs on þam Nyceaniscan sinoþe geniðerad 7 afyllde on Constantinus dagum.

IX.²

¹ Cap. 8. ⁱ P. 480. ² Cap. 11.

Da wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 seofone æfter Drihtnes menniscynysse; feng to rice Honorius casere, se wæs feorða eac 25 feowertigum fram Agusto þam casere—twam gearum ær Romaburh abrocen 7 forhergad wære. Seo hergung wæs purh Alaricum Gotena cyning geworden. Wæs Romaburh abrocen fram Gotum

1. 1. sendon B. syndon (e late t) Ca., cp. ii. 12, iii. 15. ¹ XI Ca. (the numbering to the end of Bk. I is confused, perhaps altered: see note to XV). 1 8. breað, on Ca. bræddon B. 1 13. Constantinus (Còstantius in margin is modern) Ca. -tius C. Constanti.us (n erased) B. be Dicocetianð lifendum B. bad Dicoclyane fyngendum, the d struck through in modern ink:
being ended, they gave up their souls, to enter the joys of the city above amid the glory of the kingdom of heaven.

VIII.

When the trials of this persecution quieted down, faithful christians came forth, who previously, in the dangerous times of persecution, lay hid in woods and wastes and caves. They repaired God's churches which had been thrown down, and built and consecrated others in honour of the holy martyrs, extending and honouring their sites in token of victory and celebrating their festivals, and hallowed and performed the divine mysteries with pure mouth and pure heart. This peace ever continued in the churches of Christ, which were in Britain up to the time when the Arian heresy arose. In these times died Constantinus in Britain. He held and swayed the empire of Gaul and Spain in the lifetime of Diocletianus, and was a man of much clemency and goodness in the world. He left his power to his son Constantine, the good emperor, who was born of his wife Helen. Eutropius writes that the emperor Constantine was born in Britain, and succeeded his father on the throne. In this king's time the Arian heresy arose; and the deadly poison of his unbelief he spread not only to all churches in the world, but it also came into this island. This heresy was condemned and crushed in the days of Constantine at the Council of Nicæa.

IX.

It was then about 407 years after our Lord's incarnation; Honorius was on the throne, being the forty-fourth from the emperor Augustus; and it was two years before Rome was taken and devastated. The devastation was caused by Alaric, king of the Goths. The capture by the Goths took place about 1164 years.

ymb Ɔusend wintra 7 hundtecontig 7 feower 7 syxtig Ɔes Ɔe heo geworht wæs. Of Ɔære tide Romæne blunnun ricsian on Breetene. Hæfdon hi Breetona rice feower hund wintra 7 Ɔæs fiftan hund-seosontig, Ɔes Ɔe Gaius, Ɔøre naman Iulius, se casere Ɔæt ylce ealond gesohte. 7 ceastre 7 torras 7 stræta 7 brycge on heora rice Ɔ geworhte waeran, Ɔa we to dag sceawian magon. Eardædon Bryttas binnan Ɔam dice to suððæle, Ɔe we gemynegodon Ɔæt Seuerus se casere het Æwyrs ofer Ɔæt ealond gedician.

Cap. 12. Ɔa ongunnan twa Ɔeoda Pyhtas norðan 7 Scottas westan hi onwinnan 7 heora æhta niman 7 hergian; 7 hi Ɔela geara yrmdon 10 7 hyndon. Ɔa on Æære unstillynsse onsendon hi ærendwrecan to Rome mid gewritum 7 wependre bene: him fultumes baedon, 7 him gehetan eaðmode hyrnysse 7 singale underpeodnyssse, gif hi him gefultumadon Ɔæt hi mihton heora fynd oferwinnan. Ɔa onsendan hi him mycelne here to fultume. 7 sona Ɔæs Ɔe hi 15 on Æis ealond comon, Ɔa cómpedon hi wið heora feondum, 7 him mycel weal ongeslogan, 7 of heora gemærum adrifon 7 aflymdon. 7 lærdon Ɔæt hi læsten worhtan him to george wið heora feondum: 7 swa mid mycele sige ham foran.

Ɔa Ææt Æa ongeatun Æa ærran gewinnan Ææt se Romanisca here 20 wæs onweg gewiten, Æa coman hi sono mid sciphere on heora landge-mæro, 7 slogoan eall 7 cuealdon Ææt hi gemeton; 7 swa swa ripe yrð fortreddon 7 fornamon, 7 hi mid ealle foryrmdon. And hi Æa eft sendon ærendracaen to Rome 7 wependre stefne him fultumes baedon, Ɔæt Ææt earme æþel mid ealle ne fordilgad ne wære, ne se 25 nama Ɔære Romanisca Ɔeode, se Ɔe mid him swa lange scéan 7 bryhte, fram fremdra Ɔeoda ungeþwærnesse fornumen 7 fordilgad beon scelede. Æa wæs eft here hider sended, se wæs cumende on ungewénédre tìde on herfeste: 7 hi sono wið heora feondum gefuhtan, 7 sige hæfdan, 7 ealle Æa Æa Æone deah beswician myhtan 30 ofer Æone sæ norð aflymd, Ɔa Æe ær ælce geare ofer Æone sæ hloðedon 7 hergedon. Ɔa gesægodon Romæne on án Bryttum Ææt hi no má ne mihton for heora gescyldynsse swa gewinnfullicum fyrdum swencete beon. Ac hi manedon 7 lærdon Ɔæt hi him

1. 6. eardædon Ca. eardedon B. 1. 14. hi B. hi Ca. 1. 34. fyrdæ (traces of erased stroke over u. Interlinear writing has been erased here and often elsewhere) Ca. fyrdon B.
after the foundation of the city. From that time the Romans ceased
to have dominion in Britain: they had had dominion for 470 years,
since Gaius, also called Julius, the emperor landed on the island. Cities, towers, roads and bridges had been constructed under their
rule, which may be seen at the present day. The Britons dwelt
to the south within the dyke we spoke of, built by order of
the emperor Severus right across the island.

Then began two nations, the Picts on the north and the Scots on
the west, to assail them, to seize and waste their possessions; and
for many years they caused misery and distress. During these
troubles they sent messengers to Rome with letters and a plaintive
petition, begging for help, and offering humble obedience and
perpetual submission, if help were granted that they might
overcome their foes. Then they sent a large force to their aid,
which on landing in the island at once fought against the enemy,
defeated them with great slaughter, and drove them in flight beyond
the borders. Then they taught the Britons to construct fortifi-
cations as a defence against their enemies: and so with great
triumph returned home. But when their former adversaries saw
that the Roman army had gone away, they proceeded at once with
a fleet to the British borders, slew and murdered all they met, and,
as if it were a ripe field of corn, trod them under foot, and made
havoc, and utterly ruined all. Then once more they sent mes-
sengers to Rome and in plaintive tones begged for aid, that their
poor country might not be utterly destroyed, nor the name of the
Roman people, which so long was bright and shining among them,
be overcast and obscured by the violence of foreign nations. Once
more an army was sent here, which arriving unexpectedly at
harvest time, at once took the field against the enemy and won a
victory, and drove all who could escape the slaughter northward over
the sea, after they had each year before crossed the sea to spoil and
lay waste. Then the Romans said to the Britons once for all, that
they could no longer exhaust themselves in such toilsome expeditions
for their defence. But they admonished and instructed them to
wæpno worhton 7 modes strengeðo naman þæt hi compedon 7 wið-
stodan heora feondum. 7 hi him ða eac to ræde 7 to frosre fundon, þæt
hi gemænelice fæsten geworhten him to gescyldnesse, stenene weal
rihtre stige fram eastsæ oð westsæ, þær Seuerus se casere iu het
dician 7 eorðwall gewyrcan: þone mán nu to ðæg sceawan mæg
5 eahta fota bradne 7 twelf fota heanne. Swylce eac on þæs sæs worope
to suððæle, þanon ðe hi sciphere on becom, torras timbredon to
gëorghe ðæs sæs. Da sona þæs ðe þis fæsten geworht wæs,
ða sealdon hi him bysne monige, hu hi him wæpen wyrcean
sceoldan, 7 heora feondum wiðstodan. 7 hi ða grettan 7 him
cyðdan þæt hi næfre má hi sécan woldan ; 7 hi sigefæste ofer sæ
ferdon. Da þæt þa Pehtas 7 Scottas geacedon, þæt hi ham
gewitene wæron, 7 eac þæt hi hider no eft ma hi secan ne woldan,
þa weron hi ðe baldran gewordene, 7 sona ealne norððæl ðýsses
ealondes oð þone weall genoman 7 gesetton. Wið pyssum stod on 15
þam fæstene ufanweardum se earga feða Brytta þær forhtigendre
heortan wunode ðæges 7 nihtes. Þa sohtan heora gewinnan him
sarwe 7 worhton him hocas, 7 mid þam tugan hi earmlice adun of
þam wealle. 7 hi wæron sona deade, swa hi eorðan gesohtan.
Hig þa forlættan þone wall 7 heora burh, 7 flugan onwæg: 7 20
heora gewinnan hi ehtan 7 slogan, 7 on wæll fyldon. Wæs þis
gefeohht wælgrimre 7 strenge eallum þam ærgedonum. Forðon
swa swa swa sceap from wulfum 7 wildeorum beoð fornnumene, swa þa
earman ceasterwaran toslitene 7 fornnumene wæron fram heora
feondum, 7 heora æhtum benëmde 7 to hungre gesette.

X.1

Cap. 13. Ða wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 þreo 7 twentig þære
Drihtenlican menniscnyss; Theodosius casere æfter Honorie rice
onfeng, 7 þæt hæfle syx 7 twentig wintra. Se wæs fihta eac feower-
tigum fram Agusto þam casere. Þæs caseres rices ðy eahtegan
gære Palladius bïscop wæs ærest sended to Scottum, þa ðe on Crist 30
gelyfdon, fram þam bïscop þære Romaniscan cyricean, Celestinus

manufacture arms, and pluck up stout hearts that they might fight and withstand their foes. They also thought it advisable and helpful, that they should construct a general line of fortification for their protection, that is a stone wall in a straight line from the sea on the east to the sea on the west, where the emperor Severus formerly directed the construction of a ditch and a rampart of earth: this may still be seen, and is eight feet broad and twelve feet high. They also built for protection from the side of the sea, towers on the sea coast south of this point, where they were assailed by fleets. As soon as they had completed this fortification, and given them many examples how to manufacture arms and withstand their foes, they took their leave, informing them that they should return no more, and then sailed in triumph across the sea. Now when the Picts and Scots learnt that they had gone home and would return no more here, they were emboldened by this, and at once seized and occupied all the north part of this island up to the rampart. To oppose this the cowardly British soldiers took their stand on the top of the fortification, and there remained day and night with trembling hearts. Then their adversaries sought implements and made hooks, and with these dragged them down miserably from the ramparts: and their death followed immediately on their reaching the ground. So the Britons abandoned the rampart and their cities and fled away, and their adversaries pursued and slew them with a great slaughter. This contest was more bloody and violent than any before: for as sheep are destroyed by wolves and wild beasts, so the poor townsmen were rent and destroyed by their foes, being stripped of their possessions and left to starve.

X.

It was then about four hundred and twenty-three years after the incarnation of Christ; the emperor Theodosius succeeded Honorius in the empire, and reigned twenty-six years; he was the forty-fifth from the emperor Augustus. It was in the eighth year of this emperor's reign that bishop Palladius was first sent to the Scots who believed on Christ, by that bishop of the Roman church
was haten. Swylce eac his rices by ðriddan geare eac twentigum Aetius was haten mare man; se was iu aer heah caldorman, 7 ða was priddan siche consul 7 cyning on Rome. To þysum ða þear-

pendan lafe Brytta sendon ærendgewrit; was se fruma þus awritten: Ettio ðríga * cyninge: Her is Brytta geong 7 geomerung. 7 on forð-

eæge þæs ærendgewrites þus hi heora yrmyðo arehton: Us drifaid þa eallreordan to sæ; wiðscufeð us sæ to þam ællreordum: betwih him twam we þus tweosealdne deað þrowian, oððe sticode beðð oððe on sæ adruncene. Deah ðe hi þas ðing sedon, ne mihton hi næigne fultum æt him begitan, forþon on ða ylcan tid he was 10 absgyad mid hefigum gefeohtum wið Blædlan 7 Atillan Huna cyningum.

XI.¹

Swylce eac þissum tidum com mycel hungor on Constanti-

nopolim Creca caldorburh: 7 sona wól was æfterfyligende. Ge eac monige weallas mid seofon 7 fiftegum torran gehurton 7 gefeollan: 15 7 swylce eac monige oðre ceastre tohrorene wæron. 7 se hunger 7 se wolberenda stenc bære lyfte monige þusendo monna 7 neata fordlgade 7 fornams.

Cap. 14. Com se foresprecena hungur eac swylce hider on Bryttas 7 hi to ðon swyþe wæhcte, þæt heora monige heora feondum on hand eodan; 20 7 gyte ma wæs þe þæt dón ne wolde: ac, þa him ælc mennisc fultum blonn, þæt hi ma on godcundne fultum getreowodon. 7 ða ongunnan ærest wið heora fynd feohstan, þa þe monige gear ær hi onhergedon 7 hleðedon. 7 hi him ða micel wæl ongeslogan, 7 hi ham bedrisan, 7 sige ahton. Æfter þyssum com gód gear, 7 swa 25 eac micel genihtsummys væstma on Breotone lond, swa nægn æfter-
ylde syðdan gemunan mæg. Mid þy ða ongon firenlust weaxan;

7 sona wól ealra monna somod gehradode, þæt wæs vælhlrownysse 7 soðsteynysse feong; 7 seo lufu líges 7 leasunge. 7 nales þæt án þæt ðas ðing dyden weoruldmen, ac eac swylce þæt Drihtnes eowde, 30 7 his hyrdas. 7 hi druncenmesse 7 oferhydo 7 geciide ond geflite 7 æfeste 7 oðrum mannum þysses gemetes wæron heora swiran

¹. 5. etio ðríga cyninga Ca. These words are not in B. yrmund geong Ca. gnornung B. ¹ XIII Ca. 1. 18. fornamb B. fornumene wæron Ca.
who is called Celestinus. Also in the twenty-third year of his reign there was a famous man named Aetius, who was formerly patrician and was then consul for the third time and king in Rome. To him the miserable remnants of the Britons sent a letter, of which the beginning ran thus: 'To Aetius, thrice king, these are the groans and laments of the Britons.' And in the course of the letter they thus set forth their misery: 'The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea thrusts us back to the barbarians; between both we thus suffer a twofold death, we are either stabbed or drowned in the sea.' Though they pleaded thus, they could not get any help from him, for at that time he was engaged in severe struggles with Blaedla and Attila, kings of the Huns.

XI.

Also, at this time, there arose a great famine at Constantinople, the capital of the Greeks, immediately succeeded by a pestilence. Also many walls along with fifty-seven towers collapsed and fell; and many other towns too were ruined. And the famine and pestilential stench of the air carried off and destroyed many thousands of men and cattle. The famine just mentioned spread also to Britain, and affected the people to such a degree, that many gave themselves up into the hands of their enemies; but there were yet more who would not do so; and as all human aid failed them, they trusted the more to aid from heaven. Then for the first time they began to resist their enemies, who now for many years had wasted and spoiled them. They defeated them with great slaughter, drove them home and secured the victory. After this came a good year, and such abundant crops in Britain, as no age since can record. With that began an increase of riotous living; and at once a general corruption hastened in its train, cruelty, hatred to truth, and love of lying and leasing. Nor was it only worldly men who acted thus, but also the fold and shepherds of the Lord. And they cast off the light and pleasant yoke of Christ, and bowed their necks to drunkenness, pride, strife, conten-
under peoddende, onweg aworpenum Cristes geoce þam leohtan þam swetan. Betwih þas þing þa com semninga mycel wól 7 grim ofer þa gehwyrfdon modes menn. 7 se on hrærdnesse swa mycele menigo heora fornóm 7 gefyldæ, þæte þa ewican no genihtsumedon þæt hi þa deadan bebyrigdan. Ac hwædere þa þe liſgende wæren 5 for þam ege þæs deaðes noth þon sel woldan, ne fram heora sawle deaðe acigðe boe ne mihton. Forðon nales æfter myclum fæce grimmre wræc þa þære fyrensfullan þeode þæs grimman mannes wæs æfterfyligende. Þa gesommedon hi gemot 7 þahtedon 7 rædddon, hwæt him to donne ware, hwær him ware fultum to secanne to 10 gewearnienne 7 to wiðscufanne swa reðre hergunge 7 swa gelomlicre þara norðþeoda. 7 þa gelicode him callum mid heora cyninge, Wyrtegeorn wæs haten, þæt hi Seaxna þeode ofer þam sælicum dælum him on fultum gecygdon 7 gelæðedon. Þæt cuð is þæt þæt mid Drihtnes mihte gestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc come ofer þa wipcore-15 nan, swa on þam ende þara wisena sweotolice ætywed is.

XII.1

Þa wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 nigon 7 feowertig fram ures Drihtnes menniscynsse, þæt Martianus casere rice onfeng 7 VII gear hæfde. Se wæs syxta eac feowertigum fram Agusto þam casere. Ða Angel þeod 7 Seaxna wæs gelæðod fram þam fore-20 sprecenan cyninge, 7 on Breetone com on þrim myclum scypum; 7 on eastdæle þysey ealdones eardungstowe onfeng þurh þæs ylcan cyninges bebod, þe hi hider gelæðode, þæt hi sceoldan for heora cōle compian 7 feoðtan. 7 hi sona compedon wið heora gewinnan, þe hi oft ær norðan onhergedon; 7 Seaxan þa sige geslogan.25 Þa sendan hi ham ærenddracan 7 heton segean þysey landes wæstmbærnisse, 7 Brytta yrgpo. 7 hi þa sona hider sendon maran scipere strengle wigan; 7 wæs unoferswiðendlic weorud, þa hi tогædere gepeoodde wæræn. 7 him Bryttas sealdan 7 geafan eardungstowe betwih him þæt hi for sibbe 7 hælo 30

p. 483.
Cap. 15.

1. 1. leohtan B. leohtam Ca. 1. 3. on hrædnesse Ca. (= hrérednesse). on hrædnesse B. 1. 8. grimmre C. grimre B. grim Ca. fyren- (sic)
tion, envy, and other sins of the same kind. During these things, there suddenly came a great and furious pestilence upon these men of perverted hearts, which speedily laid low and carried off such numbers of them, that the living no longer sufficed to bury the dead. And yet the living were not the better disposed for all that terror of death, nor could they be rescued from the death of their souls. Therefore after no long time dire vengeance for their dire sin overtook this depraved people. Then they gathered an assembly and took counsel together, as to what should be done, and where they should look for help to avoid and repel such savage and repeated devastations of the northern nations. Then it seemed best to all, and to their king, Vortigern by name, to invite and call in to their aid the people of the Saxons from the parts beyond the sea. It is evident that this was so arranged by the divine power, that heavy vengeance should come on these outcasts, as is clearly shown by the issue of events.

XII.

It was 449 years after our Lord's incarnation, when the emperor Martianus succeeded to the throne, which he occupied for seven years. He was the forty-sixth from the emperor Augustus. At that time the Angles and Saxons were called in by the aforesaid king, and arrived in Britain with three great ships. They received settlements on the east side of the island by order of the same king, who had invited them here, to fight as for their country. They at once took the field against the foe, who had often before overrun the land from the north; and the Saxons won the victory. Then they sent home messengers, whom they bade to report the fertility of this land, and the cowardice of the Britons. Immediately a larger fleet was despatched here, with a stronger force of warriors; and the host when united overpowered resistance. The Britons gave and assigned to them settlements among themselves, on condition of fighting for the peace and safety of their country and resisting their enemies, while the Britons also provided

heora eâles campodon 7 wunnon wiâ heora seondum, 7 hi him
andlyfne 7 are forgeaen for heora gewinne. Comon hi of prim
folcum ñam strangestan Germanic, ñet of Seaxum 7 of Angle 7 of
Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, 7 Wihtsætan; ñet
is seô Ceod pe Wiht ñet ealond oneardæ. Of Seaxum, ñet is of 5
ñam lande pe mon hateô Ealdseaxan, coman Eastseaxan 7 Suôseaxan
7 Westseaxan. And of Engle coman Eastengle 7 Middelengle 7
Myrce 7 eall Northemria cynn; is ñet land ñe Angulus is nemned,
betwyh Geatum 7 Seaxum; is sæd of ñære tide pe hi ñanon
gewiton ôc to dæge, ñet hit weste wunige. Wæron ñâ ærest heora 10
latteowas 7 heretogan twegen gebroðra Hengest 7 Horsa. Hi
wæron Wihtgylses suna, ñæs fæder was Witta haten, ñæs fæder
was Wihta haten 7 ñæs Wihta fæder was Woden nemned, of ñæs
strynde monigraæa cyningcynn fruman lædde. Ne ñæs ña
ylding to þon ñet hiHeapmælum coman maran weorod of þam 15
Seodum, pe we ær gemynnegodon. 7 ñet folc, ñe hider cóm, ongan
weaxan 7 myclian to þan swîðe, þet hi wæron on myclum ege
þam sylfan landbigengán ñe hi ær hider laðedon 7 cygdon.

Æfter þissum hi þa gewerledon to sumre tide wið Pehtum, þa hi
ær þurh gefeoht feor adrifan. 7 þa wæron Seaxan secende intringan 20
7 towyrde heora gedales wið Bryttas. Cyðdon him openlice 7
sædon, butan hi him maran andlyfne sealdon, ñet hi woldan him
sylfe niman 7 hergian, þær hi hit findan mihton. 7 sona ña beotunge
dædum gefyldon: bærndon 7 hergedon 7 slogan fram castæ õc
westsæ; þið him nægig wiðstod. Ne ñæs ungelic wrecce þam ñe 25
iú Chaldeas bærndon Hierusaleme weallas 7 ña cynelecan getimbro
mid fyre fornaman for ñæs Godes folces synnum. Swa þonne her
fram þære arleasan ñeode, hwæðere rihte Godes dome, neh ceastra
gehwylice 7 land forheregode wæron. Hruran, 7 feollan cyneleco
getimbro 7 anlipie: 7 gehwær sacerdas 7 mæssepreostas betwiþ 30
wihedum wæron slægene 7 cwylmde: bispicas mid folcum buton
ænigre are sceawunge ætgæedere mid iserne 7 lige fornunem
wæron. 7 ne ñæs ænig se ñe bebyrignysse seald þam ñe swa

1. 7. Middelengle Ca. Midd- B. 1. 12. ñæs fæder was witta haten B.
(wanting in Ca.). 1. 22. nemne Ca. butan B. 1. 29. forheregode wæron
B. was forheryende Ca. hrusan a (¼ ñ?) Ca. hruran 7 B. 1. 30. the
third 7 B., not in Ca. somed 7 C.? 

p. 484.
them with a maintenance and estates in return for their labours. The new-comers were of the three strongest races of Germany, namely, Saxons, Angles and Jutes. Of Jutish origin are the men of Kent, and the Wihtsætan; that is the tribe dwelling in the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is from the people called Old Saxons, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons; and from Angle came the East Angles and the Middle Angles, Mercians, and the whole race of the Northumbrians. This is the land which is named Angulus, between the Jutes and Saxons, and it is said to have lain waste, from the time they left it, up to this day. Their leaders then and their commanders were at first two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, sons of Wihtgils, whose father was called Witta, whose father was Wihta, and the father of Wihta was called Woden. From his race the royal families of many tribes derived their origin. Then without delay they came in crowds, larger hosts from the tribes previously mentioned. And the people, who came here, began to increase and multiply to such an extent, that they were a great terror to the inhabitants themselves, who originally invited and called them in. Later on, when occasion offered, they entered into alliance with the Picts, whom they had previously driven out by arms. And then the Saxons sought excuse and opportunity for breaking with the Britons. So they publicly announced to the Britons and declared, that, unless they gave them a more liberal maintenance, they would take it for themselves by force and by plundering, wherever they could find it. And they soon carried their threats into execution: they burned and plundered and slew from the sea on the west to the sea on the east; and now no one withstood them. Their vengeance was not unlike that of the Chaldees, when they burned the walls of Jerusalem and destroyed the royal palace by fire for the sins of God’s people. So then here almost every city and district was wasted by this impious people, though it was by the just judgment of God. Buildings both public and private collapsed and fell; by every altar priests and clergy were slain and murdered. Bishops and people, without regard for mercy, were destroyed together by fire and sword; nor was there anyone who bestowed the rites of
hreowlice acwealde warfare. 7 monige sære earman lafe on westenum fanggene warfare 7 heapmælum sticode. Sume for hunger heora feondum on hand eodon 7 eene þeowdom geheton, wiðpon þe him mon andlifne forgese: sume ofer sæ sarigende gewiton: sume forhtiene in eðle gebidon, 7 þearfende lif in wuda 7 in westenum 5 7 in hean céofum sorgiende mode symle dydon.

Cap. 16. Ond þa æfter þon þe se here wæs ham hweorfende 7 heo hæfdon utamaerede þa bigengan þisses ealandes, ða ongunnon heo sticcemælum mod 7 lægon monian; 7 forþeodon of þam deaglum stowum, þe heo ær in behyddae warfare, 7 ealra annodre gefafunge heofonrices 10 fultomes him warfare biddende, þæt heo oð forwyrd æghwær forðilgode ne warfare. Wæs in ða tid heora heretoga 7 latteow Ambrosius, haten ðre noman Aurelianus. Wæs god mon 7 gemetfæst, Romanisces cynnes mon. In þisses monnes tid mod 7 lægon Brettas onfengon: 7 heo heo to gefeohhtæ forðgecegde 7 15 him sige gehet: 7 heo eac on þam gefeohhte þurh Godes fultomes sige onfengon. 7 þa of þære tide hwilum Brettas, hwilum eft Seaxan sige geslogon oð þæt geare ymbsetes þære Beadonescan dune, þæ heo micel wæl on Ongolcynne geslogon, ymb feower 7 feowertig wintra Ongolcynnes cymes in Breotone.

XIII.1

p. 485. Da wæs æfter forðyrnendre tide ymb fift hund wintra 7 tu 7 hundnigontig wintra from Cristes hidecyme; Mauricius casere feng to rice 7 þæt hæfde an 7 twentig wintra. Se wæs feorcæ eac fiftegum from Augusto. ðæs caseres rices ðy teoðan geare Gregorius se balga wer, se wæs on laere 7 on dæde se hehsta, feng 25 to bisophade þære Romaniscan cyrican 7 þæs apostolican sæðes: 7 þæt heold 7 realhte þreotteno ger 7 syx monad 7 tyn dagas. Se wæs mid godcundre inbryrdnesse monad þy feowertegeðan geare þæs ylcan caseres, ymb fittig wintra 7 hundtontig Ongolcynnes hidecymes in Breotone, ðæt he sende Agustinum 7 ðre monige 30 munecas mid hine Drihten ondrédenende bodian Godes word Ongolpeode. Þa hyrsumodon heo þæs bispoces bebodum to þæm

1. 2. T. begins sume. 1. 7. Ca. has chapter heading XVI, no break in T. 1 XI, T. XXIII, Ca. 1. 31. ondréde T. ondrædende Ca. ondrædende B.
burial on those so cruelly slaughtered. Many of the miserable survivors were captured in waste places, and stabbed in heaps. Some through hunger surrendered themselves into the enemy's hands, and engaged to be their slaves for ever in return for a maintenance; some in sorrow went beyond the sea; some timidly abode in the old country, and with heavy hearts ever lived a life of want in wood and wilds and on lofty rocks. Then when the host returned to their home after expelling the inhabitants of the island, the latter began little by little to rouse up their strength and courage: issuing from the obscure retreats in which they had hidden themselves, they began all with one consent to entreat heaven's aid, that they might not utterly and everywhere be annihilated. At that time their general and leader was Ambrosius, also called Aurelianus: he was of Roman origin, and a man of courage and moderation. In his time the Britons recovered heart and strength, and he exhorted them to fight and promised victory; and by God's help in the fight they did win the victory. And then from that time now the Britons, now again the Saxons were victors, till the year in which Mount Badon was beset; there they made a great carnage of the Angles, about forty-four years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain.

XIII.

Then, as time went on, about five hundred and ninety-two years after Christ's advent, the emperor Mauricius succeeded to the throne, and occupied it for twenty-one years. He was the fifty-fourth from Augustus. In the tenth year of this emperor's reign the holy Gregory, foremost both in learning and in active life, succeeded to the bishopric of the Roman church and of the apostolic see, which he held and directed for thirteen years six months and ten days. In the fourteenth year of the same emperor, about one hundred and fifty years after the Angles came into Britain, he was directed by divine inspiration to send Augustine and many other monks with him, men who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God to the Angles. They obeyed the behests of the bishop as to the aforesaid work, started
gemyngedan weorce, ond seran ongunnon 7 sumne dæl þæs weges gefaren hæfdon, ða ongunnon heo forhtigan 7 ondredan him þone siðfæt, 7 þohton þæt him wislicra 7 gehæledra wäre, þæt heo ma ham cerdon, ðonne heo þa elreordan þeode 7 þa reðan 7 þa ungeleafsuman, þara þe heo furðum gereorde ne cuþon, gescætan scolde. 7 5 þis gemaenelice him to ræde gecuron. Ond þa sona sendon Agustinum to þæm papan, þone þe him to biscope gecorón, gif heora lár onsongen wäre, þæt he scolde eaðmodlice for heo þingian, þæt heo ne þorfe in swa frecne siðfæt 7 in swa gewinfulne 7 in swa uncudlice elpeodignesse faran. Þa sende Sæs Gregorius ærendgewrit 10 him to, 7 heo trymmede 7 lærde in þam gewrите þæt heo eaðmodlice ferde in þæt weorc þæs Godes wordes 7 getreowde in Godes fultum; 7 þæt heo ne fyhrte þæt gewiun þæs siðfætes ne wyrgeweodulra monna tungan ne bregde: þæt hi mid ealre geornfulnyse 7 mid Godes lufan ða góm gefremede þe hi þurh 15 Godes fultum doon ongunnon: 7 þæt hi wiston þæt ðæt micle gewiun mare wuldor écæs edleans æfterfyligde: 7 he æalmhtigne God bæd þæt he hi mid his gife gescylde: 7 þæt he him seolnum forgeafe þæt he moste ñone wæstm heora gewinnes in heofona rices wuldre gescen, forðon he gearo wære in þam ylcan gewinne 20 mid him beon, gif him lefnys scald wäre.

Cap. 25. 

Dæ wæs gestrangod Agustinus mid trymnysse þæs eadigan sæder Gregorius mid ðam Cristes þeowum, ða þe mid him wæron; 7 hwearf eft on þæt weorc Godes word to læranne 7 com on Breetone.

XIV.1

Dæ wæs on þa tíð Æðelbyrht cyning haten on Centrice, 7 25 mihtig: he hæfde rícce ða gemæro Humbre streames, se tosecæðaða suðfolc Angelpeode 7 norðfolc. Þonne is on easteweardre Cent mycel ealand Tenet, þæt is syx hund hida micel æfter Angelcynnæ æhte. Þæt ealond tosecæðaða Wantsumo stream fram þam tøgeþeoddan lande. Se is þerora furlunga bræd: 7 on twam stowum 30

and advanced some way on their route. Then they began to feel alarmed and dread the journey, and thought it would be wiser and safer to return home, than to visit a barbarous and savage race of unbelievers, whose very language was strange. They decided in common on this course, and at once sent Augustine to the pope, having selected him to be their bishop, in case their teaching found acceptance, charging him to entreat humbly on their behalf, that they might not undertake an expedition so dangerous and toilsome, to a barbarous race so utterly unknown. Then St. Gregory sent a letter to them, in which he exhorted and instructed them to proceed humbly to the work of God's word, and trust in God's support; that they should not be afraid of the toil of the journey, nor dread the tongues of evil-speaking men: that they should with all readiness and love to God fulfil the good work, which they by God's help had begun: and that they should be assured that greater glory of everlasting reward would attend their great toil: and he prayed to Almighty God to shield them with his grace, and grant to himself that he might see the fruit of their toil in the glory of the kingdom of heaven, for that he was ready to be with them in that same toil, if permission should be given him.

Then Augustine was fortified by the exhortations of the blessed father Gregory, along with the servants of Christ accompanying him, and returned again to the work of teaching God's word, and came to Britain.

XIV:

At that time there was a powerful king in Kent named Æthelberht: his kingdom extended to the boundary of the river Humber, which separates the southern and northern sections of the race of the Angles. Now there is to the east of Kent a large island, Thanet, containing six hundred hides according to the English mode of reckoning. The river Wantsome separates this island from the adjoining country. It is three furlongs broad, and ford-
is oferfernes, 7 æghwæþer ende lið on sæ. On þyssum eálande com upp se Godes þeow Agustinus 7 his geferan; væs he feower-tiga sum. Nôman hi eac swylce him weallhstodas of Franclande mid, swa him Sãs Gregorius bebed. 7 þa sende to æþelbyrhte ærenddracan 7 ónbead, þæt he of Rome come 7 þæt betste 5 ærende lædde; 7 se þe him hyrsum beon wolde, buton tweon he gehet ecne geðean on heofonum 7 toweard rice butan ende mid þone søþan Gode 7 þone lifigendan. Da he þa se cyning þas word gehyrde, þa het he hi bidan on þæm ealonde, þe hi upp comon: 7 him pider hiora þearfe forgeafon, ðo þæt he gesawe hwæt he him don 10 wolde. Swylce eac ær þam becwom hlisa to him þære cristenan æfestnesse, forþon he Cristen wif hæfde, him gegeyfen of Francena cyningcyinne, Byrhte wæs haten. þæt wif he onfeng fram hyre yl-drum þære ærednesse, þæt hio his leaftnesse hæfde þæt heo þone þeaw þæs Cristenan geleafaþ 7 hyre æfestnesse ungewemmedne 15 hcaldan moste mid þy hiscope, þone þe hi hyre to fullome þæs geleafaþ sealdon, þæs nama wæs Leodheard.

Da wæs æfter mònegum dagum, þæt se cyning com to þæm ealonde, 7 het him ute setl gewyrcean; 7 het Agustinum mid his geferum þider to his spræce cuman. Warnode he him þy læs 20 hie on hwyle hus to him ineodan; breac ealdre healsunge, gif hie hwylcne dryrcæft hæfdon þæt hi hine oferswilcan 7 beswican seecolden. Ac hi nálæs mid deosulcraefte ac mid godecundæ magene gewelgade coman: bæron Cristes rode tacen, sylfrenæ Cristes mæl mid him 7 anlicnesse Drihtnes Hælendes on brêde afegde 7 awritene, 25 7 wæron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende; somod for hiora sylfræ eere hælo 7 para þe hi to comon to Drihtne þingodon. Þa het se cyning hie sittan, 7 hie swa dydon; 7 hi sona him lifes word ætgedere mid eallum his geferum, þe þær ætwærren, bodedon 7

p. 487.

able in two places, and both ends run out into the sea. The servant of God Augustine and his companions landed on this island, amounting in all to forty persons. They also brought with them interpreters from France, as St. Gregory directed them. And he sent a messenger to Æthelberht, announcing that he came from Rome and brought the good news, and if any would be obedient to him, certainly promising them eternal joy in heaven and a kingdom to come, that should never end, with the true and living God. When the king heard these words, he ordered them to remain on the island, where they had landed: and they provided them what they needed, till he saw what he should do with them. Besides, the fame of the Christian religion had already reached him, as he had a Christian wife belonging to the royal family of the Franks named Bertha. She had been given in marriage to him by her parents, on condition of his allowing her to maintain inviolate the practice of the Christian faith and of her religion, along with the bishop assigned to her for her support in the faith, whose name was Leodheard. Then after several days the king came to the island, and ordered them to make him a seat in the open air, and directed Augustine and his companions to come there to confer with him. He was on his guard against their entering under the same roof as himself, employing an old counter-charm, in case they had any magical arts to overpower or delude him. But they came not endowed with devils' craft, but virtue from heaven: they bore the emblem of Christ's cross, and had a silver crucifix with them and a likeness of the Saviour drawn and coloured on a panel, and recited the names of saints and intoned prayers; at the same time they made intercession to the Lord for the eternal salvation of themselves and of those to whom they came. Then the king bade them sit down, and they did so; and they at once declared and made known

leafyssæ Ca. lene B. 1. 18. Ænegum (m above: erasure of one) O.
monigum Ca. manegum B. 1. 19. ut setl (t on erasure) O. Æte setl Ca.
haligra (first a out of æ) O. haligra Ca. B. 1. 28. hi Ca. (O. on erasure of three). him B.
lærdon. Pa ondswaredæ se cyning 7 þus cwæð: Faæger word þis syndon 7 gehat þe ge brohtan 7 us secgæð. Ac forðon heo neowe syndon 7 uncuðæ, ne magon we nu gen þæt þætian, þæt we forlæten þa wisan, þe we longre tide mid ealle Ongolpeode heeldon. Ac forðon þe ge hider feorran elpeodige cwemon ord, þæs þe me 5 gehuht is 7 gesewen, þa ping, ᵀa Ȝe soð 7 betst gelefdon, þæt eac swylce willadon us þa gemænsuman, nellað we forðon eow hefte beon. Ac we willað eow eac fremsumlice in gestliðnesse onfon, 7 eow ondlifen sellan 7 eowre þearfe forgifan. Ne we eow beweriað þæt ge ealle, þa þe ge mægen, þurh eowre lare to eowres geleafan 10 æfæstnisse geðeode 7 gewyrre. Pa sealde se cyning him wunenesse 7 stowe in Cantwara byrig, seo wæs ealles his rices ealdorburg, ond swa swa he geheht, him ondlifen forgeaf 7 weorulþearfe; ond eac swylce leafnesse sealde, þæt heo mosten Cristes geleafan bodian 7 læran. Is þæt sægd, þa heo ferdon 7 nealehtan to ðære ceastre, 15 swa swa heora þæw wæs, mid þy halgan Cristes mele 7 mid onlicnesse þæs miclan cyninges usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes, þæt þeosne leitaniam 7 ontemn gehleðere stefne sungon: Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua ut auferatur furor tuus, et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua quoniam pec- 20 cauimus.

Cap. 26. Ṭa wæs sona ðæs þe heo innedon in þa eardungstowe þe him alyfed wæs in þære cynelecan byrig, þa gunnon heo þæt apostolice lif þære frymþelecan cyrcan onhyrgan, þæt is, in singalum gebedum 7 in waeccum 7 in fæstenum Drihtne þeodon; 7 lifes word, þæm heo mealton, bodedon 7 lærdon, ond eall þing þisses middangeardes 25 swa fremde forhogodon: ða þing aan, ða þe hire ondlœfne þeardþearfleco gesewen wæron, heo ofengon from þæm þe heo lærdon. Øfter þon þe heo lærdon, heo sylfe þurh all lifdon, ond heo hæfdon geara mod þa wiðerweardan ge eac swylce deáð sylfe to prowianne for ðære soðfæstnesse, þe hæ bodedon 7 lærdon. Ne wæs þa elding 30 þætte monige gelefdon 7 gefulwade wæron; wæron wundriende þa

1 XV (converted by a late hand into XXVI with dotted i)
to him and all his companions who were present the word of life.

Then answered the king, and said: 'These are fair words and promises which you have brought and announce to us. But as they are new and unknown, we cannot yet consent to leave those things, which we have long held with all the English race. But as you are foreigners, come here from afar, and, as I think and seem to see, you desired to impart to us those things which ye believed true and best, we will therefore not molest you. But we will receive you heartily as guests, will provide for your maintenance and supply your necessities. Nor do we hinder you from attaching and converting to the religion of your faith all, that you may, by your teaching.' Then the king assigned them a place with a dwelling in Canterbury, which was the capital of all his kingdom, and as he promised, provided for their maintenance and worldly needs; and also gave permission for them to proclaim and teach the faith of Christ. It is said, as they proceeded and drew near to the town, as their custom was, carrying the holy crucifix and image of the great King our Lord and Saviour Christ, that they sang this litany and anthem with harmonious voice: 'Deprecamus te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus.'

XV.

Then soon after they entered into the habitation which was assigned them in the royal city, they began to imitate the apostolical life of the primitive church, that is, they served the Lord in continual prayers, vigils and fasts; and they preached and taught the word of life, to whomsoever they might, and they despised all things of this earth as alien. Those things only which appeared needful for their maintenance, they received from those whom they taught. In all points they lived as they taught, and their minds were ready to suffer adversity and even death itself for the truth which they preached and taught. Then without delay many believed and were baptized; they admired the simplicity of that innocent life and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine. There
bilwitnesses pæs unsceðpendan lifes 7 sweetnesse heora pære heofonlican lare. Wæs bi eastan pære ceastre wealneah sumo cirice in are Sēi Martini geo geara geworht, mid þy Romani þa gyt Breotone beodon; in þære cirican seo cwôn gewunende hire gebiddan, þe we ær cwædun þæt heo Cristen wære. In þisse cyrican ærest þa halgan lare. Wìses bi eastan Sēere ceastre welneah sumo cirice in Are Scl. Martini geo geara geworht, mid þe Romani Ipa, gyt Breotone beeodon; in Ippis cirican seo cwen gewunede hire gebiddan, þe weæs gecyrred waes, 7 maran leafnisse onfengon ofer eal to læranne 7 circan to timb- ganne 7 to betanne.

Þa gelamp purh Godes gife, þæt se cyning eac swylce betuð opre 10 ongon lustfullian þæt clænoste lif haligra mid heora pæm sweetes- tan gehatum. Ond heo eac getrymedon, þæt þa soð wæron, mid monigra heofonlicra wundra æteownesse; 7 he þa gefeond gewaes gefulwad. Þa ongunnon monige dæghwamlice esfstan 7 scyndan to gebyranne Godes word; 7 hæðenesse þeaw forleton 7 to ðære annesse hy 15 geþeoddan þurh geleadan þære halgan Cristes cirican. Þara geleadan 7 gehwyrfeonnesse is sægd þæt se cyning swa were efnblissende, þæt he nænne hwæðre nydde to Cristes geleadan, ac ðæ to geleadan 7 to fulwithe cerdan, þæt he þa inwōdlicor lufode, swa swa hy wæron him efneasterwaran þæs heofonlican rices. 20 Forþon he geleornode from his lareowum 7 fram þam ordfruman his hælo, þætte Cristes þowdom sceolde beon wils- umlic, nales geneðedlic. Ond he þa se cyning geaf 7 sealde his lareowum gerisne stowe 7 setl heora hade in his aldorbyrig, 7 þær to sealde heora nyddœearfe in missenlicum aëhtum.

XVI.1

Cap. 27. Betweoh ðas ðing þa se halga wer Agustinus ferde ofer sǣ, 7 com to Arēla þære ceastre; 7 from Otherio þam ærcebiscope þære ilcan ceastre æfter hæse 7 bebode þæs eadigan sæder Sē Gregorii wæs gehalgod ærcebiscoop Ongolpeode. 7 est hwearf 7 ferde to Breotone; 7 soma sende ærendwrecan to Rome, þæt wæs Laurentius 30 mæssepreost 7 Petrus munuc, þæt heo scoldan segcan 7 cypan þam

1. 7. gecyrrede (last e struck through) T. gecyrred O. Ca. -cirr- B.
1. 8. onfengon O. Ca. B. onfeng T. 1. 11. mid B. 7 T. O. Ca. 1. 13. he
was close to the town on the east a church, built long ago in honour of St. Martin, when the Romans were still in occupation of Britain; in which church the queen usually prayed, who, as we have already said, was a christian. In this church the holy teachers first began to assemble for song and prayer, and to celebrate mass, teaching and baptizing men, till the king was converted to the faith, and they received more liberty to teach everywhere and to build and restore churches.

It then happened by God's grace, that the king also among others began to take pleasure in this pure life of holy men and in their sweet promises. And they also confirmed the truth of these with display of many heavenly miracles; and he then gladly received baptism. Then began many daily to hurry and hasten to hear the word of God; and they left heathen worship, and through faith joined the unity of Christ's holy church. In their faith and conversion the king is said to have felt pleasure, but yet so that he forced none to belief in Christ, only he loved more deeply those who were converted to faith and baptism, as if they were his fellow-citizens in the kingdom of heaven. For he learnt from his teachers and from the authors of his salvation, that Christ's service should be voluntary, not compulsory. And then the king gave and bestowed on his teachers a place and settlement suitable to their station in his chief city, and ministered also to their necessities in stores of various kinds.

XVI.

Now in the meantime the holy man Augustine crossed the sea, and went to the city of Arles, and was consecrated by Etherius, archbishop of that city, according to the direction and ordinance of the blessed father St. Gregory, to be archbishop of the English people. He then returned, and proceeding to Britain immediately despatched envoys to Rome, namely, the priest Laurentius and the monk Peter, to report and make known to the blessed bishop St.
Interrogatio I.

Ærest bi biscopum, hu by mid heora geferum drohtian 7 lifgan sculon? Óðpo in pam lacum geleafsumra, þe heo to wigbedum 7 to Godes cirican bringad, hu monige dælas þara bean seyle? Ond hu bicop in cirican don scyle?

Responsio.

Cwæð he: þæt halige gewrit þæt cyðed, þæt me nis twoþ þæt þu gearwe const, ond synderlice þæs eadgan Paules epistola þone he wrat to Timotheo, in þam he hine geornlice tydde 7 lærde, hu he in Godes huse drohtian 7 don scolde. Þonne is þæw þæs apostolican sæðes, þonne heo bicopas halgið, þæt him bebodu sellað, ond þætte ealles þæs ondlifenes, þe him gegonge, feower dælas bean seyle, an ærest bicope 7 his heorde for feorme 7 onfongnesse gæsta 7 cumena, oðer dæl Godes þeowum, þridda þærðum, seo forða to ednowunge 7 to bót Godes ciricum. Ac forðon þin broðorlicnes is in mynstres regolum getyð 7 gelæred, ne scealt þu hwæþre sundor beon from þinum geferum in Ongolcirecan, 20 seo nu gen neowan is becumen 7 gelæded to Godes geleafan. Þas drohtunge 7 þis liþ þu scealt gesettan, þætte in fruman þære acennendan cirican wæs ussum fædrum, in þæm næning heora, of þam þe heo ahton, owiht his bean onsundrad cwæð, ac him eallum wæron eall gemæno. Gif þonne hwylce preostas 7 Godes þeowas synd butan halgum hâdum gesette, þa þe heo from wiisum ahabban ne mæge, nimen heom wiþ 7 heora ondleofone utan onfongen.
Gregory that the English people had received the faith of Christ, and that he was consecrated bishop. He also begged for his advice on many questions and points, which seemed to him necessary. And he soon returned a suitable answer to his enquiries.

THE INTERROGATIONS.

QUESTION I.

First as to the bishops. How shall they conduct themselves and live with their clergy? And in the gifts of the faithful, which they bring to the altars and God's church, how many shares shall be made? And how shall a bishop act in the church?

Answer.

He said: Holy Writ states this, which I doubt not you know well, and especially the epistle of the blessed Paul which he wrote to Timothy, in which he earnestly directed and taught him, how he should behave and act in God's house. Now it is the custom of the apostolical see, when consecrating bishops, to give them directions, and that four shares shall be made of all the maintenance which is provided for them, one first for the bishop and his household to entertain and receive guests and strangers, a second share for God's servants, a third for the poor, the fourth for the repair and improvement of God's churches. But yet, as you, my brother, have been trained and taught in monasterial discipline, you shall not keep apart from your clergy in the English church, which is but lately brought over to God's faith. You shall establish the mode of life and conduct which our fathers followed in the beginning of the rising church, among whom none maintained that anything they possessed was their private property, but they all had all things in common. If then any priests and servants of God, not included in the holy brotherhoods, cannot live without wives, let them take to them wives and receive a maintenance ever, B. inserts leton before been. l. 25. gemano O. -ro T. -ne Ca. B. l. 26. synd butan O. Ca. syn b- B. Not in T.
Forçon bi sæm ilcum fædrum, bi sæm we foresprecende wæron, awritten is, þæt heo wæren todælende heora weoruldgood syndrigum monnum, swa æghwylcum þearf wæs. Swylce eac be heora ondlíne is to þencenne 7 to foresonne, þæt heo godum þeawum lifgen under ciriclecum regole 7 sealmas to sinenge 7 wæccan to bigon-5 genne, 7 from eallum unalyfedom heora heortan 7 tungan 7 lichoman Gode ælmíhtegum clæne healden. Þæm lifendum þonne in gemænum life hwæt is us to sprecenne, hu heo heora ælmesse dæle oðpe gestliðnesse bigonge 7 mildheatresse fyllen? Mid þy eall, þætte ofer bið to láfe on heora weoruldspedum, arfaestum 7 10 gódum is to recenne 7 to sellenne, swa swa ealra magister Drihten Crist lærde 7 cwæð: Quod superest, date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis: Þætte ofer seo 7 to láfe, sellað ælmesse, 7 eow beoð eal clæno.

**Interrogatio II.**

Mid þy an geleafa is 7 seondon missenlice gewunan ciricena, 15 oðer gewuna is mæssesonga in þære halgan Romaniscan cirican 7 oðer is hæfd in Gallia rice.

**Responsio.**

Du seolfa const þeaw 7 gewunan þære Romaniscan cirican in þære þu afeded wære. Ac me nu þyneðs 7 bet lícað, þætte swa hwæt swa þu oðpo in Romana cirican oðpo in Gallia oðpo in 20 hwylcre oðerre hwæt þæs gemætte, þætte ælmeahtegum Gode malicie, þæt þu bihygédelce þæt gecceose ond in Ongolþeode cirican fæstlice to healdenne gesette, seo nu gena is neowu in geleafan. Forçon ne seondon to lufienne þa wiisan fore stowum, ac fore gódum wisum stowe seondon to lufienne. Forþon of syndrigum ciricum 25 gehwylcum þa ðu æfest 7 good 7 riht gecceose, þa ðu togaedre gesomna, 7 on Ongolþeode mod in gewunan asete.

**Interrogatio III.**

Ic þeç halsio, hwylc wiite sceal prowian, swa hwylc swa hwæt-hugu of cirican þurh stale ut abrygéðs?
without. For it is written about those fathers, of whom we have already spoken, that they distributed their worldly property to individuals, as each had need. Also with regard to their maintenance, care and caution is necessary, that they may live morally under church discipline for singing psalms and attending vigils, and that they should keep their hearts, tongues, and bodies, in the sight of God Almighty, pure from all that is unlawful. What are we to say about those who share in the common life, as to their distribution of alms, their practising hospitality, and showing compassion? For all that remains over of their worldly goods is to be devoted and given to the pious and good, for so Christ the Lord and teacher of us all directed, saying, 'Quod superest, date elemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt nobis,' 'What is over and above, give as alms, and all things are clean unto you.'

**Question II.**

Whereas there is one faith and there are diverse customs among the churches, there is one custom for the celebration of mass in the holy Roman church and another maintained in the realm of Gaul.

**Answer.**

You know yourself the mode of worship and customs of the Roman church, in which you were brought up. But it now seems to me, and I prefer, that whatever it be that you find in the Roman church or the church of Gaul or in any other, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, that you carefully choose this, and establish it to be firmly maintained in the church of England, which is still new in the faith. For things are not to be loved for sake of the places, but places for the good things. Therefore, whatever you select as pious, good and right from among all the various churches, put together and establish in the minds of the English as a custom.

**Question III.**

I beseech you, what punishment shall a man suffer, who steals anything away out of a church?
**Responsio.**

Dis mæg geþencan þin þroðorlicnes of þæs þeofes hade, hu he geriht beon mægge. Forðon sume syndon þa þe habbað woruldspede 7 hwæðre stale fremmað, sume seondon þa þe in þisse wiisan þurh waedelnesse agyltað. Forðon is ned þætte sume mid woningum sume þearlicor, sume liðelecor, synd gerehte. Ond þeah 5 þe þæt wihte hwene heardor 7 strongor don sy, þonne is hit of lufan to donne, nales of welme ne of hatheortnesse. Forðon þæm menn þurh þa þrea þis þið gegearwod, þæt he ne sy seald þæm ecan fyrum helle tinctreges. Forðon þys gemete we sculon men þreagean, swa swa ða goodan ðeardas gewunianþ heora fæðlecu 10 bearn, þa heo for heora synnum þreageah þe 7 swinganþ; ond hwæðre þa seolfan, þe heo mid þæm wiitum þreagað 7 swencanþ, lufianþ eac 7 wilnið him to ærfeweardum to habbenne; 7 heora weoruldgod, þa heo ægan, him healdanþ þa þe heo geare gesegene boð eaftan 7 witniian. Forðon seo lufu is á in þæm mooide to haldanne, 7 hit 15 þæt gemet þara þrea dihtað 7 findeð, swa þætte þæt mód buton rihtum regole allinga nowiht deð. Eac swylce þu toetecest in þinre fringesse, hu ða þing mon geldan secelde, þa ðe mid stale of cirican afyrred ware. Ac feor þæt la sy, þætte Godes cirice mid æteacnesse onfo, þæt heo gesegen boð of eorðlicum þingum 20 anforlæten, 7 heo bi idlum þingem weoruldgestreon sece.

**Interrogatio III.**

Hwæðer moton twegen ðewe gebroðor twa geswustor in gesinscipe onfon, þa ðe boð feort heora cneorisse from him acende ?

**Responsio.**

Dis mot beon swa; 7 eallum gemetum þæt is alyfed. Forðon nis ðower gemeted in halgum bocum, þætte þisse fringesse wærword 25 sy gesegen.

**Interrogatio V.**

Óð hwelce cneorisse sculon cristne men mid heora mægum him betweohn in gesinscipe geþecode beon? 7 steopmodrum 7

1. 12. lufianþ eac 7 O. Ca. lufigeað 7 B. 7 (only) T. 1. 15. ð accent by 1st hand? T. ð O. B. ðid Ca. 1. 25. wærword injured by damp, perhaps
Answer.

You, my brother, may consider according to the condition of the thief, how he may be reformed. For there are some who have worldly wealth and yet thieve; there are some who transgress in this point from poverty. Therefore it is needful that some be corrected by loss of goods, some with more severity, some more lightly. And though the punishment may be carried out with some harshness and severity, yet it is to be done out of love, not in passion or hot temper. For by the chastisement we provide, that the man shall not be given over to the everlasting fires of hell's torment. Therefore we should discipline men, in the same way as good fathers are wont to do to their children after the flesh, whom they discipline and scourge for their sins; and yet too they love those whom they discipline and pain with the punishment, and they desire to have them as their heirs, and they reserve for them, whom they have clearly been seen to afflict and punish, the worldly property that they possess. For love is ever to be maintained in the heart, and it dictates and determines the measure of correction, so that the heart does nothing at all without reasonable rule. You also further ask, how a man should make good what has been taken from a church by theft. But far indeed be it from God's church to recover with increase, what it seems to lose of earthly things, and to seek worldly gain in things which are of no account.

Question IV.

May two full brothers take in marriage two sisters, who are far removed in descent from them?

Answer.

This may be so, and is in every way allowable: for we cannot find anywhere in holy books anything, that seems a negative to this question.

Question V.

Up to what degree of affinity may christian men be joined in freshened up, but certain T. [wiperword O. Ca. B. 1. 27. O'd O. Ca. B. odd T.]}
brodarwiifum ac pæt alyfed is, pæt heo moten in gesinscipe gegadrode beon?

Responsio.

p. 491.

Cwæð he: sum eordlic æ in þære Romaniscan cynnewisian forlæteð, þætte oðde broðor oðpe sweostor oðde twegra gebroðra bearn oðde twega geswoestra sumu 7 dohtor gemengde wæren 5 in gesincipe. Ac we þæt cuðlice onconeowan 7 oneton, þætte þæt tuddur growan ne weaxon meahte of swylecum gesinscipe; ond seo halige æ beweræð 7 forbeoded þa scondlicnesse onwreon mægsibba. Forðon is ned, þætte cristene men in þære þriddan cneorisse oðde in þære feorðan him betweohn wisan scyle, forþon 10 seo ðæftene cneoris, þe we forecwædon, alle gemete is to forbeorenne 7 to forlætene. Hefig máán is 7 godfrecnis þæt mon hine menge mid his steopmeder, forðon in Godes æ is awrsten: Turpitudinem patris tui non revelabis: Ne onwreoh þu scondlicnesse þines fæder. Ac forðon þe awrsten is: Erunt duo in carne una: wer 7 wífí, 15 heo tu beóð in anum lichoman, ono se þe ædysstigæð onwreon þa scondlicnesse his steopmeder, seo án lichoma mid his fæder wæs, hwæt se sódlíce onwrið þís fæder scondlicnesse. Swelce is eac bewered þæt mon hine menge wíð his broðorwiife, forðon þurh þa ærran geþeodnesse heo wes geworden his broðor lichoma. 20 For þære wisan eac swilce Johannes se Baptista wæs heafde becorfen 7 halige martirdome his liif geendade, þa he þaem cyninge sægde, þæt him alyfed nære þæt he his broðor wífí brohte 7 hæfde. Ac forðon monige seondon on Ongolþeode, [þa þe] mid þy heo þa gena in ungeleafsumnesse wæron, þissum maanfullum gesinscipum 25 wæron gemengde sægde—ac heo seondon to monienne, nu heo to geleafan cwomon, þæt heo ahebban heo from swylecum unrihtum, 7 ongyten þætte þæt is hefig synn, ond him ondæden pone forh-tiendan Godes dom, þy læs heo for fæsclicre lufan tintrego ecre cwealumnisse onfoon. Ne seondon heo hwædre for þisse wisan 30 to biscergenne gemænsumnisse Cristes lichoman: 7 blódes, þy læs on him gesegen sy þa þing onwrecen beon, in þæm heo þurh unwisnesse gesyngodon ær fulwihþtes bæde. Forðon in þas tid

l. 13. -dïnð (e cm); ð (e non) T. l. 24. [þa þe] (=qui) non in MSS.
wedlock with their relations? And is it allowed to be united in wedlock with stepmothers and brothers' wives?

Answer.

He said: There is an earthly law in the Roman commonwealth, which allows brother and sister, or the children of two brothers or a son and a daughter of two sisters, to be joined in marriage. But we have certainly learnt and understood, that no offspring may be produced or grow up from such wedlock; and the holy law prohibits and forbids uncovering the shame of relatives. Therefore it is needful that Christian men shall marry among themselves in the third or fourth degree, for the second degree already mentioned must absolutely refrain and abstain. It is a grievous sin and offence against God for a man to wed his stepmother, for it is written in God's law, 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis,' 'Thou shalt not uncover thy father's shame.' And as it is written, 'Erunt duo in carne una,' 'Man and wife, they two shall be in one body,' then he who dares to uncover the shame of his stepmother, who was one body with his father, in very truth he uncovers his father's shame. So also it is forbidden a man to wed his brother's wife, for by the previous union she became his brother's body. For this cause also John the Baptist was beheaded and ended his life by holy martyrdom, because he said to the king, that it was not lawful for him to marry and have his brother's wife. But as there are many in England [who], while still in unbelief, were said to have been united in this sinful wedlock, so they are to be warned, now they have come to the faith, to abstain from such unrighteousness, and to understand that it is grievous sin, and to fear the tremendous judgment of God, lest they receive the torments of eternal death for their carnal affections. However, they are not, for this cause, to be excluded from the communion of Christ's body and blood, lest we seem to revenge on them the sins committed in ignorance before baptism. For at this time, holy church amends
seo halige cirice sumu þing þurh welm receð, sumu þurh monþ-wærnesse araëfneð, sumu þurh sceawunge ældeð, 7 swa ábireð 7 ældeð, þætte oft þæt widerworde yfel abeorende 7 ældend bewereð. Ealle, þa þe to Cristes geleasafan becumað, seondon to monienne, þæt heo nowiht swelces ne durron gefremman. Gif hwylc þonne ofer 5 þæt gefremmen, þonne seondon heo to bescryienne Cristes lichoman 7 blodes. Forþon, swa swa bi þam monnum is hwæþwugu to araëfnnenne, þa ðurh unwisnesse synne fremmað, swa þonne is stronglice to ehtenne, þa ðe him ne ondrædað weotonde syngian.

**INTERROGATIO VI.**

Gif micel feornis siðfætes betweohn ligeð, þætte bisceopas 10 ðapelice cuman ne magon, hwæðer mot biscope halgad beon buton ðeðra biscope ondweardnesse?

**Responsio.**

p. 492. Soðlice in Ongulcirican, in þære þu ána nu gena eart biscope gemeted, ne meaht þu on ðeðre wisan biscope halgian buton ðeðrum biscopeum. Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice bisceopas cuman, þa þe æt 15 bisceopes halgunge in wisceipe stonde. Forþon ne sceal biscope halgunge on ðeðre wisan weosan, nemne in gesomung 7 in gewitscipe þeora ðeþe feower biscope, þæt heo fore his gehælde þam ðelmihhtigan Gode ætgrædre heora bene 7 gebedo senden 7 geoten.

**INTERROGATIO VII.**

Hu sculon we don mid Gallia 7 Bretta biscopeum?

**Responsio.**

In Gallia biscopeum ne sellað we þe ænge aldrlicnesse, forþon þe fram þam ærran tidum minra foregengena pallium onfeng se biscope in Areela þære byrig, þone we ne sculon bescerian ne beneoman þære onfongnan aldrlicnesse. Ac gif þe foor gelimpe in Gallia mægðe, hafa ðu mid þone ilcan biscope spreæ 7 gepeahhte 25 hwæt to donne sy, ðeðo gif hwelc uncyste in biscopeum gemette

some things with fervour, some it tolerates out of gentleness, with some it temporises out of consideration, and so bears and temporises, that oft by tolerating and temporising it checks the evils to which it is opposed. All those, who come to the faith of Christ, are to be admonished that they may not attempt any such thing. If then any subsequently do attempt, they are to be cut off from Christ’s body and blood. For as in those men, who sin through ignorance, something is to be tolerated, so those who fear not to sin wittingly are to be visited with severity.

**Question VI.**

10 If the distance between places is great, so that bishops may not easily travel, may a bishop be consecrated without the presence of other bishops?

**Answer.**

Certainly, in the Church of England in which you, so far, are the only bishop to be found, you cannot in any other way consecrate a bishop [except] without other bishops. But bishops shall come to you from Gaul, who may assist as witnesses at a bishop’s consecration. For the consecration of bishops may not take place in any other way, save before a congregation and in presence of three or four bishops, that they may make prayer and send up their petitions together to Almighty God for his protection.

**Question VII.**

How shall we proceed with the bishops of the Gauls and of the Britons?

**Answer.**

We do not grant you any authority in the case of the bishops of the Gauls, for ever since the old days of my predecessors the bishop in the city of Arles has received the pallium, whom we should not deprive or bereave of the authority he has obtained. But if you chance to travel in the land of the Gauls, confer and consult with this bishop as to the course of action, and if there be any fault
syn, hu þa gerehte 7 gebette beon sceylen. Ond gif wen sy, þæt he in strenge þeadscipes 7 þrea to wæc sy, þonne is he to onbærnenenne 7 to gebetenne mid þinre broðorlicnesse lufan, ond þætte he, þæ þe wiðerworde seondon þære hæse 7 bebodum usses sceppendes, from bispocap þeawum bewerge. Ne meaht þu deman Gallia bispocas 5 buton heora agenre aldorlicnesse, ac þu hy á scealt liðelice monigan 7 him æteawan þinra godra weorca onhyrenesse. Alle Brettia bispocas we bebeodað þinre broðorlicnesse, to ðon þætte unlærede seon gelærede, 7 untrume mid þinre trymenisse syn gestrongade, 7 unrehte mid þinre aldorlicnesse seon gerehte.

**Interrogatio VIII.**

Hwæðer sceal wiif fulwad beon ðe þe heo bearne cœnecð? ðe ðe æfter hu micelre tide mot heo in circan gongan? ðe eac swylce þætte bearne þæt heo cende, þy læs hit seo mid deaðe fornumen, æfter hu feola daga alefað him þæm geryne onfoon fulwihtes bæðes? ðe æfter hu micelre tiide mot þæm 15 wiife hire wer in lichoman gegadrungæ geþeoded beon? ðe æfter wiif numen sy in monaðæle gewunan, hwæðer alefað hire in circan gongan ðe þæm geryne onfoon þære halgan gemænsunnesse? ðe se wer, se þe his wiife gemenged bið, ærpon he bībæðod sy, mot he in circan gongan ðe to þæm geryne þære halgan 20 gemænsunnesse? All þæn þære neowan þæode Ongolcynnes in Godes geleafan gedæfenac cuð habban.

**Responsio.**

Forhwon ne sceal þæt geeacnade wiif fulwad beon, mid þy nis beforan Godes ælmihtiges eagum ænig synn wæstmbeorendes lichoman? Forþon mid þy usse cældras, þa ærestan men, in 25 neorxna wonge agylton, þa forluran hy rehte Godes dome þa undeœlicnesse, þe heo onfægon 7 in gescepene wæron. Ono hwæt þa se ilce ælmihtega God monna cyn allinga adwaæcan ne wolde for heora synne, he þæ þæm menn undeœlicnesse onweg ahof ofer his synne, 7 hwæðre for fremsunnesse his ærfæstnesse him geheold wæstmbeorennisses 30

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found in bishops, how they should be corrected and reformed. And if it be supposed, that he is too remiss in vigour and severity of discipline, then he must be incited and reformed with your brotherly love, so that he may remove from the conduct of bishops those habits, which are contrary to the law and ordinance of our Creator. But you may not judge the bishops of Gaul without their own authority, but you shall ever admonish them gently and show them the example of your own good works. We commit to you, my brother, all bishops of the Britons, to the end that the unlearned may be taught, and the feeble may be strengthened with your encouragement, and the perverse amended by your authority.

**Question VIII.**

Shall a woman with child be baptized or after the birth of the child? And after what period may she go to church? And also after how many days may the child that is born be allowed to receive the sacrament of baptism, lest it be carried off by death beforehand? And after how long a period may man and wife come together again? Or if a woman be menstruous, is she allowed to go to church or receive the sacrament of the Holy Communion? Or may a man after approaching his wife go to church, or to the sacrament of the Holy Communion before bathing? It is proper for the English people, who are still new in the faith of God, to have all these points ascertained.

**Answer.**

Why should not a woman that is pregnant be baptized, seeing that there is no sin in fecundity of the body before the eyes of God Almighty? For our parents, the first of mankind, on sinning in Paradise, lost by the just judgment of God the immortality they had received and were created in. Now, as Almighty God would not utterly destroy mankind for their sin, he deprived man of immortality for his sin, and yet reserved to him fertility in offspring out of the kindness of his mercy. If this was
tudres. Ono pætte pære menniscan gecynde of ælmehteges Godes gefe gehealden wæs, hwelce rehte mæg þonne bewered beon from gifæ hælan fulwïhtæs? In þæm geryne, þe bið æghwyle synn grundinga adwæsceled, swiðe dyslic is pætte scyle pære godcundan gifæ wiðcwæden beon. Du frugne eac swylce, þonne wið cenenne 5 wære, æfter hu feola daga heo moste in circan gongan. Hwæt þu þæt seolfa leornadest in bebode pære aldan cyðnesse, þætte fore wæpnedbearne heo sceolde heo áhhabban from Godes huses ingonge þeo 7 prætig daga, fore wiæficle syx 7 syxtig daga. Þæt is hwædre to weotanne, þætte þæt is on gastlicum geryne ongyten. Forþon 10 þeah þe heo in þa ilcan tið, þe heo acenned hæbbe, Gode þonungæ to donne in circan gonge, ne bið heo mid nænige synne hyrðenne ahefgad. Forþon se willa þæs lichoman bið in synne, nales þæt saer þære cennisse : in þæs lichoman gemengednesse bið willa, þonne in þæs tudres forðlædnisses bið gooun 7 sær. Bi þon þære 15 ærestan meder ealles moncyñnes wæs cwæden : In dolore varies : in saare þa cennest bearn. Ono gif we beweriað þæt acennende wiif, þæt heo ne mot in circan gongan, hwæt we þonne þæt seolse sær 7 wiite hire in synne tellað. Fulwian þonne þæt cennendæ wiif oðþæþ þæt bearn þæt þær acenned bið, gif heo syn þreade mid frecen- 20 nisse deaðes, ge heo in þa seolfan tið þe heo cenned þæt þær acenned bið, nænige gemete is bewered. Forþon seo geosu þæs hælan gerynes, swa swa lifgendum 7 þæm ongeotendum mid micle gesceanæ is to forseonne, swa þonne, þæm þe se deað tobeotað, buton ænigre ældenne is to geboerenæ 7 to gefremmenæ, þy læs gif 25 hwylc lytel ælding sy, þætte ne mægge gemeted beon se æalesed si. To hire gerestsciþe þonne hire wer ne sceal gongan, æþ þon þæt acennende bearn of meolcum awened sy. Ac unriht gewuna wel hvær is arisen betweoh gesinium, þætte wiif forhyegacð heora bearn. fædan, þa þe heo cennað, 7 heo ofrum wiifum to 30 fedenne sellað. Þæt is þonne gesegen gemeted fore intingan unforhæfndnisses ánre, forþon, þonne heo ne willað áhhabban from heora werum, þætte heo forhyegacð fedan þa þe heo cennað. Ono þæs wiif, þa þe heora bearn of unrihtum gewunum ofrum to fedenne

1. 19. fulwien (only) T. fullian we O. Ca. B. 1. 20. frecernisse T. frec-
nesse O. B. -enysse Ca.
reserved by the grace of God Almighty for human nature, what reason is there in prohibiting from the grace of Holy Baptism? In the sacrament by which all sin is thoroughly done away with, it is very foolish to offer opposition to the divine grace. You asked also, how many days after childbirth a woman might go to church. Now you have yourself learnt in the ordinances of the Old Testament, that for a man-child she should abstain thirty-three days from entering God's house, for a woman-child sixty-six days. You must know, however, that this is understood as a spiritual mystery.

For even if she should go to church, to thank God, in the very hour after childbirth, she does not incur any burden of sin. For carnal pleasure is sinful, not the pains of childbirth. In carnal copulation there is pleasure, in the birth of offspring groaning and pain. As to this it was said to the first mother of all mankind, 'in dolore paries,' 'in sorrow thou shalt bear children.' Now if we prevent a woman after childbirth from going to church, surely we then account this pain and penalty as her sin. So then, to baptize a woman after childbirth or the new-born child, if threatened with danger of death, either the woman in the very hour of childbirth or the babe, is a thing in no wise prohibited. For as the grace of the holy sacrament is to be provided with much discretion for those who are alive and sensible, it is however without any delay to be brought and administered to those threatened by death, lest, if there be any little delay, no one may be found who may be redeemed.

A husband shall not enter his wife's bed, before the babe is weaned from the breast. A culpable habit indeed has arisen in places between the married pair, that the woman neglects to feed her child, that she has borne, and hands it over to others to feed. Now this seems to occur through incontinence only, for they neglect to feed their own babes, when they will not live apart from their husbands. Now these women, who from culpable habit give their children to others to feed, shall not enter their husband's bed,
sella, nemne seo clæsnunge tiid forðgelecere, ne sceolon heor heora
werum gemengde beon. Þa þe þonne in gewunan monaðæle
numene beð, butan beorðres intingan, heor waeran bewered heora
wereum gemengde beon, swa ðætte seo halige æ mid deææ slæbæ,
gif hwylc wepnedmon goneæ to monaðælium wiife. Hwaetere 5
þæt wiife, mid þy heo þone gewunan þrowað monaðæle, ne sceal
heo bewered beon þæt heo mote in circan gongan; forðon seo
osferflownis þæs gecyndes hire ne mæg in synne geteled beon, 7
þurh þæt þe heo þurh nead þrowað, nis þæt reht þæt heo sy
bescyed from Godes circan ingonge. Hwaet we weotan 7 leorniæ
in Cristes bocum, þætte þæt wiife, þe wæs þrowiende blodes
flownisse, heo earmodlice wæs cumende æfter Drihtnes bæce 9
gerhan þæt fæs his hrægles, 7 sona instæpe hire untryynam onweg gewat 7
heo wæs hal geworden. Ono nu þæt wiife in blodes flownesse
geseted hergendlice meahte Drihtnes hrægle gehrinan, forhwon 15
þonne, se þe blodryne þrowað monaðæle, ne alefæ hire in Drihtnes
cirican gongan? Ac þu cwist nu: Heo nedde hire untryynesse
þæt heo Cristes hrægle gehrine; þæs wiife, bi þæm we spreæð,
gelomlic gewuna getiæð. Ono gépenc, broþor þu leofesta, þætte
eal, þe we þrowiæ in þissum deælican lichoman, is of untryynesse
þæs gecyndes rehte Godes dome geendebyrdad. Wæs æfter synne
þæs ærestan monnes, forðon hyngran, þyrstan, háttan, calan, wæri-
gian,—al þæt is of untryynesse þæs gecyndes. Ond hwæt elles is
to secenne wið þæm hungre nemne ondlifen, wið þurist drynce, wið
hæto celnis, wið cyle hrægl, wið werignesse reste, wið untryynesse
lacedom þsecan. Hwaet wiifum heora monaðæle blodes flownes bið
untryynnis. Ono nu þæt wiife wel geþyrstgade, þætte Drihtnes hrægle
in aðle geseted gehran, þætte anum untrumum hade wæs forgifen,
forhwon ne sceal þæt callum wiifum beon forgyfen, þa þe mid uncyste
heora gecyndes beoð geuntrumade. Swelce eac in þæm ilcum dagum 30
ne sceal him bewered beon þæm geryne onfon þære halgan
gemænsunnesse. Gif þonne for micelre árwyrdnesse hwylc mon
ne geþyrstgad onfon, se is to herienne; ac gif he onfehæð, nis he
to demenne. Forðon þara godra mooda 7 monna þeaw bið, þæt
heo þær hwilum synne ongeotað, þær þe syn ne bið, 7 oft buton 35
unless the time of purification has past. Those who are menstruous were prohibited from entering their husband's bed, except for the sake of offspring, so that the holy law visits with death any man going to a menstruous woman. Yet the woman, while menstruous, shall not be prohibited from going to church, for the natural overflow may not be counted as her sin, and it is not right that she should be cut off from entering God's church through a necessary affliction. Now we know and learn in Christ's books, that the woman suffering from an issue of blood came humbly behind the Lord's back and touched the hem of his garment, and at once her infirmity departed and she became whole. Now if this woman while suffering from an issue of blood might laudably touch the Lord's garment, why should one, who is menstruous, not be allowed to go to the Lord's church? But you say now: Her infirmity forced her to touch Christ's garment; the women of whom we speak are constrained by constant habit. Think now, my dearest brother, that all, which we suffer in this mortal body, is ordered by the just judgment of God from the infirmity of nature. It followed on the sin of the first man, for hunger and thirst, fever, chill, fatigue, all come from the infirmity of nature. And what else is to be sought for against hunger than food; against thirst, drink; against heat, coolness; against chill, a garment; against weariness, rest; against illness medicine is to be sought. Now for women the menstrual flow is an illness. If now the woman was justly bold in touching the Lord's garment in time of illness, why should not that be allowed to all women, that was allowed to a single sick person, seeing that they are all visited with the infirmity of their nature? Also during these days they shall not be prohibited from receiving the Holy Communion. Now if anyone out of great veneration does not venture to receive, he is to be praised; but if he receive, he is not to be judged. For it is the habit of good minds and men, that at times they imagine sin where there is no sin, and often a thing
synne bið doen, ðætte of synne cyrneð: swa swa þæt is, þonne us eac hyngerð, þæt we étæ buton synne, 7 us þæt wæs geworden of synne þæs ærestan monnes, þæt us eac hyngran meahte. Forþon swa swa bi þæm aldan þeodscipe þa utteran weorc wæron bi-healden, swa in þæm neowan þeodscipe, naes swa swiðe þætæ 5 utan doen bið, swa þætte innan þohi bið, bihygellice is behealden. Forþon, mid þy seo æ monig þing bewered to etanne, swa swa unclæne, hwæðre in godspelle Drihten cwæð: Nales þætte in-gongeð in muð monnan besmiteð, ac þa ðe utgongað of múde, þa seondan þe þone monnan besmiteð. 7 wene æfter þon wæs þæt 10 areccende 7 cwæð: Of heortan utgongað yfele geþohtas. Þær genihtsumlice is gesægd, þætte þæt from þæm ælmihtegum Gode unclæne 7 besmiten æteawed bið in weorc ean, þætte of wyrt-ruman besmitenes geþohtes 7 unclænes acenned bið. Bi þon swelce Paulus se apostol cwæð: Eall bið clæne clænum: þæm 15 besmitenum 7 ungeleæfsumum noht bið clæne. 7 he sona se apostol þone intingan þære ilecan besmitenesse wæs gese-gende, 7 æfter cwæð: Forðon bismiten syndon ge heora mod ge ingewitinis. Ono nu nu þæm mete ne bið clæne, þam þæt mod ne bið clæne, forhwon þonne þæt wið þæt heo clæne móde of 20 gecynde þrowað, sceal hire in unclænnesse geteled beon?

Se wer, se þe mid his ágene wiðe bið slæpende, nemne he mid wætre aþwegen 7 biðaðod sy, ne sceal he in circan gongan, ne, þeah þe he biðaðod si, soma mot ingongan. Forþon seo æ bibead þæm aldan Godes folce, þætte se wer, se ðe ware his wiðe gemenged, 25 þæt he sceolde wætre aþwegen 7 beðaðad beon, 7 æ sunnan setlgonge ne moste in heora gesomnunge ingongan. Þæt hwæðre mæg gastlice ongyuten beon; forþon wer bið wiðe gemenged, þonne unalyfedre willunge monnes mood in geþohte purh lustful-nesse bið geþeoded. Forþon, nemne ær þæt fyr þære unrehtan 30 willunge from þam mode acolie, ne sceal he bine wyrtæne telgan broðra 7 Godes þeowa gesomungne, seðe hine gesið hefigadne beon purh yfellesse unrehtes willan. Þeah þe bi þisse wisdom missenleco cynn monnum missenlice ongete 7 halde, hwæðre symbele wæs

p. 495.

1. 17. In O. Ca. B. ylican is before besmitenesse: in T. after (i-). 1. 18. ge O. Ca.; not in T. In B. the previous ge is omitted and 7 inserted after mod in
originating in sin is done without sin: as for instance when hungry we eat without sin, and yet the possibility of hunger arose from the sin of the first man. For as in the old covenant, external works were regarded, so in the new covenant, not so much the external act, as the internal thought, is carefully regarded. For while the law prohibits the eating of many things as unclean, yet in the gospel the Lord saith, 'Not that which entereth into the mouth of man defileth, but that which goeth out of the mouth, that defileth the man.' And a little after he explained that and said, 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.' There it is sufficiently declared that, whatever is produced from the root of polluted and unclean thought, is shown by God Almighty to be unclean and polluted in act. About this also the apostle Paul says, 'To the clean all is clean: to the polluted and unfaithful nothing is clean.'

And immediately the apostle declared the cause of this pollution, subjoining, 'Therefore their mind and conscience are polluted.' If then meat is not clean to him whose mind is unclean, why should to the woman that be accounted for uncleanness, which she with clean mind suffers by nature?

The man, who has entered his wife's bed, shall not go into, church, except he be washed with water and bathed, nor though bathed may go in at once. For the law directed the old people of God, that a man, after approaching his wife, should be washed and bathed with water, and not enter their assembly before sunset. This, however, may be spiritually understood; for a man approaches a woman, when the mind is associated by delight in thought with unlawful desire. For this, unless the fire of illicit desire cool down in the mind, he shall not deem him worthy of the congregation of the brethren and God's servants, when he sees himself burdened by the evil of unrighteous desire. Though in this point various races of men have a variety of ideas and observances, yet it was ever the custom of the Romans,
Romana gewuna from heora ylдрum æfter gemængnisse agenes wiifes, þæt heo cæsnumgæ þædes 7 þweales sohton, 7 from cirican ingonge hwylchwugu fæc arwyrðlice ahabban. Þeah þe we þas þing cweðe, ne tellað we synne weosan gesisincipe; ac forðon seo aelfde gemængnis wiifes buton willan þæs lichoman ne meæg beon, 5 from ingonge þære halgan stówæ is to ahaabbenne; forðon se seolfa willa nænge þinga buton synne beon meæg. Ne wæs acenned of unrethæmdæ ne þurh dynre forlegenesse, ac acenned wæs of ælicum gesisincipe, se ðe cwæð: Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum et in delictis peperit me mater mea: ic wat þæt ic wæs in 10 wænessum geeaecnod 7 in sceyldum mec cende min modor. Ono he wiste hine in wenessum geeaenade, he þa geomrade hine from sceyldæ acennedne. Forðon he bær þa wætan þære uncyste in þæm telgan, pone he geteac ær of þam wytruman. Hwæðre in þam wordum is sweotol, þæt he wenesse nemde, nales þa gemeng-15 nisse þæs gesisincipes, ac pone seolfan willan þære gemengnisse. Forðon gedafænað, þætte seo æliche gegadrum lichoman seo for intingan tudres, nales þæs willan, 7 seo gemengnes þæs ðæscæs seo for intingan bearna to cennene, nales cwænnes uncysta. Swa hwælæ mon swa his wiif, nales for unrethæs willan willunæ, ac for 20 intingan anum bruceð to streonne, þes mon is his seolfas dome to forlætænne, oððe be cirican ingonge, oðpe to onsonæ þæm geryne Cristes lichoman 7 his blode; forþon we him ne seulon biwerigan þam halgan geryne onfon, se ðe in fyre geseted bið7 beornæ ne conn. Mid þy þonne seo luufi ne bið tudres to tilienne, ac 25 se willa ma wealdeð in þæm weorce þære gemengnisse, þonne habbað þa gesinhiwan ðearfe be heora gemengdnesse, þæt hi wepen 7 hrewæ dow. Forðon seo haligæ laær him þis forgifið, 7 hwæðre be þære seolfan forgifnesse mid ége þæt mood instyroð. Forðon se apostol Sæs Paulus mid ðy cwæð, Qui se continere non 30 potest, habeat uxorem suam, se ðe hine ahabban ne meæg, hæbbe his wiif, he ða sonæ se apostol underdeodde 7 æfter cwæð: Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium: ðís ic cwæðo æfter forgifnesse, nales æfter hebodo. Forþon ne bið þæt

from the time of their ancestors, that after approaching their wives they sought purification by bath and washing, and reverently abstained for some time from entering church. Though we say this, we do not account wedlock a sin; but as the lawful union with a woman may not be without carnal pleasure, a man should abstain from entering the holy place, because the pleasure itself may in no wise be without sin. He was not born of adultery nor fornication, but of lawful wedlock, who said, 'Ecce enim in iniuritatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea;' 'I know that I was conceived in iniquity, and in transgression did my mother bear me.' Since he knew himself to be conceived in iniquity, he lamented that he was born of transgression. For he bore in the branch the sap of vice, which he previously drew from the root. Still in these words it is clear, that he called iniquity, not the union in wedlock, but the actual pleasure in the union. It is fit then that lawful copulation should be for the sake of offspring, not of pleasure, and that fleshly union should be for the sake of child-bearing, not the satisfaction of vice. Whatever man visits his wife, not with the desire of unrighteous pleasure, but only for the sake of begetting, is to be left to his own judgment, either as to entering church or receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; for we shall not prohibit him from receiving the holy sacrament, who is placed in the fire and yet cannot burn. But when the desire is not to beget offspring, but pleasure prevails rather in the act of union, then the married pair have need for sorrow and repentance in their union. For the holy teaching concedes this to them, and yet, as regards the actual concession, moves the mind with terror. Therefore when the apostle St. Paul says, 'Qui se continere non potest, habeat uxorem suam;' 'he who cannot contain, let him have his wife;' at once the apostle subjoined and said, 'Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium,' 'but this I speak by permission, and not of commandment.' For that is not

\(^{1}\) (gemen,nesse), Ca. (gemengednysse), B. (gemenghesse).
\(^{2}\) 1. 31. uorè. 
\(^{3}\) 1. 33. antè sodam sodam.

G 2
forgifen, þætte alefed bið, ac þæt bið riht. Þætte he cwæð bi þære forgifnesse, þa æteawde he ðær synne weosan. Mid wæccre moodæ is to smeageanne 7 to gepencenne, þæt, þa he Drihten wolde his folc gesprecende beon in Sinai dune, he þa ærest bebed, þæt heo heora hreegl woosce 7 clænsode 7 heo from wiifum ahæsfle. 5 Ono nu in þære stówe, þær þe Drihten wæs þurh þa underðæoddan gesceafste to monnum spreocende, mid swa micle forseconesse wæs þæs lichoman clænnisse asoht, þæt, þa ðe Godes wordæ onfengon, ne sceoldon wiifum gemengde beon, micle ma þonne þa wiif, ða ðe ælmehteges Drihtnes lichoman onfoð, in him seolfum seulon 10 lichoman clænnisse healdan, þy læs heo mid þa seolfan micelnisse þæs ungeæhtendlican gerynes hifigade syn. Swelce eac bi þisse wisan to Dauide þurh þone sacerd ðwæs ðweden be his geferum, þætte, gif heo fram wiifum clæne waren, þæt heo moston onfoon 7 þicgan þa foresetenesse hlasæ, þa ðe mid him halige wæron, 15 þa heo eallinga onfoon ne þyegan moston, ær þon Dauit ondete heo fram wiifum clæne beon. Þonne se wer, se ðe æfter his wiifes gemengnisse wætre æþwegen 7 bibrāð bið, he mot þam geryne onfôn þære halgan gemænsumnesse, mid ðy him eac alyfed bið, swa we ær cwædon, in cirican gongan.

**INTERROGATIO VIII.**

Hwæðer æfter bysmirunge, seo þurh slæp wæpnemonnum gelimpeð, oðdo Drihtnes lichoman ænig onfoon mot, oðpo, gif hit sacerd bið, mot he þa halgan geryño mærsian mæsesonga?

**Responsio.**

ðeosne mon eac swylce seo cyðnis þære ealdan æ bismiten cwið, swa we ær in þæm uferan kapitule cwædon, 7 him ne forgifæð 25 þætte he móte in Godes hus gongan, nemne he sy wætre æðwegen, ne þonne gena ær æffenne. Þæt hwæðre on ðære wisan þæt gastlice folc is ongeotonde under þam ilcan ondgete, þe we foresprecende wæron. Forðon se mon bið bismrad swa swa þurh swefn, se ðe costad bið mid unclenesses, ond þonne mid soðum 30 onlicnessum in gepohle bið *bismiten. Ac he is mid wætre to

conceded which is lawful, but it is right. In what he said of concession, he showed that there was sin. With vigilant mind we must consider and reflect, that, when the Lord would address his people on Mount Sinai, he first commanded that they should wash and cleanse their garments and abstain from their wives. If now in the place, where the Lord spoke to men through the subject creature, bodily cleanness was sought after with such care, that those, who received God's word, should not come at their wives, much more then the women, who receive the body of the Lord Almighty, shall maintain in themselves bodily cleanness, lest they be burdened with the very greatness of the inestimable mystery. Also on this point it was declared to David by the priest about his companions, that, if they had abstained from women, they might receive and partake of the shewbread, whoever were pure among his company, which they might not at all receive, before David confessed that they had abstained from women. Then the man, who after approaching his wife is washed with water and bathed, may receive the sacrament of Holy Communion, since he is allowed, as we said before, to enter a church.

**Question IX.**

After the delusion, which comes on men in sleep, may one receive the Lord's body, or, in case of a priest, celebrate the holy mystery of mass?

**Answer.**

The Testament of the old law declares this man also polluted, as we said in the former chapter, and does not allow him to enter God's house, unless he be washed with water, nor even then before evening. This however the spiritual people will understand in another way with the same interpretation, as we made before. For a man is deluded, as it were, by a dream, who is tempted with uncleanness, and then is polluted with real imaginations in thought. But he is to be washed with water; that is, he is to wash away the
ampweanne, þæt is, þæt he þa synne þæs gehþðes mid tearum aþwea, 7 nemne ær þæt fyr þære costunge gewitee, þæt he hine scyldigne ongete swa swa oð æfentiid. Ac hwætre is on þære ilean bysmurunge swiðe nedpearflíc gescead, þa we smealice gepencan sculan, of hwylcre wisan þæm moode hit gegonge þæs slæpendan. 5 Forþon hwilum hit gelimpeð of oserfylle, hwilum of þæs gecyndes oserflownesse 7 untrunnnisse, hwilum of gehþote. Ond þonne hit of þæs gecyndes oserflownesse 7 untrumnesse becameð, ealle gemete þæs bysmurong nis to ondræddenne, mid þy þæt mood þis ne weotende ærafnede; forþon heo is ma to sorgienne, þonne to 10 gesræmmenne. Mid þy heo þonne gelimpeð seo bysmurung for oserfyllo, þonon hafaþ þæt mod hwylcehugu scylde, nales hwætre oð bewerennisse to onfonne þæm halgan geryne, oðþ þa symbelnesse to mærsienne mæssesonges, gif þæt ned abædeþ oðþe symbeldæg gelimpeð oðþo oper sacerd in þære stówes ne bið, se þæ for hine 15 þæt geryne mæssesonges gegearwic. Gif þær þonne oðre seon, þe þa þegnume gefyllan þæge, þonon sceal he hine eaðmodlice ahabban from onægndenes þæs halgan gerynes, þæþ þæ ic dem. Gif þonne of scendlicum gehþote þæs wæccendan upceymed seo bysmurung slæpendes, hwæt þonne openað þæm moode his scylde; 20 forþon he gesið from hwylcum wytruman to bismitenis forðbicwom, þæt is, þæt he wæccende þohte, þæt he weotonde ærafnede. Ac þonne gena is se seolfa gehþot to asmeagenne, hwæþer he geeode þæ mid sceynisse þæ mid lustfulnisse, oðþe hwæþer þonne gena, þæt mare is, mid gyfungen þære synne. Forþon þæt gemetum bid 25 gefyilled ghwile syn, þæt is, ærest þurh scynnesse, 7 þurh lustfullnesse, 7 þurh gefæfunge. Seo scynis bid þurh deoful, seo lustfulnes bid þurh lichoman, seo gefæfunge þurh gast. Forþon þæ aærestan synne se wæriga gast sceye þurh þæ naæðran, ond Euæ þa swa swa lichoma wæs lustfulliude, ond Ádam heo þonne swa swa 30 gast gefæsode: þa wæs seo synn gefyilled. Ond micel nedpearfnis is, þætte [mid] gescead betwihan þa sceynisse 7 þa lustfulnisse 7 eft betweoðan þa lustfulnisse 7 þa gefæfunge þæt moð seolf his dema sy. Forþon mid þy se wæriga gast þa synne sceyde in moode,
sin of thought with tears, and unless the fire of temptation depart, he is to consider himself as guilty, as it were till evening. But yet in this very delusion distinction is very necessary, as we should carefully consider, in what way it comes to the mind of the sleeper. For sometimes it comes from overfulness, at times from the overflow and infirmity of nature, at times from thought. When it comes from the overflow and infirmity of nature, this delusion is in no wise to be feared, as the mind does not suffer it wittingly; wherefore it is more a subject for sorrow than it is of action. When the delusion comes from overfulness, then the mind has some tinge of guilt, yet not so as to prevent receiving the Holy Communion or performing the celebration of mass, if need require, or it be a festival, or if there be no other priest in the place, who can officiate in his place in the sacrament of mass. If then others are there, who can perform the service, he shall humbly abstain from offering the holy sacrament, according to my judgment. If however the sleeper's delusion arises from foul thoughts in the waking man, surely then the mind discerns its guilt, seeing from what root the pollution came, namely, that he wittingly suffered, what was in his waking thoughts. But further the thought itself is to be considered, whether it came in by suggestion or of delight, or whether further, what is more, with consent to the sin. For every sin is fulfilled in three ways, namely, first through suggestion, and through delight, and through consent. Suggestion is of the devil, delight of the body, consent of the spirit. For the accursed spirit suggested the first sin through the serpent, and Eve then, as it were the body, took delight, and Adam then, as it were the spirit, consented: then was the sin fulfilled. And there is great need, that the mind itself sit as its judge, distinguishing between suggestion and delight and again between delight and consent. For when the accursed spirit suggests
gif nānig lustfulnis pāre synne aeteterīlgec, allum gemetum ne biō pār syn purhtogen. Mid āy ponne se lichoma onginnde lustfullian, āonne onginnde pār seo syn acenned beon. Gif he ponne mid poncemeotunge 7 āpreodunge gēpæfæd, āonne biō ongyten pār syn gefremed beon. Ond in scynisse synne, gif pāt mod biō in 5 lustfulnesse, pāt biō fædnis: in āpasunge biō deosolfremednis: ond pāt oft gelimpec, āattte se wēriga gast saweδ in ēpohte, āattte se lichoma pāt in lustfulnesse tīh; ond hwēdre pāt mod pāre ilcan lustfulnesse ne gēpafæd. Ond mid āy weoton pāt se lichoma ne mæg lustfullian buton āam mōde, hwēdre pāt seolfe mod biō winnende wiδ āam ūnrihtwillungum āes lichoman: hwāt ponne pāt mōd in āam lichomlecan lustfulnesse sume gemete purh ned biō gebunden, pāt hit pāre lustfulnesse of āam sylfian rihte wiδ-cwyδ, pāt hit ne gēpafinge; 7 hwēpere mid āa lustfulnesse gebunden biδ, ac he swīδe goāδ 7 geomræδ hine swa gebundenne beon. 15 Bi δon se mæsta cempa 7 se helsta āes heofonlican weorodes Sēs Paulus se apostol goiende 7 geoömriende cwæδ: Ic geseo oδere ā in minum leomum wiδfseothtende pāre āδ mines moodes, 7 gēhæftedne mec is lædende in synne āδ, seo is in minum leomum. Ono gir he gehæfted wæs, hwæt he āonne nó feahṭ; ac āa he feahṭ, forδon he 20 wæs gehæfted. Ono he feahṭ mid āa āδ pāes moodes, pāre wiδfeahṭ seo āδ, seo þe in his leomum wæs. Gif he feahṭ, ne wæs he gehæfted. Ono se mon biδ, pāes þe swa to cweðenne sy, æghwæδer ge gehæfted ge freo: he biδ freo of pāre soðfæstnesse, þe he lufaδ; he biδ hæfted of pāre lustfulnesse, þe bīreδ he geneded. 25

Pris seondon ondswire þaes eadigan papan Sēs Gregorius to gēfeahṭunge 7 to frignēeþ þaes arwyrδcan biscopes Agustinus.

Swelce Agustinus heht him eac onbeodan, āatte her wære micel rip onweard 7 fea workton; ond he δa sende mid þem forespreccenan ærendwreccan him maran fultom to godcundre lare. 30 In þæm wæoron þa ærestan 7 þa mæstan Mellitus 7 Justus 7 Paulinus 7 Ruffianus; ond þurh heo sende gemænelice þa þing all,

1. 13. biδ O. Ca. B. bid T. of þam to lustfulnesse not in T. Text from O. l. 28. These words (swelce, etc.) follow after onseende (cap. 27) without any break in MSS. her wære O. Ca. B. he δare T.
sin in the mind, if no delight in the sin follow, in no wise then is the sin carried out. But when the body begins to have pleasure, then first is sin born. If he then consent with thought and deliberation, then sin is understood to be committed. And in the suggestion of sin, if the mind is in delight, that is nutriment: in consent the devil fulfils his purpose: and it often happens, that what the accursed spirit sows in the thought, the body makes into delight; and yet the mind does not assent to the delight. And while we know that the body cannot have delight without the mind, yet the mind itself struggles against the unlawful desires of the body: so then the mind, in this delight of the body, is in a way held fast by compulsion, so that with the reason itself it refuses assent to the delight; and yet is held fast by the delight, deeply groaning and lamenting at being so held fast. For this cause the most mighty and exalted champion of the heavenly host, the apostle St. Paul, with groans and lamentations thus spake, ‘I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members.’

Now if he was captive, then certainly he did not fight; but as he fought, he was for that reason taken captive. Now he fought with the law of the mind, which the law in his members resisted. If he fought, he was not captive. Well then man is, so to speak, both captive and free. He is free, because of the truth he loves, captive, because of the delight which he submits to out of compulsion.

These are the answers of the blessed pope St. Gregory to the consultation and enquiry of the venerable bishop Augustine.

Augustine also bade them announce to him, that the harvest here was now plenteous, but the labourers few; so he then sent him with the aforesaid envoys greater help for the teaching of the Word. The first and chiefest among these were Mellitus and Justus and Paulinus and Ruffianus; and he sent by them all those things in general, which were necessary for church worship and service,
pa Æ to cirican bigonge 7 þegnumne nedþearflecu wæron, huslætu 7 wigbedhreðgl 7 circan fætweðnes 7 bispopgegyrlan 7 diacone-
gyrlan, swylce eac þara apostola 7 haligra martira reliquias 7 monige bec. Sende eac swylce Agustine þæm bispode pallium 7 gewrit, in þam he getacnode, hu he sceolde oþre bispocas halgian 7 5 on hwylcum stowum settan in Breotone.

Cap. 32. Sende eac swilce se eadiga papa in þa ilcan tid Gregorius Æfelberhte cyninge ærendgewrit somed 7 woruldgisse monige in missenlicum megwlitum: wolde eac þone cyning swilce mid þissum wilwendlicum aarum wuldrigan, þæm þe he Ææs heofonlican 10 rices wuldor mid his gewinne 7 mid his lare geornnesse openede 7 cyðde.

XVII.

Cap. 33. Ond ÆÆs Agustinus se bispoc sona, ðæs þe he þæm bispocseðle onsfeng in þære cynelecæn byrg, Æa edneowade 7 worhtæ mid cyninges fultome þa cirican, þe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde 15 Romanisce weorce geworhtæ beon; ond þa in usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes noman gehalgode; ond he þær him seolfsum eardungstowe gesette 7 callum his æfterfylgendum. Swelce eac mynster getimbrade be eastan þære ceastre, in þæm mid his trymnesse 7 lare ÆÆfelberht se cyning weorðlice cyrcan heht getim- 20 bran þara eadigra apostola Petri 7 Pauli, 7 mid missenleece geofum welgade; in þære cirican Agustinus lie 7 ealra Cont-
warena bispoca somed ge heora cyninga geseted beon mealtæ. Þa cirican hwæþre nales he Agustinus, ac Laurentius bispoc his æfterfylgend heo gehalgode. Ææs se æresta abbud þæs yican 25 mynstres Petrus haten mæssepreost, se Ææs eft ærendwæca sended in Gallia rice, ond þa Ææs besenced in sumne sæs sceat, se Ææs haten Amfelat; 7 from þære stowe bigengum in uncýmre byrgenne geseted Ææs. Ac se ælmihti God wolde gecypan, hwylcre gearumne se halga wer æere: ond æghwelce niht ofer his byrgenne 30 heofonlic leothæ was æteawed, ÆÆ þæt þæ neahmen ongeton, ÆÆ hit gesawon, þætte þæt Ææs micel wer 7 halig mon, se ÆÆ þær bebyrged Ææs. Ond heo ÆÆ aspyredon þæt, 7 hwonan he Ææs: genoman þa

1 The number XXXIII in T, is a late alteration out of XVII. Ca. has XXVIII. 1 24. a. gustinus (one letter erased) T. ag. O. Ca. B.
sacramental vessels, altar covers, church ornaments, bishops' and deacons' robes, as well as relics of the apostles and holy martyrs, and many books. He sent also to bishop Augustine a pallium and a letter, in which he signified how he should consecrate other bishops, and in what places in Britain he should establish them. The blessed pope Gregory sent also at the same time a letter to king Æthelberht, along with many worldly gifts of various kinds: he desired also with these temporal distinctions to glorify the king, to whom, by his labour and zeal in teaching, he disclosed and made known the glory of the kingdom of heaven.

XVII.

Then the bishop St. Augustine, as soon as he received the episcopal seat in the royal city, repaired and restored with the king's help the church, which he learnt had been constructed long ago of old Roman work; and he consecrated it in the name of our Lord and Saviour Christ; and there he established a habitation for himself and all his successors. He also erected a monastery to the east of the town, in which, by his exhortation and direction, king Æthelberht ordered a church to be erected of becoming splendour, dedicated to the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and endowed it with a variety of gifts; in which church the body of Augustine and also those of all bishops and kings of Canterbury might be laid. However it was not Augustine, but his successor bishop Laurentius, who consecrated the church. The first abbot of this monastery was a priest called Peter. Afterwards he was sent as an envoy to Gaul, and there was drowned in an inlet of the sea called Ambleteuse; and he was buried by the inhabitants of this place in a mean tomb. But God Almighty desired to make known, what the deserts of this holy man were: and every night over his tomb a heavenly light was displayed, till those, that dwelt near and saw it, understood that it was a great and holy man who there was buried. Then they enquired as to this, and whence he came; then they took his body, and it was deposited and buried in a church in
his lichoman, ond in Bonagia þa ceastre, æfter gerisenre ųre swa miclum were 7 swa halgum in cyrican gesette 7 bebyrged wæs.

**XVIII.**

Cap. 34. Æýssum tidum forewæs Norðanlymbra rice se strongesta cyning 7 se gyłpgeornesta, Æþelfríð haten. Se me allum Ongol-cynnum 7 aldormonnum Bretta þeode fornom 7 forhergade, swa 5 efne þæs ðe meahþe wiðmeten beon Saule in cyninge Israhela þeode, butan þæt he wæs þære godcundan æfestnisse unwís. Ne wæs æfre ænig cyninga ne aldormonna, þætte má heora londa utamærde 7 him to gewealde underþeodde; forðon he to gafolgyld-dum heo gesette Ongolþeode, oþþe of heora londum adráf. Meahþe 10 se cwide wel beon to him geþeoded, þe Iacob se heahsfæder in Saules hade þæs cyninges cwæð, þa he his sunu bletsoðe: Beniamin is risende wulf; on ærmergen he ðec hloðe 7 on æfenne herereaf dælecð. ða wæs for his fromscipe onstyred Ædan Scotta cyning, þa ðe in Breetone eardigad; teah hine þa ford on 7 cwom 15 mid únmæte weorode 7 stronge wið hine to gefeohte. Ac he hwæðre oferswiðed mid feawum onweg sleah. Wæs ðis gefeoht geworden on þære mæran stowe þe cweden is Degisastan. Þær lytestne eal his weorud óstlegen wæs. On þam gefeohte eac swylce Æodbdal Æþelfrípes broþor wæs óstlegen mid ealle þy 20 weorode þe he lædde. þæt gefeoht Æþelfríð gefremaðe þy endlyftan geare his rices, þæt he hæfde feower 7 twentig wintra. Þæt wæs þæt æreste gear Focatis þæs caseres, se þe hæfde Romana rice. Síððan of þære tide nænig Sceotta cyninga ne dorste wið Angelsþeode to gefeohte cuman ðo ðysne andweardan dæg. 25

Her endað seo æreste boc
7 onginned seo ðeðer.

1 The number in T. is now XXXIÍÍÍ (sic) made out of original XVIII (?). In Ca. XXXI. 1. 3. In T. fore fore, the first being in capitals: fore (once) O. Ca.: B. omits both, reading cinung for rice. 1. 14. feor (e imperfectly erased) T. for O. Ca. B. 1. 17. Tanner 4th ends on: a leaf is lost: text
the town of Boulogne, with the honour suitable to a man so great and so holy.

XVIII.

At this time there ruled over the kingdom of Northumbria a king named Æthelfrith, who was very brave and very ambitious. He destroyed and wasted the Britons more than all the English and their chiefs, so that he might be exactly compared to Saul of old, king of Israel, except that he was ignorant of the divine religion. There never was a king or chief who depopulated or reduced to subjection more of their lands; for he rendered them tributary to the English or drove them out of their country. The words might well be appropriated to him, which the patriarch Jacob said regarding the person of king Saul, when he blessed his son: 'Benjamin is a ravening wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and in the evening he shall divide the spoil.' Then Ædan, king of the Scots who dwell in Britain, was roused by his progress; he went to war, and came with a vast and powerful host to fight against him. However he was defeated, and fled away with only a few. This battle took place at that famous place which is called Dawston. There almost all his host was slain. In this battle too Theodbold, Æthelfrith's brother, was slain, with all the host he led. Æthelfrith finished this war in the eleventh year of his reign, which lasted twenty-four years. This was the first year of the emperor Phocas, who was at the head of the Roman power. From that time on no king of the Scots ventured to meet the English in battle, up to this present day.

Here ends the first book
and the second begins.

from O. 1. 19. ofslegen, O. ofslegen was Ca. was ofslagen B. 1. 21. gefeoh O. gefeoh Ca. B. 1. 26-7. From Ca. Nothing in O. or B.; O. has blank of half line; B. blank space of two lines.
LIBER SECUNDUS

I.

DYSSUM tidum, ἤετ is fif winter 7 syx hund wintra aëter pære Drihtenlican menniscnesse, se eadiga papa Gregorius, aëter þon þe he ἤετ setl þære Romaniscan cyricean 7 þære apostolican þreottyne gear 7 syx monað 7 tyn dagas wulderlice heold 7 rehte, þa wæs forðfered 7 to þam ecan setle þæs heofonlican rices læded 5 wæs. Heold he 7 rehte þa cyricean on para casera tidum Maurici 7 Uocati; 7 þy æfteran geare þæs ylcan Uocatis ἤετ he forðferde of þyssum life, 7 ferde to þam sóðan life þam þe on heofonum is: 7 his lichama wæs bebyriged on See Petres cyricean besoran þam husulportice þy feorðan dæge idus Martianum, 7 he nu hwonne on 10 þam ilcan bið on wuldre arisende mid ðoprum hyrdum þære halgan cyricean. 7 awritten is on his byrigenne þysses gemetes byrgen-leð.

Onfoh þu eorþe lichaman of þinum lichaman genumen, ἤετ þu hine eft ægyfan mæge, þonne hine God lífseste. Se gast up to 15 heofon gesohte; nænig anweald deaþes him sceðfað; þam ðopres lifes se sylfa deað me is weg. Þæs hean bisceopes lecma on þyss eþyrigenne syndon betyned, se symble leofað gehwær on unrim godum. Earmra hungur he oferswiðe mid mittum, 7 heora cyle mid hrægle, 7 he mid halgum monungum saule fram ðeonde 20 gescyldê. 7 he mid ðeðe gefylde, swa hwæt swa he mid worde lærde. Wæs he gerynelico word spreece, ἤετ he lifes bysen wære haligra manna. To Criste he Ónglé gehwyrfe mid æröst-nesse lareowdomes. (Wæs he on ðære þeode begytende niwe wered Godes geleafan.) Þis gewin 7 þissum gelic, þeos gemen þe 25 wæs, 7 þis þu hyrde dydest, ἤετ þu Drihtne brohtest micel gestreon

1 Page heading in Ca. The chapter headings (from Ca.) are now in order. 1. 5. heofonlican, rices, heold O. (Ca. B. as in text.) 1. 15. þonne, god O. (Ca. B. as in text.) 1. 20. halgum (u on erasure) O. halgða Ca. halegum B. mon. gum (one letter erased) O. monungum Ca. manegum B. feo,de
BOOK II.

I.

At this time, that is, six hundred and five years after the incarnation of our Lord, the blessed pope Gregory, after he had ruled and directed the see of the Roman and apostolic church with great glory for thirteen years six months and ten days, departed this life, and was led to his everlasting seat in the kingdom of heaven. He ruled and directed the church in the time of the emperors Mauricius and Phocas; and it was in the second year of this Phocas, that he departed this life and went to the true life which is in heaven: and his body was buried in the church of St. Peter before the sacristy on the twelfth of March, and he now will one day with it arise in glory with other pastors of the holy church. And on his tomb an epitaph is written to this effect, 'Receive, thou earth, body taken of thy body, that thou mayest again give it up when God quickens it. The spirit mounted to heaven; no power of death will hurt it; death itself is for it rather the way to a second life. The members of this exalted bishop are enclosed in this tomb, who lives ever and everywhere by his countless good deeds. The hunger of the poor he assuaged with food, and their chill with garments, and he by holy admonitions protected their souls from the foe. And he fulfilled in deed, whatever he taught in word. He spoke mystic words, that he might be an example of life to holy men. By the piety of his teaching he converted the English to Christ, and of them won fresh hosts for God's faith. This toil and more like this, this care thou hadst and this thou didst as a pastor, so that thou broughtest to the Lord a great treasure of holy souls. In these triumphs thou mayest rejoice,
haligra saula: pyssum sigorum þu Godes bysceop blissian miht, forþon þu þinra weorca ece mede butan ende nimest.

Nis us þonne se hlisa to foreswigienne, þe be þam eadigan Gregorie þurh yldra manna segene to us becom, for hwilcum intingan he monad ware, þæt he swa geornfulle gymenne dyde 5 ymb þa hælo ure þeode. Seageað hi, þæt sume dæge þider niwan come cypemen of Brytene 7 monig cepe þing on ceapstowe brohte, 7 eac monige cwomon to bigenne þa ðing. Þa gelomp þætte Gregorius betweoð ofre eac þider cwom, 7 þa gesæah betweoð ofer þing cneohtas þær gesette: wærøn hwites lichoman 7 fægres 10 ondwlitan men 7 ædellice gefæxe. Þa he þa heo gesæah 7 beheold, þæ frægn he, of hwelcum londe ofpe of hwylcere þeode hy brohte wærøn. Sægde him mon, þæt heo of Breotone ealande brohte wærøn, ond þæs ealandes bigengæ swelcere onsyne men wærøn. Eft he frægn, hwæðer þa ilcan londleode cristne wærøn 15 þe hi þa gen in hæðennesse gedwolan lifden. Cwæð him mon to 7 sægde, þæt heo hæðne wærøn; 7 he þa of innneweardre heortan swiðe sworette 7 þus cwæð: Wala wá: þæt is sarlic, þætte swa fæger feorh 7 swa leohites ondwlitan men scyle ágan 7 besittan þeostræ aldor.

Eft he frægn, hwæt seo þeod nenned ware, þe heo of cwomon. Ondswaredæhe him mon þeoh Ongle nemde wærøn. Cwæð he: Wel þæt swa meæg: forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað, 7 eac swylce gedað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeawirdas in heofonum sy. Þa gyte he furðor frægn 7 cwæð: Hwæt hatte seo meægð, þe 25 þa cneohtas hider of lædde wærøn. Þa ondswaredæhe him mon 7 cwæð, þæt heo Dere nemde wærøn. Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, de ira eruti; heo sculon of Godes yrre been abrogdene, 7 to Cristes mildheortnesse gecgeðe. Þa gyte he ahsode hwæt heora cinyning haten ware: 7 him mon ondswarade 7 cwæð, þætte he Æll 30 haten ware. Ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman 7 cwæð: Alleluia, þæt gedæsenað, þætte Godes loftwess secyppendes in þæm dælum sungen sy. Ond he þaそんな eode to þæm biscope 7 to þam papan þæs apostolican sæðes, forðon he seolfa þa gyte næs

1. 2. O. has we,ca; ece (e out of æ); ninest (a stroke erased). Ca. has weorca; ece; ninest (bruest above). B. worca; ece; ninest. 1. 5. monad O.
thou bishop of God, because thou hast an eternal reward for thy works without end.'

We cannot pass over in silence the report which has come to us by the tradition of older men about the blessed Gregory, as to the reason why he was warned to take such zealous care for the salvation of our people. They say, that one day merchants came there fresh from Britain, and brought to market many wares, and many also came to buy those things. Then it happened that Gregory among others also came there, and saw among other objects for sale, youths placed there: they were men of fair complexion and handsome appearance with beautiful hair. When he saw them there and regarded them, he asked from what land or race they were brought, and was told that they were brought from the island of Britain, and that the inhabitants of this island had this appearance. Again he asked, whether the people in that country werechristians or still living in heathen error. They replied and told him that they were still heathen; and he then sighed deeply from the bottom of his heart and thus spoke, 'Alas the pity! it is grievous that such fair forms and men of such bright faces should be owned and possessed by the prince of darkness.' Again he asked what the people was called from which they came; they answered that they were called English. He said, 'That may well be; for their look is peerless, and also it is fit that they should be joint-heirs with the angels in heaven.' Then he further asked and said, 'What is the people called, from which the youths were brought here?' They answered him and said that they were named Deiri. He said, 'Deiri is well said, de ira cruti; they shall be rescued from God's wrath and called to the mercy of Christ.' Further he asked their king's name; and they answered and said that he was called Æelle. And then he played on the name in his words and said, 'Alleluia,'tis fit that the praise of God our creator should be sung in those parts.' And then he went at once to the bishop and pope of the apostolic see, because he himself had not yet been

biscop geworden: bæd hine, þæt he Ongolþode onsende in Breetene hwæcelhweago lareowas, þætte þurh þa heo to Criste gecyrrede wærôn; ond cwæð þæt he selsa geara wære mid Godes fultome þæt weorc to fremmenne, gif þæm apostolican papan þæt licade, þæt his willa þis leafeinis wære. Ḟa ne wolde se papas 5 þæt þasian ne þa burgware þon ma, þætte swa æðele wer 7 swa geþungen 7 swa gelæred swa seor fram him gewite. Ah he sona hræðe, þæs þe he bisçop geworden wæs, þætte he gefremede þæt weorc þæt he lange wilnade, 7 þa halgan lareowas hider onsende, þe we ær beforan sægod. Ond he Scæ Gregorius mid his trym-10 nessum 7 mid his gebedum wæs gefultumende, þæt heora laar wære væstmeorende to Godes willan 7 to ræde Ongolcynne.

II.¹

Da wæs þætte Agustinus se bisçop mid Ægæberhtes fultome þæs cyninges gealaðode to his spræce Bretta bisçopas 7 lareowas in þære stowe, þe mon gyt nemneþ Agustinus aac, in Hwicna gemære 15 7 Westseaxna. Ond he Þa ongon mid broðorlice lufan heo monian 7 læran, þæt heo rihte sibbe 7 lufan him betweonum hæfden, 7 gemæne gewin fore Drihtne onðfenge godcunde lare to læranne Ongolþode. 7 heo him hyran ne woldon, ne woldon riht Æastran healdan in heora tid; ge eac monig oðer þing þære cirlician 20 annisse heo ungelice 7 wiðerword hæfdon. Þa heo þa hæfdon longe spræce 7 geþlit ymb þa þing, ne heo Agustines larum ne his benum ne his þeawum 7 his geferena ænige þinga gepasian woldon, ac heo heora sylfra þeawas 7 gesetenesse betron dydon, þon heo gepwarœdan eallum Cristes circum geond middangeard, þa se 25 halga fæder Agustinus þisses gewinnesfullan geþites ende gesette 7 þus cwæð: Uton biddan æmlïhtigne God, se Þe eardigan deð þa anmodan in his fæder huse, þæt he geæðmodige us togetacian mid heofonlicum wundrum, hwæl gesetenes to fylgene sy, hwælce we gum to efestenne sy to ingonne his rices. Læde mon hider to 30 us sumne untrumne mon; ond þurh swa hwæles bene swa he

¹ II Ca. XVII (?) T. The numbers in T. have been altered and defaced by a late hand, and will only occasionally be cited. 1. 24. þon T. þoþ O. þone Ca. þonne B. (þon = þonne recurs in T.)
made bishop: he begged him to send some teachers to Britain for the English, that they through them might be converted to Christ; and he said that he himself was ready with God's help to carry out that work, if it pleased the apostolical pontiff, and it were with his will and leave. But the pope would not suffer that, nor yet the citizens, that a man so noble and so excellent and so learned should go so far from them. But as soon as he was made bishop, he carried out the object that he had long desired, and sent here the holy teachers, whom we mentioned before. And by his exhortations and prayers St. Gregory gave his help, that their teaching might be fruitful with God's will and with benefit to the English people.

II.

Then bishop Augustine, supported by king Æthelberht, invited to a conference the bishops and teachers of the Britons, at a place still called the oak of Augustine, on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons. And he there began with brotherly love to admonish and teach them, to maintain due peace and love among one another, and to undertake joint labour for God in order to instruct the people of England in the divine teaching. But they would not listen to him, nor would they keep Easter at its proper time; and they had also many other observances dissimilar and contrary to the unity of the church. Now when they had had a long discussion and conflict on these points, and would not in any way assent to the teaching and entreaties of Augustine, nor to his usages and those of his clergy,—but preferred their own usages and ordinances, rather than conform to all the churches of Christ throughout the world,—then the holy father Augustine put an end to this wearisome conflict and spoke as follows: 'Come, let us pray God Almighty, who maketh those who are of one mind to dwell in his Father's house, that he will descend to declare to us by heavenly miracles, which ordinance is to be followed, and on what path we must speed to enter his kingdom. Let them bring here to us some sick man; and let the faith and works
geæled sy, pesse geleæfa 7 wyrcnis seo lefed God onfenge 7 allum to fylgenne. Þa geæfodon þæt uneæce þa his gesacan, þa lædde mon forð sumne blinde mon of Ongolcynne. Wæs ærest læed to Bretta bispocum: 7 he nænige hælo ne frawh heora segnume onfeng. Þa æt nehstan wæs Agustinus mid roehre ned-5 þærfmisse geæbeded; aras 7 gebegde his cneo; bad God Fæder æmlintigæ, þæt he þam blindan men gesyðæ forgefe, þæt he purh anes monnes lichomlice inlihtnesse in monigra geleæfsumra heortan þæs gastlican leohites gife onbærnde. Þa sona buton eldnesse wæs se blinda man onlehted 7 gesyðæ onfeng: ond se soða boda þæs 10 hean leohites Agustinus wæs from him eallum bodad 7 hered. Þa ondetton eac Brettas seomende þæt heo ongeton, þætte þæt were söfæstnesse weg þone Agustinus bodade. Cwaædon hwæder þæt heo ne meahton buton heora leoda gepafunge 7 lefnesse heora ealdan þeawas onscumian 7 forlætan: bædon þæt eft oðer seonoð 15 wære; 7 heo þonne wolden mid ma heora witena gesecan.

Þa se ða geseted wæs, cwomon seofon Bretta bispocas 7 ealle þa geælæredestan men, þa wæron swidost of Boncra byrig. Þære tide Dinoð wæs haten þæs mynstres abbod. Þa heo þa to þæm gemote ferdon, þa cwomon heo ærest to sumum a ancoran, se wæs mid him 20 halig 7 wiis. Frugnon heo hine 7 ahsodon, hwæder heo sceoldon to Agustinus lærre heora gesetenesse 7 heora þeawas forlætan. Ondswaredhe he him: Gif he Godes man sy, fylgæg ge him. Cwaædon heo to him: Be hwon magon we ñæt weotan, hwæder he sy? Cwaæ he: Drihten seolfa cwaæ in his godspelle: Nimað ge 25 min geoc ofer eow eac 7 leorniað æt me, þæt ic eom milde 7 eaðmodre heortan: 7 nu gif Agustinus is milde 7 eaðmodre heortan, þonne is he gelyfæ þæt he Cristes geoc bere 7 eow lære to *beorenne. Gif he þonne is ðunilde 7 oferhydgig, þonne is þæt cuð þæt he nis of Gode, ne ge his worda gemæð. Cwaædon heo eft: 30 Be hwon magon we þis gescead witon? Cwaæ he: Foreseoð ge þætte he ærest mid his geferum to þære seonoðstowe cume 7 gesitte. Ond gif he arise ongegnes eow þonne ge cuman, þonne

p. 593.

1.2. a. allu T. eallhæ B. Ca. O. (um). 1. 6. ñægde T. bigde B. gebigde O. Ca. 1. 27. 7 nu to heortan not in T. Text from O. 1. 29. beoreene (beor ends 62, renne begins 7a) T. beranne O. bercenne Ca. berende B.
of him, through whose prayers he is healed, be believed acceptable to
God and to be followed by all.'

When his opponents reluctantly consented, they brought out a
blind man of English descent. First he was brought to the bishops
5 of the Britons; and he received neither healing nor comfort by their
benediction. Then at last Augustine was compelled by the just
necessity of the case; he arose and bowed his knee; he prayed God
the Father Almighty to give the blind man sight, that he, by the
bodily illumination of one man, might kindle the grace of spiritual
light in the hearts of many faithful men. Then without delay light
was given to the blind, and he received his sight: and Augustine was
declared and magnified by all as the true declarer of light from on
high. Then the Britons also acknowledged with shame their con-
\[\text{\textit{viction, that that was the way of truth which Augustine declared.}}\]

15 They said however, that they might not without consent and leave
from their people reject and give up their old usages: they begged
that a second synod might be held again, and they would come with
more of their leading men. When this was settled, there came seven
bishops of the Britons and all their most learned men, who were
chiefly from Bangor. At that time the abbot of this monastery
was called Dinoth. As they were on their way to the meeting, they
came first to an anchorite, a holy and wise man among them.
They consulted him and asked, whether they should give up their
own ordinances and usages in accordance with Augustine's teaching.

25 He answered them: 'If he is a man of God, follow him.' They said
to him, 'How may we know whether he is one?' He said, 'The Lord
himself saith in his gospel, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of
me, that I am meek and of lowly heart:"' and now if Augustine is
meek and of lowly heart, then it is credible that he bears the yoke
of Christ and teaches you to bear it. If however he is not meek
but proud, then it is clear that he is not of God; and heed not his
words.'

They said again, 'How may we discern this?' He said, 'See that
he comes first with his followers to the place of meeting and takes
his seat. And if he rises up to meet you when you come, then be
witað ge þæt he bið Cristes þeow, 7 geeaðmodlice his word 7 his lare gehyrða. Gif he þonne eow eac forhogie 7 eow ne wille arisan toegnes, mid þy eower má is, sy he þonne from eow forhogad. Hwæt heo dydon, swa swa he cwæð. Cwomon heo to þære seonoðstowe: sæt se ærcæiscop Agustinus on settle. Þa heo 5 þa gesegon þæt he ne ðaras for him, þa wæron hi sona yrre gewordne 7 hine oferhygdigne tealdon 7 eallum his wordum hy wiðcwædon 7 wiðwunnun. Cwæð he se heah bispoc to him: In monegum þingum ge wiðerworde wæron ussum gewunan 7 ealre Godes cirican swa. Ond hwædre gif ge æt píssum þingum 10 me hyrsume beon willað, þæt ge ærst rihte Eastron weorði in heora tiid; ond ge þa þegnunge fulwihte, þurh þa we boð Gode to bearnum acende, æfter þeowe þære halgan Romaniscan cirican 7 þære apostolican gefyllen; ond þæt þridde, þæt ge Ongolfæode ætgaðre mid us Drihtnes word bódige, all oðer þing ōa ge dōc, 15 þeah heo ussum þeawum wiðerworde syn, we gepyldelice æraesnað. Cwædon heo, þæt heo næg þyssa don wolde, ne hine for ærcæiscop habban wolden. Spræcon him betweonum: Gif he nu for us arisan ne wolde, micle ma gif we him underþeodd beðe, he us eac for noht gehyrgeð. Þa se Godes wræs Agustinus is sægd 20 þæt he beotigende forecwæde, gif heo sibbe mid Godes monnum onfon ne wolden, þæt heo wæren unsibbe 7 gefeōht from heora fændern ofnonden: ond gif heo Ongolcynne lifes weg bodigan ne woldon, þæt heo þonne wæron þurh heora honda deáðes wræc prowigende.

þæt þurh eal, swa se Godes wræs forecwæð, rehte Godes dóme geworden wæs. Ond sona hræðe æfter þissum þætte Æðelfrīð Ongla cyning, bi þæm we ær spræcon, gesomnode micle fyrd þæt ge læadded to Legaceastre 7 þer wið Brettum gefeahþ: 7 þæt mæste wæl geslogan þære getreowlesan þeode. Mid þy he þæt feohþ ongon, 30 þa geséah he Æðelfrīð se cyning heora sacerdas 7 bispocas 7 munecas sundor stôdan ungewæpnode in geheldran stowë, þæt heo scoldon for heora compweorod gebiddan 7 to Gode þingian. Frægn he 7 ahðode, hwæþ þæt weorod wære 7 hwæþ heo þær dydon. Þa he ōa

1. 6. Before gesegon erasure of two letters, g is partly on latter, T. No variant in MSS. 1. 14. gefyllen (erasure before n: stroke of e drawn across
sure that he is Christ's servant, and listen to his words and his teaching with submissiveness. If however he scorns you and will not rise to meet you, when you are in the majority, then let him be scorned by you.' Now they did, just as he said. They came to the place of meeting: archbishop Augustine sat in his chair. When they saw that he did not rise up for them, they were at once angered and considered him haughty and contradicted and opposed all his words. The great bishop said to them: 'In many things you were opposed to our rite and that of the universal church of God too. And yet if you will hearken to me in these three things, that first you will keep the right Easter at its proper time; and if you will celebrate the office of baptism, through which we are born children of God, according to the usage of the Holy Roman and apostolical church; and if, thirdly, you will join us in preaching God's word to the English, we will patiently tolerate everything else that you do, though they are opposed to our usages.' They replied, that they would not do any of these things, nor have him as archbishop. Among themselves they said, 'If he would not now rise up for us, much more will he regard us as nought, if we are subject to him.' Then St. Augustine, the man of God, is said to have threatened and foretold, that if they would not accept peace with God's servants, they would have hostility and war from their enemies: and if they would not preach the way of life to the English, they would suffer the penalty of death at their hands. All this followed, by the just judgment of God, as foretold by the man of God. And very soon after this, Ēthelfrith, king of the Angles, about whom we spoke before, assembled a large army and led it to Chester, and fought there with the Britons: and they made a very great carnage among the unbelieving people. When king Ēthelfrith began the battle, he saw their priests and bishops and monks standing apart, unarmed, in a safer position, that they might pray and entreat God for their host. He enquired and asked, what that gathering was, and what they did there. When he

it) T. gefyllen O. gefyllan Ca. gefillednesse B. 1. 23. onfonde O. Ca. B. onfonne T.
ongeat þone intigan heora cymes, cwæð he: Hwæt ic wat, gif heo wið us to heora Gode cleopigað, þeah þe heo wæpen ne beran, þæt heo wið us feohtæ, forðon heo us mid heora witerwordum onbenum 7 wyrgnessum ehtað. Heht þa sona ærest on heo cerryra 7 slean. Secgað men þæt þæs weorodes ware twelfth hund monna, 7 heora fiftig 5 þurh fleam onweg losodon. 7 he swa þa oðer weorod þære manfullan þeode fërnom 7 fordilgade, nales buton micelre wonunge his weoredes. Ond swa wæs gefyllæd se witedom þæs halgan biscoPes Agustinus, þæt heo sceolden for heora treowleasnisse hwilendlicre forwyrdre wæc þrowigan, forðon heo þa ær lædon geþeahte heora 10 ecre hælo forhogodon.

III.

Cap. 3. Da wæs æfter ðissum þætte Agustinus Breetone ærcæbiscop gehalgade twegen biscoPas: oðer wæs Mellitus haten, oðer Iustus. Þone Mellitum he sende Eastseaxum to bodigenne godcunde lare, þa seondon Temese streame tosceadne from Centlond 7 to eastsæ 15 geæscodde. Is heora aldorburg nemned Lundenceaster, on ðære geseted þæs foresprecenan streames; ond seo is monigra folca ceapstow of londe 7 of sæ cumendra. In þære þeode wæs in þa þid Sæberht cyning, Ægelberhtes swustorsunu 7 his hero. Da onfeng Eastseaxna þeod soðæstnisse word 7 Cristes geleafan þurh Mellitus 20 lare þæs biscoPes. Þa heht Ægelberht cyning in Lundenceastre cirican getimbran, 7 þa gehalgian Sæ Pauli þæm apostoli, þæt he in þære stowe biscoPscel hææde 7 his æfterfylgend. Þone Iustum he in Cent sylfre to biscoPe gehalgode to Hrofesceastre. Seo is from Cantwarena byrig on feower 7 twentigum mila westrihte. In 25 þære ceastre eac swylce Ægelberht cyning heht cirican getimbran 7 þa gehalgian Sæ Andræ þæm apostoli. Ond se cyning æghwæðerum þissa biscoPe his gyfe sealde 7 boclod 7 ahte, him to brucanne mid heora geferum. After þissum þa forðeferde Gode se leosa fæder Agustinus: 7 his lichoma wæs ðeæ bebyrgæd neah 30 cirican þara eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus, þe we ær gemyngodon; forðon heo þa gytā nes fullice gewornæt ne gehalgod. Sona þæs þe

understood the cause of their coming, he said: 'Well then I am sure, if they call to their God against us, though they do not bear arms, that they fight against us, because they assail us with their adverse imprecations and curses.' Then he ordered, at once, to turn first against them and slay them. They say that there were twelve hundred in that gathering, and fifty of them got away by flight. And then he destroyed and cut to pieces the rest of the host of that sinful people, not without great loss to his own army. And so was fulfilled the prophecy of the holy bishop Augustine, that they should suffer the penalty of temporal destruction for their faithlessness, because they despised the counsel previously given them for their eternal salvation.

III.

Then after this Augustine, archbishop of Britain, consecrated two bishops; the one was called Mellitus, the other Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach the word of God to the East Saxons, who are separated by the river Thames from Kent and adjoin the eastern sea. Their chief town is called London, situated on the bank of the aforesaid river; it is a mart for many nations coming by sea and land. In that province Sæberht was then king, nephew of Æthelberht and dependent on him. Then the province of the East Saxons received the word of truth and faith of Christ by the teaching of bishop Mellitus. Then king Æthelberht ordered a church to be built in London and to be consecrated to the apostle St. Paul, that Mellitus and his successors might have an episcopal seat in that place. He consecrated Justus as bishop at Rochester in Kent itself. This town is four-and-twenty miles to the west of Canterbury. In it also king Æthelberht ordered a church to be built and consecrated to the apostle St. Andrew. And to each of these bishops the king gave gifts, bocland and possessions for the use of themselves and their clergy. After this the well-beloved father Augustine died: and his body was buried outside close to the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which we mentioned before; because it was not yet fully completed nor
heo gehalgad wæs, ūa dyde mon his lichoman in; 7 in þære cirican norðportice wæs bebyrged gedæftlice. In þæm eac swilce ealra þara æfterfylgendra æercebiscopa lichoman sindon bebyrgede, buton twegra, þæt is ðeodoris 7 Berhtwaldes; heora lichoman syndon in þære circan seolfræ gesette, forðon in þone forecwendan portic mà 5 ne meahhte. Is wel neah in middre þære miclan cirican wigbed geseted 7 þæt on Scæ Gregorius naman gehalgod. In ðæm æghwylce Sæternes dæge from þære stowe mæsespreost heora gemynnde 7 forðiore mid mæssesonge mærside syndon. Is awritten in Scæ Agustinus byrgenne ðisses gemetes gewrit: Her resteð domne 10 Agustinus se æresta æercebiscop Contwarena burge, se geara hider from þæm eadigan Gregoriae þære Romaniscan burge biscope sended wæs, 7 from Gode mid wundra weor opposes awreċed wæs. Æðelberht cyning 7 his þeode from deofulgilda ongonge to Cristes geleafan he gelæde, 7 on sibbe gefylldum dagum his þegnunge forðfered wæs, 15 ðy dæge septima Kalendras Iunias in þæs ylcan cyninges rice.

III.

Cap. 4. Æfter Agustini fyligde in biscophade Laurentius, þone he forðon bi him liifingendum gehalgode, þy læs him forðferendum se steal swa neowre cirican ænige hwile buton heorde taltrigan ongumme. Onhyrede he on pon þa bysene þæs ærestan heordes Godes cirican 20 Scæ Petres þæs apostoles, þa he æt Róme ærest Cristes cirican staÆolode: is sægd þæt he Clementem him to fultome godcundre lære 7 him to æfterfylgende gehalgade. Þa he ða Laurentius æercebicophade onfeng, ða ongon fromlice þa staÆolas þære cyrican, þe he eæcelice alegde geseah, ecan; 7 to forðspownisse gedefre 25 heannisse mid gelonlicre stefne haligre trymnisse 7 lære 7 mid singalum bysenum arfæstre wyrncesse he ongon hean 7 miclian. Nales þæt an þæt he gemæne dyde þære neowan cirican, þe of Ongolcynne gesomnod wæs, ac swilce eac þara ealdra bigengena Brettæ 7 Scotia. Forðon he ongeat þæt heo on monegum þingum Godes 30 cirican ungeþwærodon, ond ealra swiþust þæt heo þa symbelnesse
consecrated. As soon as it was consecrated, they placed his body in it; and he was, with due honour, buried in the northern transept of the church. In this are also buried the bodies of all succeeding archbishops, except two, namely Theodore and Beorhtwald; their bodies are placed in the church itself, for there was no more room in the aforesaid transept. Almost in the centre of the great church an altar has been set up and consecrated in the name of St. Gregory. At that mass is celebrated every Saturday, and their memory and their death are set forth by the priest of that place. On the tomb of St. Augustine there is an inscription to this effect: 'Here rests the reverend the first archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine, who long ago was sent here by the blessed Gregory, bishop of the city of Rome, and was supported by God with the working of miracles. He led king Æthelberht and his people from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ; and having fulfilled the days of his service in peace, he departed this life on the 26th of May, during the reign of this king.'

IV.

Laurentius succeeded Augustine as bishop, whom he had consecrated in his own lifetime, lest on his death the position of a church so new should be unsettled for a time if without a pastor. In this he imitated the example of the apostle St. Peter, the first pastor of God's church, when he first established Christ's church at Rome: it is said that he consecrated Clement to assist him in teaching the word of God and to be his successor. Now when Laurentius succeeded to the archbishopric, he began zealously to enlarge the foundations of the church, which he saw nobly laid; and he began to raise and increase it, that it might attain to due height, by frequent repetition of holy exhortation and instruction and by continual examples of pious deeds. And he not only cared for the new church, which was gathered together out of the English race, but also for the old inhabitants, the Britons and Scots. For he saw that in many things they were at variance with the churches of God, and above all that they did not celebrate the feast of
Eastrana 7 pone dæg þære drihtenlecan æriste ne weorcodon mid rihtre tide. Wrat he 7 sende ærendgewrit to him: bad heo 7 halsæde, þæt heo in annesse sibbe 7 in gehælde rihtra Eastrana gegwæreade mid þa Cristes cirican, soo geond ealne middangeard togoten is. Ac þeah þe he þas þing dyde, hu swiðe him speow, nu 5 gen þas ondweardan tide, þa ilcan þeowas cyðað.

Dissum tidum cwom Mellitus Lundenceastre biscop to Róme bi þæm nedpearlicium intingan Ongolcirican. Ond he ða wæs smængende mid pone apostolican þapan Bonefatio, se wæs feorða biscop þære Romaniscan burge from Scio Gregorii. Ond he ða ðæs ilca 10 pæpa seonoð gesomnode Eotolwara biscopa; 7 he wæs endebyrdlice settende bi muneca life 7 bi heora stilnesse. Wæs þes seonoð þy eahþecan geare Uocatis rices þæs caseres. 7 Mellitus betweoh hy æt þæm seonoðe sæt; 7 þa ðing, þe ðæor regollico gedemed næron, mid his aldorlicnesse mid Cristes rode tæcne wrat 7 fæstnode; ond 15 eft hwearf to Breotone, 7 þa mid hine Ongolciricum to healdanne awritten brohte ætgædre mid þæm ærendgewritum, þe se ilca papa Gode þam leofan ærcebiscop Laurentie 7 eallum his geferum 7 Æxelberht cyninge 7 ealre Ongolþeode sende, to frofre 7 to trym-nisse rihtes lifes.

V.

Pa wæs ymb syx hund wintra 7 syxteno winter from Drihtnes menniscnesse, þæt wæs ymb an 7 twentyt wintra, þæs Agustinus mid his geferum to læranne Ongolþeode sended wæs, þætte Æxelberht Contwara cyning æfter þæm willendlæcere rice, þæt he syx 7 fiftig wintra wuldorlice hæfde, ond þa to þam heofonlican rice mid 25 gefean astag. Wæs he se ðridda cyning in Ongolþeode cyningum þæt allum suðmægþum weold 7 rice hæfde ðe Humbre stream. Hæfde ærest þisses gemetes rice Ælle Suðswæfan cyning. Se æftera wæs Ceawlin haten Westseaxna cyning. Se ðridda wæs, swa we ær cwædon, Æxelbehrt Contwara cyning. Feorða wæs Rædwold 30 Eastengla cyning: fifta Eadwine Ærðanhymbra cyning, se hæfde rice ofer calle Breotone buton Contwarum anum. Swelce he

1. 6. ða ilcan þeowas T. O. Ca. B. (last three with spelling þeow-). It is perhaps a gloss on preceding words þas o. t. (= praesentia temporis). 1. 25.

oud all MSS before þa (the pleonastic ouden).
Easter and the day of the Lord's resurrection at the right time. He wrote and sent a letter to them, praying and entreating, that they would agree with the church of Christ, which is spread throughout the world, in the unity of peace and observance of the right Easter. And though he did so, the present times and the same usages prove, how little he succeeded. At this time Mellitus, bishop of London, visited Rome to determine certain points necessary for the English church. And he took counsel with the apostolic pope Boniface, who was the fourth bishop of Rome from St. Gregory. At that time this pope assembled a synod of Italian bishops, and was about to make orderly arrangements for the life and retirement of monks. This synod took place in the eighth year of the reign of the emperor Phocas. And Mellitus sat among them at the synod, and with his authority signed with the cross of Christ and confirmed, what was there determined to be in accord with monastic rule; and he returned again to Britain and brought these rules in writing with him, to be observed by the English churches, along with the letters, which the pope sent to archbishop Laurentius, well-beloved of God, and to all his clergy and to king Æthelberht and the whole people of England, for their comfort and encouragement in a righteous life.

V.

Then about six hundred and sixteen years after the incarnation of our Lord, that was about twenty-one years after Augustine and his companions were sent to teach the people of England, Æthelberht, king of Kent, after gloriously ruling the temporal kingdom for fifty-six years, now ascended with joy to the kingdom of heaven. He was the third among the kings of England who ruled over all the southern provinces and held sway as far as the river Humber. Ælle, king of the South Saxons, was the first who had authority of this kind. The second was a king of the West Saxons called Ceawlin. The third was, as we have already said, Æthelberht, king of Kent. The fourth was Rædwald, king of the East Angles. The fifth was Eadwine, king of Northumbria, who had authority over all Britain, Kent alone excepted. He also brought under the
eac Monige Bretta ealond, pa seondon geseted betweoh Ibernia, Scotlond 7 Breitone, Ongolecynnes rice underpeodde. Syxta waes Oswald, NorSanhymbra cyning se betsta 7 se cristenensta, se pissum ilcum gemærum rice häfde. Seosoda waes Osweo his broðor, se eac swylce Peolta peode 7 Scotia of miclum daele geode, 7 to 5 gafolgyldum gesette. Pa forðferde Æœselberht cyning æfter an 7 twentegum wintra þæs þe he fulwilhte 7 Cristes geleafan onfeng, ond in cirican para eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus in Sæ Martinus portice bebyrged waes; 7 þær eac Beorhte seo cwên bebyrged is.

Se cyning betweoh pa oðer god, þe he his leodum þurh gepeahht 10 gefremede, eac swylce rihtra doma gesetenside mid snotera gepeahhte gesette æfter Romana bysene, 7 þa heht on Englisce gewritan: þa nu gena ðis pis mid him häfde 7 haldne syndon. In þæm he ærest sette hu mon þæt betan ceolde, se þe oðpe cirican eahhte oðpe biscopes oðpe oðerra hada mid stale afyrde. Wolde he sæm 15 gescyldnesse gegeardwian, þe he heora lare onfeng. Wæs þes ilca Æœselbehrt Eormanrices sunu; þæs fæder waes Octa haten; þæs fæder waes Oeric; wæs his freonama Æsc, from þæm syðpan Contwara cyningas wæron Æscingas nemnde. Þæs Æsces fæder waes se Hengest, se þe wæs ærest latteow 7 heretoga Ongolecynnes in 20 Breitone, swa we ær beforan sægdon.

Pa waes æfter Æœselbehrtes forðlore, Eadbald his sunu feng to sæm rice, ond he soma micle wonunge 7 æwerdlan waes þære mærwan cyrican weaxnisse. Forðon nales þæt aan þæt he Cristes geleafan onfon ne wolde, ac swylce eac unalyfedre for 25 legenesse 7 egeslicre wæs besmiten, swa þæt he eode to his fæder wife. For æghwæðrum þissa mana he intingan sealde þæm, þæt heo hwurfe to þære ærran uncłænnisse, þæ þe under his fæder rice oðpe mid þy cynelecan fultome oððe *his ege clænnisse reht 7 Cristes geleafon onfengon. Ne þæm treowleasan cyninge þære 30 uplecan þrea sweopon gewon wæron, þæt he þurh þa geclænseed 7 gereht boon sceolde; forðon he gelomlice mid wedenheortnesse modes 7 þæs uncłænan gastes inswogennisse þrycceð waes.

p. 507.

authority of the English Man, islands of the Britons lying between Ireland, Scotland and Britain. The sixth who had authority within these limits was Oswald, the best and most Christian king of Northumbria. The seventh was his brother Oswio, who also over-5 ran in great part the land of the Picts and the Scots, and made them tributary. Then King Æthelberht died, twenty-one years " after receiving baptism and the Christian faith, and was buried in the church of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Martin's chapel; and Queen Bertha is also buried there. Among other blessings which 10 the king by wise deliberation conferred on his people, he also drew up after the Roman model with the advice of experienced men, codes of just decisions, and ordered them to be written in English; and these are still preserved and observed among them up to the present. In these, he first set down what reparation is to be made by the man, who steals church property or the property of a bishop and other ecclesiastical orders. He wished to provide protection for those, from whom he received instruction.

This Æthelberht was the son of Eormanric; whose father was called Octa; whose father was Æric and surnamed ÆEsc, from whom 20 the kings of Kent afterwards were called ÆScings. The father of this ÆSc was that Hengest, who was first leader and general of the English in Britain, as we have already related. Then after Æthelberht's death his son Eadbald succeeded to the throne, and he soon was cause of great loss and injury to the growth of the tender church; because 25 he not only refused to receive Christ's faith, but also was polluted with unlawful and fearful fornication, so that he went in to his father's wife. By both of these sins he gave occasion to those to return to their former impurity, who in his father's reign, either by the royal support or out of fear of him, received the laws of purity and faith in Christ. Nor yet were there wanting to the faithless king scourgings of the heavenly discipline, that he might thereby be cleansed and reformed; for he often was afflicted with insanity and with attacks of the unclean spirit. The death of Sæberht, king of

omitting the rest of this chapter and most of the next. The omitted part is found in T. B. C. (from his scolæs p. 118. l. 16). 1. 31. geclænsedun T. geclænsad 7. B. geclænsad 7 C.
Swelce eac toæcte piisse gedregnisse storm Sæberhtes deæ Eastseaxna cyninges. Forðan pa he waes pa ecan riceo secende, forlet he þaes hwilenlecan rices yrfeweardas his suna ðry. Pa ongunnon heo sona openlice deosolgidum þeowian, þe monnum þuhte þæt heo hwæthewug forlæten hæsdale þi þæm fæder lifiendum; 5 ond heo freo lefnesse sealdon deosolgyld to bigongenne þam folcum, þe him underþeodde waron. Mid þy heo þa gesegon þone biscoþ maessan onsymbolnesse mærían in Godes cirican 7 þæm folce husl syltan, waron heo mid elreorde dysignesse onblawne. Cwædon to him: Forwhon ne þæst þu us þone hwitan hlaf, þone þu sealdest 10 Saban ussum fæder-nemdon heo hine swa—7 nu gena folce in cirican sylest? Ondswaredde se biscoþ him: Gif ge willað onþwegene beon ðy halwendan wellan fulwihtes bæðes, swa eower fæder aðwegena wæs, þonne magon ge eac swylce þæs halgan hlafes dæleomende beon, swa he dæleomende wæs. Gif þonne ge lifes bæð forhycgað, 15 ne magon ge ænige þinga lifes hlafse onson. Cwædon heo: Ne willað we in þæt bæð gongan, forðon we weotan þæt we þæs þearfe nabbæð; ac hwæðre we willað mid þy hlafse gereorde beon. Mid þy heo oft 7 geornlice from him monode waron, þæt þæt nænige þinga beon meahte, þæt hy buton þære halgan geclæsnuæge 20 fulwihtes bæðes þæm halgan hlafse gemænsumede, þæt neahstan waron heo mid hatheortnesse onstyrede. Cwædon him to: Gif þu ne wilt us geæfian in swa æðelícum þinge, þe we biddað, ne meahte þu in usse mægðe ne ussum gemánan wunian. 7 dreoson hine onweg, 7 heton þæt he mid his geferum of heora rice gewite. Pa he 25 onweg adrifon wæs, cwom he to Cent, sohte 7 smeade mid Laurentio 7 Iusto his efnbiscopum, hwæt him be ðyssum þingum to donne wäre. Ond þa to ræde fundon mid gemænre gepeahete, þæt him selre 7 gehæledre wäre, þæt heo ealle hwurfon to heora eðle 7 þær mid freo mode Drihtne þeowede, þonne heo betweoh þa elreordan 30 7 þa wiðþæhtend Cristes geleafan leng buton væstmæ sæton. Þa geweoton ærest ofer sæ twegen bispocas Mellitus 7 Iustus 7 cwomon in on dælas Gallia rices, 7 gestilhtedon þæt heo þær wolden þære wisan ende gebidan. Ac þa arleasan cyningas nales micelre

1. 13. ðy C. B. þa T. (= þæm or mid ba?). 1. 16. ge (g out of æ?) T. ge B.: not in C.
the East Saxons, also increased the tempest of this confusion. For when he was departing to the eternal kingdom, he left his three sons as heirs of his temporal kingdom. At once they began openly to serve idols, which men supposed that they had, in their father's lifetime,

5 to some extent given up; and they gave free permission to the people, who were subject to them, to worship idols. When they saw the bishop perform the celebration of the mass in God's church and give the sacrament to the people, they were puffed up with barbarian folly. They said to him, 'Why do you not present to us the white bread, which you gave to our father Saba—so they named him—and still give to the people in church?' The bishop answered them: 'If ye will be washed with the saving fount of baptism, as your father was, then you may also be partakers of that holy bread, as he was; but if you despise the laver of life, you may not in any wise receive the bread of life.' They said: 'We will not enter that laver, for we know we need it not; but yet we will be fed with that bread.' When they were often earnestly admonished by him, that this in no wise might be, that they should partake of the holy bread without the holy cleansing of baptism, then at last they were roused to fury. They said to him: 'If you will not assent to us in a matter so easy, which we request, you may not remain in our province or in our society.' And they drove him away, and ordered him to depart with his companions from their kingdom. When he was driven away, he came to Kent, and went and took counsel with Laurentius and Justus his fellow bishops, as to what he must do under these circumstances. And after joint deliberation they settled, that it was their better and safer course for all to return to their own homes and serve God there with a free spirit, than to remain any longer fruitlessly among the barbarians and adversaries of Christ's faith. Then first the two bishops, Mellitus and Justus, crossed the sea and came into the districts of the kingdom of Gaul, and resolved that they there would await the end of this business. But the impious kings, soon
tide, æfter þon þe heo þone sóðfæstnisse bodan from him adrifon, þæt heo deosla biægum frelice þeowedon. Ac heo wæran cumene wið Westseaxna þeode to gefeohhte, 7 ealle ætgædre gehururon 7 ofslægene wæron mid heora compweorode. Ond þæt heo æfter alderas forlorene wæren, ne mealhte þæt folc þa gen gereaht beon, 5 þætte ær to mánum getogen wæs, ne eft geceed beon to hluttronnisse geleafan ne to Godes lufan.

VI.

Mid. Æy he ða Laurentius se ærcebiscop þa öþre bispas his geferan fylgan wolde 7 Brotone forlætan, ða heht he in þære seolfan nihte, þa he on morne feran wolde, in cirican þara eadigra 10 apostola Petrus 7 Paulus, bi þære we gelomlice sægdon, him streowne gegearwian, þæt he hine gerestan meahte. Ond þæt ærest longe nihtes in halgum gebedum wæs, 7 his tearas geat, 7 his bene to Gode sende for þære cirican stealle; 7 geswenced 7 wering gesette þa his leomu to restenne 7 hwæthwhugo onseleþ. ða æteawde 15 him sona se eadgesta aldor þara apostola ðeas Petrus, 7 hine micelre tide þære deahlan neahte mid grimnum swingum swong 7 þread: ond hine wæs frignende mid þa apostolican þærlwisnesse, forhwn he þæt Godes eowde forlætan wolde, ðætte he him bead to healdanne, oðþ þa gesettan Cristes scēp in middum wulfum 20 hwylecum hoerde he fleonde forlete. Cwað him eac to: Wære þu ofergeotende minre bysne, hwæt ic fore Cristes cneohhtum, þa he me in tacnunge his lufan bebead, bende 7 swingan 7 carcern 7 monige geswencednesse,—7 æt neahstan þone seolfan deðæ 7 rode deðæ from ungelæfsumum 7 Cristes feondum ic þrowade 7 ærstode, þæt ic mid 25 Criste gesigeþæstæd wære? þa wæs he se Cristes þeow Laurentius mid þær apostolo swingum 7 trynnemessum swiðe gebyldeþ; cwem sona on marne to þam cyninge, 7 his hraegl onwræg 7 him eawde, mid hu miclum swingum he þread 7 witnod wæs. Þa wundrde he swiðe, 7 ahsode hwylc mon to þæs gedyrstig wære, þæt he swa 30 miclum were swile witu dyde. þa he ða se cyning gehyrde 7 oncneow, þætte he se bispoc fore his hælo intingan from Cristes

1. 6. getogen B. C. gesture T. 1. 9. forlætan B. forlæan (not -latin) T. þ hi hine ne forleton (om. 7 breotone) C.
after they had driven away from them the preacher of the truth, gave themselves up without restraint to the worship of devils. And they marched to battle against the West Saxons, and all fell together and were slain with their army. And though they had lost their princes, yet the people, who had previously been seduced to sin, could not yet be reformed, nor called back to the purity of faith and love of God.

VI.

When archbishop Laurentius was about to follow the other bishops his companions and leave Britain, intending to start on the morrow, he ordered on that very night his bed to be prepared, that he might repose, in the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which we have often mentioned. And then first during the night he continued long in holy prayers, and shed tears and offered up his petitions to God for the state of the church; and being fatigued and weary he laid his limbs to rest and fell asleep for a little. Then presently there appeared to him the most blessed prince of the apostles, St. Peter, and for a long time, in the secrecy of the night, scourged and chastised him severely. And he asked him with apostolical severity, why he was about to leave the flock of God, which he had entrusted to him to keep, and to what pastor he left Christ's sheep, who were set in the midst of wolves, now that he was fleeing. He further said to him: 'Did you forget my example, what I suffered and endured for Christ's little ones, whom he committed to me in token of his love, that is, bonds, scourging, imprisonment and manifold afflictions, and finally death itself, and death on the cross at the hands of unbelievers and enemies of Christ, that I with Christ might be crowned with triumph?' Then Laurentius the servant of Christ was much encouraged by the chastisement and exhortations of the apostle; at once in the morning he came to the king, and opening his robe showed him, with what a scourging he was chastised and punished. Then the king wondered much, and asked who was so audacious as to inflict such punishment on so great a man. And when he heard and understood, that the bishop endured such torture and punish-
apostole swa micle tintregu 7 witu prowade, pa waes he swiðe forht geworden, 7 him swiðe ondred ond sona towarp al pa bigong para deofolgelda, pa he ær beeode, 7 forlet pa unrihtwifunge 7 Cristes geleasan onsfeng; ond se bispoc hine gefulwade. 7 sona in eallum þingum þære cirican eahtum 7 godum freonode 7 ful temede, swa he fyrmest meahte. Ond he swelce eac sende ærendwrecan in Gallia rice, 7 heht ham lapian þa bispocas Mellitum 7 Iustum; 7 he het freolice to heora bispocscire ham hwecorfan. 7 heo ymb an ger ham hwurson ðæs þe heo ær of Breetone ferdon. Iustus hwearf to Hrofesceastre, þær he ær bispoc waes. Mellitum þone 10 bispoc Lundenwaran onfóf ne woldon, ac ma lufodon þæt heo þeowedan heora deofolgelda bispocum. Ond heo Eadbaldes þæs cyninges worda ne gemdon, forþon his rice ne waes ofer heo, swa swa his sæder hædle. Hwæþre he mid his þeode mid Contwarum, seoðpan he to Dzihtne gecerred waes, þæm godecundan bebodum þæt heowede 7 hearsumede. Þæs gen to tæcne is, þæt he het in Sæ Petres mynstre cirican getiman in ðære eadigan fæmnan Scæ Marian, ða eft Mellitus on hyre noman gehalgode, þa he waes ærcebiscop.

VII. ¹

In ðisses cyninges rice se eadiga ærcebiscop Sæ Laurentius forð- ferde, 7 þæt heofonlice rice geståh; 7 in circan 7 in mynstre þæs eadigan apostoles Sæ Petres bii his foregengan Sæ Agustine bebyrged waes þy feorðan dæge nonarum Februarium. Æfter þæm Mellitus, se waes ær Lundenceastre bispoc, feng to þæm bispocþele Contwara burge cirican ðridda bispoc from Sæ 25 Agustine. Wæs Iustus se bispoc þa gen lìfigende 7 reahete þa gesomnunge æt Hrofesceastre. Ond heo begen mid micle gemonne 7 gewinne Ongolciricean heoldon 7 reahoten. Wæs he Mellitus mid lichoman untrynamessæ mid fotadle swiðe gehesigad; ac hwæþre halgum gongum his modes he glædllice all eorðlic þing waes oferhleapende, ond symle mid his mode waes flegende þa heofonlecan to lufiene 7 to biddenne 7 to secenne. Wæs he lichomlicre gebyrde æðeles cynnes, ac mid modes heanisse micle æðelra.

¹ XII (apparently original) T.
ment at the hands of Christ's apostle for the sake of his salvation, he was seized with great fear, and being in great alarm at once utterly rejected the worship of the idols, which he had followed before, gave up his unlawful wedlock, and received the faith of Christ; and the bishop baptized him. And at once in all things he protected and defended the property and goods of the church, as far as he might. And he also sent messengers to the kingdom of Gaul, and bade them invite home the bishops Mellitus and Justus; and he bade them return home freely to their bishoprics. And they returned home a year after their departure from Britain. Justus returned to Rochester, where he was bishop before. The Londoners would not receive bishop Mellitus, but preferred being under the bishops of their idols. And they disregarded the words of king Eadbald, for he had not authority over them, such as his father held. However he and his people of Kent, after his conversion to the Lord, obeyed and submitted to the divine ordinances. The proof is this, that he ordered a church to be erected in the monastery of St. Peter in honour of the blessed lady St. Mary, which Mellitus afterwards consecrated in her name, when he was archbishop.

VII.

In this king's reign the blessed archbishop St. Laurentius departed and ascended to the kingdom of heaven, and was buried in the church and monastery of the blessed apostle St. Peter beside his predecessor St. Augustine on the 2nd of February. After him Mellitus, who was formerly bishop of London, succeeded to the see of the church of Canterbury, being the third after St. Augustine. Bishop Justus was still alive, and directed the church at Rochester. And they both governed and ruled the church of England with great care and labour. Mellitus suffered severely from bodily infirmity with gout; but still, in the holy courses of his mind, he surmounted with alacrity all earthly obstacles, and ever in his mind he was in haste to love, to desire and to seek the things of heaven. He was of noble descent by his carnal birth, but much nobler by the elevation of his mind. We shall
Sculon we ane cyðnesse his mægenes secgan, þæt we his ðæer mægen þy eað ongytan magon. Gelomp sumre tide, þæt seo ceaster Contwara burge þurh ungemæne synna wearð fyre onbærned. 7 þæt fyr 7 þæt leg swiðe weox 7 miclade, 7 him nælig mon mid wætra onweorpnnesse wiðstondan meahte; 7 micel dæl þære ceastre 5 wæs fornomen. Da for se wallenda lēg 7 hine brædde to þam biscope, þa getrewode he in godcundne fultom, þær se mennescan wan wæs; heht his þegnas hine selfne beran ongean þæm fyre 7 asettan, þær se lēg 7 seo freenis mæst wæs; ond untrum ongon þurh his gebed þa frecenisse þæs fyres onweg adrisan, þætte ær seo 10 trume hond strongra monna þurh micel gewin don ne meahte. 7 se wind sona, se ðe ær suðan bleow 7 þa bærnisses in þa burg strægd, hine norðan awearp ond þa bærnisses ut ofsege; 7 sona eallinga þurh his gebed þæt fyr acwán 7 adwæsced wæs. Ond forðón þe se Godes wer stronglice innon born mid þy fyre godcundre lufan, 15 7 oft stormas 7 hreonisse þara weigræa gasta from his seolfes sceðenisse 7 his geferena mid his gelomelicum gebedum 7 trymennissum scealde 7 wiðscæaf, wæs þæt þæs wyrðe, þæt he wið þæm middangeardlicum windum 7 légum wiðscæan meahte, þy læs heo him 7 his freondum sceðeden. Onu þes halga biscope, æfter þon þe he 20 fif winter þa cirican heold 7 reahete, in Eadbaldes rice leorde to heofonom, 7 bebyrged wæs mid his fædrum in þæm oft owedenan mynstre 7 cirican Scæ Petres þy eahetæÐan dæge Calendarum Maiarum.

P. 510. Cap. 8. þæm sona æfterfylgde Iustus in bispochade, se wæs æt Hrofescæ- 25 astre ær biscope. 7 he ðære cirican for hine ðæerne biscope gehalgode, Romanus wæs haten, forðón he aldorlicnisse onfeng from Bonefatio þam papan, þæt he biscopeas hadian moste.

VIII.1

Cap. 9. þære tide eac swylce Norðanhymbra þeod mid heora cyninge Eadwine Cristes geleafan onfeng, þe him Paulinus bodade se halga 30 biscope 7 lærde. þæm cyninge *þære * onföngennisse Cristes

give one proof of his miraculous power, that we may the more readily comprehend his other miracles. It happened once, that the town of Canterbury was set on fire by sinful carelessness. And the fire and flame grew and increased much, and no resistance could be offered to it by pouring on water; and a great part of the town was destroyed. When the raging flames advanced and extended to the bishop, he trusting in the divine help, as human aid failed, directed his attendants to carry him towards the fire and set him down, where the flame and danger were greatest; and though infirm he began by his prayers to repel the danger from fire which previously the firm hand of strong men with great labour could not do. And at once the wind, which previously blew from the south and spread the conflagration into the city, turned round north and diverted the fire outwards; and soon by his prayers the flames completely died down and were extinguished. And as the man of God burnt strongly within with the fire of divine love, and often kept away and repelled the storms and tempests of evil spirits from injury to himself and his companions by repeated prayers and exhortations, so was it now fit, that he should prevail against earthly winds and flames, so that they should not injure himself and his friends. And now this holy bishop, after governing and directing the church for five years, during the reign of Eadbald departed to heaven, and was buried with his fathers in the oft-named monastery and church of St. Peter on the 24th of April. He was immediately succeeded in the bishopric by Justus, who was previously bishop at Rochester. He consecrated in his place another bishop for that church, called Romanus, as he had received authority from pope Boniface to ordain bishops.

VIII.

At this time also the people of Northumbria with their king Eadwine received the faith of Christ, which the holy bishop Paulinus preached and taught them. As an omen for the king
geleafan 7 þæs heofonlecan rices eac swelce on healsunge, gewæx meahteorðlices rices, swa [þæt], þætte nægíng Ongolcynna ær him, call Breotonó gemæro on anweald onfeng. Þa þe oððe heora megþe Ongolcynnes oþþe Bretta eardodon: all þæt he on anwald onfeng; ge eac Monige swelce Bretta ealond Ongolcynnes rice underpeodde, swa we ær beforan sægdon.

Disse þeode, þæt is Norðanhybrum, wæs se æresta intinga to onfonne Cristes geleafan, þætte se forespreccena heora cyning Edwini wæs mid mægsibbe geþeode Contwaræ cyningum; onfeng he ponan wiðe Æpelbeorge, Æðelberhtes dohtor þæs cyninges, seo 10 oðre noman wæs Táte haten. Þa he ærest his ærendwrecan sende to Eadbolde hire bréðer, se wæs þa Contwaræ cyning, 7 þisse fæmnan gemánan bæð 7 wilnade, ondswærede he þæt þæt alyfed nære, þætte cristeno fæmne hæðnan men to wiðe scald wære, þy læs se geleafa 7 þa geryvo þæs heofonlecan cyninges mid þæs cyninges gemánan aildlad wære, se þe þæs sóðan cyninges bigong ne cuðe. Þa þa ærendwrecan eft Eadwine sægdon þas word, þa gehet he sona þæt he noht wiðerweardes don wolde þæm cristenan geleasan, þe seo fæmne beode, ac þæt heo moste þone geleasan 7 bigong hire æfestnisse mid callum hire geferum, þe heo mid cwenen, 20 þy cristuan þeawe lífan 7 þone wel healdan. Ne he ne wiðsóc þæt he seolfa eac þa ilcan æfestnisse underséngæ, giþ wise witan þæt funde þæt heo haligra gemeted beon mealcite. Þa wæs seo fæmne gehaten, 7 æfter fæce Eadwine onsénded. Ond æfter þon þe heo ær funden hæsdon, wæs gehalgod to bìscope Godo se leofa wer Scs Paulinus, se mid heo færan scolde, to ðon þæt he þa fæmnan 7 hire geferan ægíhwæðer ge mid þa mærswunge heofonlicra geryna ge mid his deahwamlicere lære trymede, þæt heo in þam gemanan þara hæðena besmiten ne wære.

Wæs he Paulinus to biscope gehalgod from Iusto þam ærcebíscape 30 þy twelftan dæge Calendarum Augustarum. Da cwom he mid þa forespreccena fæmnan to Eadwini þæm cyninge, swa swa he wære gesíð licumlicere gegaderunge; ac he ma mid calle his mode behelod, þæt he þa þeode, þe he gesolhte, to ongytenisse þæs sóðan Godes 7 to Cristes geleafan þurh his lære geegde. Mid þy he ða 35

p. 511.

of his reception of Christ's faith and also of the heavenly kingdom, the power of his earthly kingdom had increased, so that, what none of the English had done before him, he got into his power the whole extent of Britain—all that tribes either of English or of British race occupied, he got into his power. He also subjected to the authority of the English Man, the islands of the Britons, as we mentioned before. The first motive for the acceptance of Christ's faith by this people, that is the Northumbrians, was that their aforesaid king Eadwine was connected by affinity with the kings of Kent; from this family he received as wife Æthelburh, daughter of king Æthelberht, who was also called Tate. When he first sent his envoys to her brother Eadbald, who was then king of Kent, and begged and desired the hand of this lady, Eadbald replied that it was unlawful to give a Christian woman as wife to a heathen, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should be profaned by association with this king, who knew not the worship of the true King. When the envoys reported these words to Eadwine, he promised at once to do nothing adverse to the christian faith, which the lady held, saying that she might live according to christian usage in the faith and exercise of her religion and keep it fully, with all the companions she brought with her. Nor did he refuse even to take up that religion himself, if wise councillors on examination found that it was holier. Then the lady was promised, and after a time sent to Eadwine. And as they had already arranged, St. Paulinus, a man beloved of God, was consecrated bishop, who should proceed with her, that he might confirm the lady and her companions by celebration of the holy sacraments and by his daily instruction, so that she should not be defiled in the society of the heathen. Paulinus was consecrated bishop by archbishop Justus on the 21st July. Then he came with the aforesaid lady to king Eadwine, as if he were an attendant at carnal wedlock; but with all his mind he strove to call by his teaching the people, whom he visited, to a knowledge of the true God and to Christ's faith. Now when the bishop came with the
se bishop in þa mægðe cwom mid þære fæmnan, þa wunn he swiðe, þæt he æghwæðer ge his feran, þa ðe mid him cwomon, þurh Drihtnes gife geheolde þæt heo ne asprunge from heora geleafaen, 7 gif he hwylce meahte para hæcΣenra, þæt he þurh his lare to Cristes geleafaen gecerde. Ac swa se apostol cwað, peah ðe he mieclre tide 5 wunne in his lare, þætte God þa mood para ungeleafaumra áblænde, þy læs him scine seo onlihtnes Cristes godspelles 7 his wulrdes.

Da was ðy æfteran geare, cwom sum monn in Norðanymbra mægðe; wæs his noma Eomær. Wæs he sended from Westseaxna cyninge, se wæs haten Cwichelm, þæt he scolde Eadwine þone 10 cyning somed ge rice ge lif beneoman. Hæfde he 7 wæg mid hine twiecge handseax geættred, þæt gif seo wund to lýt genihtsumode to þæs cyninges deaðe, þæt þæt attor gefultmade. Cwom he to þam cyninge þy æerstan Eastordæge bii Deorwenta þære ca, þær wæs þa cyninges aldorbold. Þa code he inn, swa swa he his 15 hlaforðes ærendo seegn scolde. Ond mid þy he þa geswippre mype licetende ærend wreahhte 7 lease fleosewade, þa astod he semninga, 7 getogene þy wæpne under his sceate, ræsse on þone cyning. Þa þæt þa Lilla geseah, se cyninges þegn him se holdesta, næfde he scyld æt honda, þæt he þone cyning mid scyldan meahte : 20 sette þa his lichoman betweoh beforan þam stynge. 7 purhstong þone cyninges þegn 7 þone cyning gewundade. Þa wæs sona æghwan mid wæþnum ymbheped. Hwæt þa gena ðeerne cyninges þegn in þæm ungerece, se wæs Forðhere haten, mid þy manfullan wæþne aecwealde.

Þa wæs þære ilcan neahte þære halgan Eastrena, cende seo cwen dohtor þæm cyninge, þære noma wæs Eanflæd. Mid þy þe he ða se ilca cyning in þæs biscoþe ondweardnesse þoncunge dyde his Godum for þære deahter, þe him acenned wæs, ongegn þon ongon se bishop þoncunge don Drihtne Criste ouð þam cyninge cypan, þæt 30 he þæt mid his benum æt him onfenge, þæt heo seo cwen gesund 7 buton hefigum sare þæt bearn cende. þa se cyning þis gehyrde, þa ongon he lustfullian þæs biscoþe wordum, 7 geheht hine sylfne deosolgildum wiðscan; 7 þæt he wolde Cristes ðeowdom geceosan,

1. 4. þ O. Ca. B. þe T. 1. 16. mid þe þa geswip þe T. B. has geswiperð. O. Ca. as in text.
lady into that province, he contended earnestly that by God's grace he might keep both his companions, who came with him, from turning aside from the faith, and that he might, if possible, convert some of the heathen by his teaching to the faith of Christ. Yet, as the 5 apostle said, though he strove long in his teaching, God blinded the minds of the unbelievers, lest the enlightenment of Christ's gospel and glory should shine upon them. Then next year there came a man to the province of Northumbria, whose name was Eomær. He was sent by the king of the West Saxons, named 10 Cwichelm, to deprive king Eadwine of throne and life. He had and carried upon him a two-edged and poisoned dagger, that if the wound was not sufficient to cause the king's death, the poison might help. He came to the king on the first day of Easter, near the river Derwent, where at that time there was a royal residence 15 and estate. Then he entered, as if to deliver his lord's errand. And as with crafty lips he reported his feigned errand and falsely whispered, suddenly he got up, and drawing his weapon under his garment, rushed on the king. Now when Lilla saw this, who was the most devoted of the king's attendants, having no shield at hand 20 to defend the king, he interposed his body to meet the thrust. And Eomær thrust through the king's attendant and wounded the king. Then he was at once assailed with weapons on all sides. But still he slew with his wicked dagger yet another of the king's attendants in the tumult, who was called Forthere. Then on the very 25 night of holy Easter, the queen bore the king a daughter, whose name was Eanflæd. And when the king in the bishop's presence gave thanks to his gods for the daughter, that was born to him, the bishop on the other hand began to give thanks to Christ the Lord, and to make known to the king, that through his prayers he 30 received this grace from him, that the queen bore that child healthily and without severe suffering. When the king heard this, he began to rejoice at the bishop's words, and promised that he himself would renounce his idols; and said that he would choose Christ's service, if he would give him life and victory in the 35 contest, which he contemplated against the king, who sent the
gif he him lif 7 sige forgesæ on þæm gewinne, þe he gehogad hæfde wið þam cyninge, *from þæm þe se myrðra ær sended wæs, se þe hine gewundade. Ond þa ilcan his dohtor to gehalgienne Criste þæm biscope to wedde gesæalde, þæt he þæt gehat geleæstan wolde. Seo wæs gefulwad þy halgan dæge æt Pentecosten ærest 5 monna of Norðanhymbra þeode, mid endleofan fæmann oðrum of þære cwene hyrede; heo wæs twelfta.

p. 512. 

VIII.¹

Cap. 10. Þære tide eac wæs se cyning gehæled from þære wunde, þe him ær gedon wæs. Pa gesomnode he his fyrd wið Westseaxum 7 pider cwom; 7 sona þæs þe he on heo feaht, wærón him ealle his 10 fynd gecyðede, þa þe ær ymb his feorh syredon. 7 he þa sume ofslóg, sume on onweald ofsnæg; 7 he sigegeaft swa eft ham ferde. Nales þæt sona þæt innstepe 7 ungepeahtenlice þæm gerynum onfón wolde þæs Cristenan geleæfan, þeah þe þæt wære, þæt ofer þæt deosfolgdum ne þeowode, seoðþan he hine to Cristes þeowdom 15 gehatenne hæfde. Ac he ærest geornlice æa of tide æghwæðer ge from þæm ærwyrfan þære Seo Paulini þæt riht leornade þæs hal-gan geleæfan; ge eac mid his ealdormunnum, þa þe he wiseste 7 snottrostæ wiste, þæt he gelomlice mid him þeahtode 7 sohte, hwæt be þissum þingum to donne wære. Ge eac he seolfa, mid þy þe he 20 wæs in gecynde se gleawesta mon, oft longe ana sæt swigende muðe, ac mid innweardre heortan monig mid hine spreccende smeade, hwæt him selest to donne wære 7 hwylce æfæstnis him to healdenne wære.

Cap. 12. Swylce eac wæs sum Gódgespræce 7 heofonlic onwrigenis, þe him geo seo godcunde æfæstnis onwrah, þa he wrecca wæs mid Æad-wald Eastengla cyning, seo swiðe gesælumede his ondgit to 30 onfónne 7 to ongeotoninne monunge þære halwenden lāre. Mid þy he

¹ 2. þe from þæm þe se myrðra ær sended wæs T. ðe from þæm se C. frå þa se myrðra ær sended wæs O. (but the words from gehogad to myrðra are omitted in text and written at bottom of page, their place marked with points, and two
murderer, that wounded him. And he gave his daughter also to
the bishop to be consecrated to Christ, as a pledge that he would
fulfil the vow. She was baptized on the holy day of Pentecost,
being the first among the people of Northumbria, with eleven
ladies besides belonging to the queen's household, she being the
twelfth. At that time also the king was healed of the wound
previously inflicted upon him. Then he assembled his army to
fight the West Saxons, and advanced into their country; and as
soon as he attacked them, all his enemies were denounced to him,
who had plotted against his life. And he slew some, and accepted
the submission of others; and so returned home in triumph. Yet he
would not at once, on the spot and without consideration, receive
the sacraments of the Christian faith; though the fact was, that
he never served idols, from the day he vowed to be Christ's
servant. But first earnestly, from time to time, he studied the
truth of the holy faith under the venerable St. Paulinus; and also
with his nobles, whom he knew to be wisest and most prudent, he
often took counsel, and enquired of them what should be done in
these matters. Besides, as he was himself naturally a man of the
greatest sagacity, he often sat alone with silent lips, while in his
inmost heart he argued much with himself, considering what was
best to do and what religion he should hold to.

IX.

At that time also pope Boniface, bishop of the apostolic see,
sent greeting to Eadwine and a letter exhorting him to receive
Christ's faith. There was also a message from God and a heavenly
revelation, which the divine goodness once revealed to him, when he
was an exile with Redwald, king of the East Angles, which supported
his mind much in receiving and comprehending the admonitions of

letters are erased before frā). Æ se myrðra ær fram sended was Ca. þe þone
myrðran þider sende B. ¹ VIII Ca. XIII (but IIII partly erased) T.
p. 513. Wæs þis gódgespære 7 þeós onwrigenes þisses gemetes. Mid þy hine ehte Æðelfrīð, se ðe ær him cyning wæs, 7 þurh missenlice stowe he monigra geara tide flyma wæs, ða gesohte he æt nyhstan 15 7 cwom to Rædwolde Eastengla cyninge; 7 hine bæd þæt he his lif gescyldæ wið swa micles ehteres sætingum, 7 him feorhyrde wære. Ond he lustlice hine onfeng 7 him gehæt, þæt he swa don wolde swa he hine bæd. Æfter þon þa Æðelfrīð se cyning hine þær geahode, þæt he mid Rædwold þonne cyning wæs, þa sende he 20 sono ærendwrecan to him 7 micel feoh, wið þon ðe he hine ofsloge oðþe him to cwale agefe; ne hwædre owiht on þon fromade. Sende he eft æfteran siðæ ærendwrecan; synde þriddan siðæ, 7 maran gife micle 7 feoh, þonne he him ær sende, wið his cwale: ond het eac him onbeodon, þæt he hine wolde mid fyrdæ to 25 gefeohte gesecan, gið he his word 7 his gife forhogode. Þa wæs his mod æghwæðer ge mid þæm beotungum gebregæd ge mid þæm geosum gewemmed, þæt he gepafode þæs cyninges bene 7 gehet, þæt he Eadwine ofslofe oðþe feondum to cwale gese. Þa wæs sum cyninges þegn his freond se getreowesta, þe ðas þing gehyrde 30 7 onget. Þa eced he to his inne, þær he hine restan wolde,— wæs foreweard niht—7 hine acegðe út 7 him sægðe 7 cyððe, hu him mon emb don wolde. Cwæð him þa gyt to: Gið ðu wilt

1. 2. ð O. Ca. B. ða T. 7 ð, C. 1. 5. ge to won wanting in T. Text from O. Ca. has -nyssa and omits won. gebeda won C. ge eac mid ðære godcundan arfaestnesse mid wordum his gebeda wonn B. 1. 11. onwrigenesse O. Ca.
saving doctrine. When bishop Paulinus saw that he could not easily convert to humility the pride of this royal spirit, so that he would accept his eternal salvation and the mystery of Christ’s quickening cross—and he at the same time, for the salvation of the king and the people he ruled, strove with men by word of exhortation, and strove with the divine goodness by word of prayer in intercession—then at last he learnt in spirit, and it was revealed to him, what heavenly revelation was formerly disclosed to the king, when an exile. He delayed no longer, but went at once to the king and admonished him to fulfil his vow, made at the time of the revelation granted to him, in case he should escape the misery of that time and be raised to the throne. This divine message and revelation was to this effect. When Æthelfrith, his predecessor, persecuted him, and he was a fugitive for many years in various places, at last he turned and came to Redwald, king of the East Angles, and begged him to protect his life against the snares of his mighty persecutor, and ensure his saity. The king welcomed him, and promised to do as he asked. When king Æthelfrith found him out there, at the court of king Redwald, he at once sent envoys with large sums, as the price of his murder or his surrender to death. However he effected nothing by this. Again a second time he sent envoys; he sent a third time, with much richer gifts and bribes than before, as price of his death. He also bade them threaten, that he would march against Redwald with an army, if he rejected his request and his gifts. Then the king’s mind was moved by the threats and corrupted by the gifts, so that he granted the king’s prayer and promised to slay Eadwine or give him up to his enemies to be put to death. Now there was one of the king’s followers, who was Eadwine’s most faithful friend, and he heard and understood the matter. And going to the chamber, where Eadwine was about to lie down to sleep—it was early in the night—he called him out, spoke to him and told what they would do to him. He added, ‘If you wish, at this moment, I will bring
in ðas seolðan tid, ic þe alæð of þisse mægðe, 7 in þa stowe alæðe, þær þe næfre Rædwald ne Æðelfrith gemetan magon. Cwæð he to him: On þonce me synd þin word 7 þin lufo, 7 hwæðre ne mæg ic þet dón, þæt þu me lærest, þæt ic ærest þa være forlæte, þec ic to swa midum cyninge nom, mid þæt he me 5 noht yfelc dyde ne ladæs æteawde. Ac gif ic deáð þrowian secal, leofre me is, þæt he mec to deádc sylle þonne unæðelra mon. Óðpæ la hwider mæg ic nu leng fleon? Monigra geara tida ofer ealle Breotone ic flyma wæs, þæt ic me his hete bearh 7 warenode. Þa eode se his freond onweag from him, 7 he Eadwini ana þær 10 ute gewunade; sæt swìcð unrot on stane beforan þære healle, 7 ongon mid monegum hætum his gepohta swenced beon: 7 ne wiste, hwider he eode Óðpe hwæt him selest to donne wäre.

Mid þy he þa lange swigendum nearonissum his modes 7 mid þy blindan fyre soden wæs, þa geseah he semninga on midre niht 15 sumne mon wið his gongan uncupes ondwlitan 7 uncúpes ge gyrulan. Þa he ða to him cwom, þær wæs he forht geworden. Þa eode he to him, grette hine 7 frægn, for hwon he in þære tide, þe o‡re men slépon 7 reston, ána swa unrot on stane wæccende sète. Þa frægn he hine, hwæt þas to him lumpe, hwæðer he wacode þe 20 slépe, 7 hwæðer he þe ute þe inne wäre. Þa ondswarade he 7 him to cwæð: Ne tala þu me, þæt ic ne cunne þone intingan þinre unrotnisse 7 þinre wæccene 7 * onlæpnesse þines sæðles. Ac ic cuðlice wat, ge hwæt þu cart ge for hwon þu gnornast, 7 hwylc toweard yfel þu þe in * neahnesse forhtast. Ac gesaga me hwylc 25 mede þu wille syllan þam men, gif hwylc sy, þætte þec from þissum nearonissum alyse ond Rædwalde on mod beswåpe, þæt he noht ladæs ne gedo ne þec pinum feondum to cwale agife? Þa ondswarede 7 cwæð, þæt he ealle ða god, þe he meahte, for mede þislicere fremsunnnesse syllan wolde. Þa æctæte he þa gyte his 30 gesprec 7 cwæð: 7 nu gif he ðe eac, adwæstum þinum feondum, in söðc toweard cynerice gehateð, swa þæt nales þæt an ealle þine yldran, ac ealle cyningas, þa ðe in Breotone wæron ær, þu in
you out of this country, and into a place where neither Redwald nor Æthelfrith can ever find you.' Eadwine replied: 'I am grateful for your offer and your love, but yet I cannot do what you advise, and wilfully forsake the compact made with so great a king, seeing that he has done me no harm nor showed any hostility. And if I must suffer death, I would rather he put me to death than a meaner man. And see now, where can I flee any longer? For many a year I have been a fugitive throughout all Britain, enduring and guarding against his hate.' Then his friend left him, and Eadwine stayed alone outside; he sat in great despondency on a stone before the hall, and began to be troubled with many a feverish thought, not knowing where to go or what it was best to do. After long brooding in silent anguish of mind and with secret heartburning, suddenly he saw at midnight a man approach him, of strange appearance and strange dress. His coming alarmed him; but the man came up, saluted him, and asked why at that time, when other men were asleep and took their rest, he sat alone on a stone awake and gloomy. Then Eadwine asked, what that was to him, whether he was awake or asleep, outside or within. The other answered and said: 'Do not imagine that I am ignorant of the cause of your despondency and wakefulness and your sitting solitary. But I know well, what you are and why you sorrow, and the coming trouble which you dread as imminent. But tell me what reward you will give to the man, if there be any one, to rescue you from these troubles, and prevail on Redwald's mind not to do you any harm, nor surrender you to your enemies to be put to death.' Then he answered and said, that he would make every return in his power as a reward for such service. Then the other continuing said: 'And now if he also truly promises you a throne in the future, after the extinction of your enemies, so that you may far surpass in power and authority not only your

nyse Ca. nealnyse B. (C.?) Perhaps neaweste = in proximo. 1. 30. ætæte C. ætiætæ B. ætyæte O. gytye Ca. gyte æte T.
meahte 7 in rice feor oferstigest? Pa wæs he Eadwine baldra geworden in þære frignesse, 7 sona gehet, se þe him swa micle fremsunnesse forgese, þæt he him þæs wolde wyrðelice þoncunce don. Cwað he þriddan siðe to him, se þe him wic spræc : Ono gif se mon, se þe þyslice gifæ 7 swa micle sódlice þe towearde forecwic, 5 ond eac swylce geþæhte þiure nælo 7 betran lifes 7 nyttæan þe æteawan mæg, þonne ænig þína maga oðþe yldrena æfre gehyrde—cwist þu hwæðer þu his þa halwenda monunge onfon wille þ him hearsum beon? Pa ne * elde he Eadwini owiht ac sona gehet, þæt he wolde in callum þingum him hearsum beon 7 his laer lustlice 10 onfon, se þe hine from swa monecum ermþum 7 teonum generæ 7 to heanisse cynerices forðgelædde. Pa he þa þisse ondswære onfeng, se þe mid hine spræc, þa instæpe sette he mid þa swiðron hond him on ðæt heafod 7 þus cwað : Þonne þis tacen þislic þe tocyme, þonne gemye þu þas tide uncræ gesprecæ 7 ne yld 15 þu þæt þu þa þing gefylle, þe ðu me nu gehete. Pa he þa þas word spræc, þa ne wiste he semninga hwær he cwom; wolde þæt he in þon ongete, þæt þæt mon ne wæs, se þe him æteawde, ac þætæ þæt gast wæs.

Ond mid þy he þa se geonga æpelæng ána þær þa gyt sæt, ond 20 wæs swiðe gesoende bi þære ðrofre þe him gehaten wæs, ac hwæðre sorgende mode geornlice þohæt, hwæt sewære oðþe hwonan he cwome, se þas þing to him sprecende wæs, þa com eft to him se foresprecæna his freond 7 mid bliðe ondwæloþan hine halette þ þrette; 7 þus cwað : Aris, gong in; gerest þinne lichoman 7 þin mod buton sorgum, 25 forþon þæs cyninges heorte is oncerred; ne wile he þe owiht laðes gedon, ac he ma wile his treowa 7 his gehat wið þe gehealdan 7 þe feorðhyrde beon. Sægde him þa æfter þon þæt : Se cyning his geþolht, bi þæm þe ic þe ær sæde, þære cwene in deagolnesse onwreat. Ða onwende heo hine from þære yflan inngehygde his 30 modes; lærde hine 7 monade, þætte þæt nænig þinga gedæfenode swa ædelum cyninge 7 swa gepunnum, þæt he scelde his freond þone betstan in neede gesetum in gold bebyegan, 7 his treowe for fea gitsunge 7 lufan forleosan, seo wære deorwyrðre callum

1. 9. helde T. ylde O. Ca. B. 1. 34. deorwyrðre C. Ca. -ðe T. -ðe 7 mare O. -ðre 7 mare B.
forefathers, but all kings that ever were in Britain? Then Eadwine
was encouraged by these questions, and at once promised, that
whoever did him such service, should receive due gratitude at his
hands. Then the man, who talked with him, spoke a third time:
5 'Well, if the man who foretells truly to you such a great gift in the
future, also can show you a way to salvation and to a life better
and more useful than any of your kindred or forefathers ever heard
of, do you say that you will receive his salutary advice and
hearken to him?' Then Eadwine made no delay, but promised at
10 once to hearken in all things and receive his instruction cheerfully,
when he saved him from such misery and calamity, and raised him
to the throne. When the man who spoke with him received this
answer, at once he put his right hand on his head and said: 'When
this token comes to you in this wise, then remember the time
15 of our conversation, and delay not to fulfil your present promise.'
After these words were spoken, suddenly Eadwine knew not
where he went; he would have it understood thereby, that it was
not a man who appeared to him but a spirit. As the young prince
still sat there alone, rejoicing greatly at the comfort promised him,
20 yet earnestly, with anxious heart, considered who he was, or
whence he came, who thus spoke to him, then the aforesaid friend
came again to him, and with cheerful face hailed and greeted
him saying thus: 'Arise, and go in; rest body and mind without
anxiety, because the king's heart is turned; he will do you no harm,
25 but rather keep his faith and promise to you and ensure your
safety.' He then told him this: 'The king disclosed to the queen
in secret his intentions, of which I told you before. Then she
diverted him from the evil purpose of his heart, instructing
and admonishing him, that it in no wise became a king so noble and
30 so excellent to sell for gold his best friend in the hour of his need,
and to sacrifice honour, which is dearer than all treasures, for greed
Hwæt sculon we þæs nu ma secgan? Dyde se cyning swa hit ær cweden wæs; nales þæt an þæt he ðone wrecce to cwale ne gesealde, ac eac swylce him gefultumade, þæt he to rice becwom. Forþon sona siðpan þa ærendwrecan ham cerdon, þe his cwale ærendodon, þa gebeon Rædwald his fyrd 7 micel weorod 5 gesonmadæ to gewinnenne wið Æpelfrīð. Þa for he him togegenes ungelice weorode, forþon he ne wolde him fyrst alyfan, þæt he moste his weorod eal geseomnian. Þa geforon heo tosomne 7 gefuhton on gemære Mercna þeode æt eastdæle þære eá, þe is Idle nemned; 7 þær mon Æpelfrīð þone cyning slog. Swylce eac in sæm ilcan 10 gefeohte mon sloh Rædwoldes sunu, se waes haten Regenhere. Ond swa Eadwine æfter þam gōdgesprece, þe he ær onfeng, nales þæt an þæt he him þa sætunge þa gewearonode þaes unholadan cyninges, ac eac swylce æfter his slege him in þæs rices wulder æfterfylgde.

Mid þy he þa Paulinus se biscop Godes word bodade 7 lærde, 7 15 se cyning elde þa gyty to gelyfanne 7 þurh some tide, swa swa we ær cwædon, gelimplicum ana sæt, 7 geornlice mid him seolodox smeadæ 7 pohte, hwæt him selest to donne wære 7 hwylc æfestnes him to healdanne wære, þa waes sume dæge se Godes wer ingongende to him, þær he ana sæt, ond sette his þa swiðran hond him 20 on þæt heafod, 7 hine ahsode hwæðer he þæt tacen ongytan meahete. Þa onconeow he hit sone sweotole 7 waes swiðe fort geworden, 7 him to fotum feoll; 7 hine se Godes monn up hof, 7 him cuðlice tospræc, 7 þus cwæð: Ono hwæt þu nu hafast þurh Godes gife þina feonda hond beswicade, þa ðu ðe ondredæ, 7 þu þurh his sylene 7 gife þæm 25 rice onfenge, þe ðu wilnadest. Ac gemyne nu þæt þu þæt pridde gelæstest, þæt þu gehete, þæt þu onfo his geleafan 7 his bebodu healde, se ðe se from wilwendlecum earfedom generede 7 eac in ære wilwendlices rices ahóf. Ond gif ðu forð his willan hearsum þeop wilt, þone he þurh me bodac 7 læreð, he þonne þe eac from tint 30 tregum generéð eca yfela ond þec dælneomende gedæð mid him þæs ecan rices in heofonum.

1. 1. hwæt O. Ca. B. hwæs T. 1. 9. ea (accent not certain) T. eā B.
ea O. Ca. 1. 11. regenhere T. regenhere O. Ca. regnere B. 1. 18. 7
II. 12.

and love of money.' Why should we say more? The king did as it has been said; he not only did not give up the exile to death, but also aided him in attaining to the throne. For soon after the envoys returned home, who sought his death, Redwald summoned his troops and gathered a large army to attack Æthelfrith. The latter marched to meet him with an inferior force, as the other did not give him time to assemble all his men. They encountered and fought on the borders of Mercia, east of the river called the Idle; and there king Æthelfrith was slain. A son of Redwald, called Regenhere, also fell in the battle. So Eadwine, in accordance with the divine message before received, not only escaped the snares of the hostile king, but also, after his death, succeeded to the throne of that kingdom. As bishop Paulinus preached and taught God's word, and the king still hesitated to believe, and for a period, as already said, often sat alone and earnestly debated and considered with himself, what he had best do and what religion he should follow, then one day the man of God came in to him, as he sat alone, and putting his right hand on his head, asked him whether he could understand the token. Then he at once clearly recognised it, and being much alarmed fell at his feet; but the man of God raised him up and spoke to him kindly, saying: 'Well now, you have by God's grace escaped the hand of your enemies, whom you feared, and by his gift and grace succeeded to the throne you desired. But remember now to fulfil the third thing, namely, your promise to receive his faith and keep his commandments, who rescued you from temporal adversities and exalted you to the glory of a temporal kingdom. And if you will further hearken to his will, which he preaches and teaches through me, he will also rescue you from the torments of everlasting sufferings, and make you partaker with him of the everlasting kingdom in heaven.'

\[hwylo\] to ware not in T. Text from O. 1. 32. T,18\(^{v}\) ends heofonum, 19\(^{a}\) begins bede pa : leaf lost. Text from O.
X.

Cap. 13.  Pa se cyning pa pa word gehyrde, pa andswarode he him 7 cwæð, þæt he æghwæper ge wolde ge soeloþ þam geleasaf onson þe he lærde.  Cwæð hwæpere, þæt he wolde mid his freondum 7 mid his wytum gesprec 7 geþeahht habban, þæt gif hi mid hine þæt gepæfan woldan, þæt hi ealle ðetsomme on lifes willan Criste gehalgade 5 wæran.  Pa dyde se cyning swa swa he cwæð, 7 se bisceop þæt gepæfde.  Pa hæfde he gesprec 7 geþeahht mid his witum 7 syndriglice wæs fram him callum frigende, hwylc him þuhte 7 gesawen wære þeos niwe lar 7 þære godcundnesse bigong, þe þær lærde wæs.

p. 516.  Him þa andswarode his ealdorbisceop, Cefi wæs haten: Geseoh þu, cyning, hwelc þeos lar se, þe us nu bodad is.  Íc þe soðlice andette, þæt ic cuðlice geleornad hæbbe, þæt eallinga nawiht mægenes ne nyttnesse hafað sio æfæstnes, þe we ðis hæfdon 7 beoedon.  Forðon næning þinra þegna neoldicor ne gelustfullicor 15 hine sylfne underþeodde to ura goda bigange þonne ic; 7 noht þon læs monige syndon, þa þe maran geþe 7 fremsunnesse æt þe onfengon þonne ic, 7 on callum þingum maran gesynto hæfdon.  Hwæt ic wat, gif ure godo ænige mihte hæfdon, þonne woldan hie me ma sultumian, forþon ic him geornlicor þeodde 7 byrde.  Forþon me þynceð wislic, 20 gif þu gesseo þa ping beteran 7 strangran, þe us niwan bodad syndon, þæt we þam onson.

Þæs wordum ðer cyninges wita 7 ealdormann gepæfugne sealde, 7 to þære spræce feng 7 þus cwæð: Þyslic me is geswen, þu cyning, þis andwearde lif mianna on eordan to wiðmetenesse þære tide, 25 þe us uncuð is, swylc swa þu æt swæsendum sitte mid þinum ealdormannum þegnum on wintertide, 7 sie fyr onælad 7 þin heall gewyrmed, 7 hit rine 7 swiwe 7 styrme ute; cume an

1. 3.  mid Ca. B. : not in O.  1. 7.  gesprec. (after c erasure of one letter) O.
Ca. has gespreœc.  spræce B.  1. 8.  syndriglice O.  syndriglice Ca.  syndrilice B.
1. 9.  bigong. (erasure of a final e) O.  bigong Ca.  begang B.
1. 14.  ði, O.  ðis Ca.  þis B.  1. 15.  gelu fullicor (the second stroke of first u and st and tick below in pale ink. Different hand) O.  gelustfulloede (omit
When the king heard these words, he answered and said, that it was both his desire and duty to receive the faith which the bishop taught. Yet he said, he would speak and take counsel with his friends and counsellors, and if they agreed with him, all together would 5 be consecrated to Christ in the fount of life. Then the king did as he said, and the bishop assented. Then he conferred and took counsel with his advisers, and asked all of them separately their opinion about this new doctrine and worship of the Deity, which was taught therein. Then his chief bishop, called Cæfi, answered: 10 'Consider for your part, O king, what this doctrine is, that is now preached to us. I truly confess to you, what I have learnt for certain, that the religion we have held and maintained hitherto is absolutely without use or excellence. For none of your followers devoted himself more closely or cheerfully to the worship of our 15 gods than I did; but nevertheless many have received more gifts and promotion from you than I, and in all things have prospered more. Well, I am sure if our gods had any power, they would help me more, for I more zealously served and obeyed them. Therefore, if you consider the religion to be fairer and stronger, 20 which is newly preached to us, it seems wise to me that we should receive it.' Another of the king's counsellors, one of his chief men, assented to his words, and taking up the discussion thus spoke: 25 'O king, the present life of man on earth, in comparison with the time unknown to us, seems to me, as if you sat at table with your chief men and followers in winter time, and a fire was kindled and your hall warmed, while it rained, snowed, and stormed without;
spearwa 7 hrædlice þæt bus þurhleó, cume þurh opre duru
in, þurh opre ut gewite. Þwæt he on þa tid, þe he inne bic, ne bic hrinen mid þy storme þæs wintres; ac þæt bic an eagan
bryhtm 7 þæt læsste fec, ac he soma of wintra on þone winter eft
cymeð. Swa þonne þis monna lif to medmicalum fæce ætyweð; 5
hwæt þær foregange, ðæðe hwæt þær æfterfylige, we ne cunnun.
Forðon gif þeos lar owiht cælicere 7 gerisenlicere brenge, þæs weorðe
is þæt we þære sylfel. þeossum wordum gelicum ðere aldormen
7 ðæs cyninges gepealhter spræcan.

Pa gen þoætyhte Cæfli 7 cweð, þæt he wolde Paulinus þone bisecep 10
gornlicor gehiran be þam Gode spreccende þam þe he bodade.
Pa het se cyning swa don. Þa he þa his word gehyrde, þa
clypode he 7 þus cweð: Geare ic þæt ongeat, þæt þæt nowiht wæs,
þæt we beodoan. Forþon swa micle swa ic gornlicor on þam
bigange þæt sylfe soð sohte, swa ic hit læs mette. Nu þonne 15
ic openlice ondette, þæt on þyssere lætre þæt sylfe soð scineð, þæt
us mæg þa gyfe syllan ecre eadignesse 7 eces lifes haelo. Forþon ic
þonne nu lære, cyning, þæt þæt templ 7 þa wigbedo, þa ða we
buton wæstmum ænigre nytnisse halgodon, þæt we þa hraþe
forleosen 7 fyre forþærne. Ono hwæt he þa wæs se cyning 20
openlice *ondettende þam bisecope 7 him eallum, þæt he wolde
fæstlice þam deosolgildum wiðsacan ond Cristes geleafan onson.
Mid þy þe he þa se cyning from þæm forespreccen bisecope sohte
7 ahsode heora haligynesse, þe heo ær bicodon, hwa ða wigbed 7 þa
hergas þara deosolgilda mid heora heowum, þe heo ymbsette wæron, 25
heo ærest aðilgan 7 toweorpan scolde, þa ondsworede he: Efne ic.
Hwa mæg þa nu eað, þe ic longe mid dysignesse beode, to bysene
cæftera monna gerisenlecere toweorpan, þonne ic seolfa þurh þa
snytro, þe ic from þæm soðan Gode onfeng? Ond he ða soma from
him awearp þa idlan dysignesse, þe he ær beode, ond þone cyning 30

1. 1. spearca (c crossed by stroke from w) O. -wa Ca. B. fleo cume (o cu
on erasure) O. fleoge 7 cume B. fleo (only) Ca. 1. 3. rined (a stroke
erased before w). rined Ca. hrinen B. 1. 4. læsste (te over original este?
the stain of e plain in blank beyond, but crossed by stroke of final e) O. læste
Ca. B. 1. 5. medmicalum (d in erasure of 66?) O. medmyculum Ca.
medmicalum B mendlicum (sic) C. 1. 6. hwæt . . . þær (erasure of four
letters) O. hwæt þær Ca. B. 1. 7. 7 gerisenlicre Ca. (O. above line).
and there came a sparrow and swiftly flew through the house, entering at one door and passing out through the other. Now as long as he is inside, he is not pelted with winter’s storm; but that is the twinkling of an eye and a moment of time, and at once he passes back from winter into winter. So then this life of man appears for but a little while; what goes before, or what comes after, we know not. So, if this new doctrine reports anything more certain or apt, it deserves to be followed.’ The other elders and the king’s counsellors expressed themselves in similar terms. Then 10 Cæfi further said, that he wished to hear more attentively Paulinus speaking about the God whom he preached. This the king ordered to be done. On hearing the bishop’s words Cæfi exclaimed, ‘I see clearly, that all we worshipped, was but naught. For the more attentively I sought this very truth in our worship, the less I 15 found it. Now then I openly acknowledge that the very truth is evident in this teaching, which can give us the grace of eternal blessedness and the salvation of eternal life. Therefore, O king, I now advise, that we should speedily destroy and burn with fire the temple and the altars, which we consecrated without producing any 20 benefit.’ So then the king openly professed before the bishop and all, that he would firmly renounce idols and receive Christ’s faith. When the king asked the aforesaid bishop of that religion, which they previously maintained, who should first profane and throw down the altars and fanes of the idols, and the hedges which 25 surrounded them, then he answered, ‘Who but I? As I long in my folly worshipped them, who may now more readily and suitably overthrow them, as an example to other men, than I myself through the wisdom received from the true God?’ And he at once cast away from him the vain folly, which he previously entertained,
bled þæt he him wæpen sealde 7 stodhors, þæt he mealhte on cuman 7 deofolgyld toweorpan. Forðon þam biscope heora halignesse ne wæs alyfed, þæt he moste wæpen wegan, ne elcor buton on myran ridan. Þa sealde se cyning him sweord, þæt he hine mid gyrde; 7 nom his spere on hond 7 help on þæs cyninges stedan 7 to þæm 5 deofulgeldum ferde. Þa ðæt folc hine þa gesæah swa gescyrpedne, þa wendon heo þæt he teola ne wiste, ac þæt he wedde. Sona þæs þe he nealehte to þæm herige, þæt sceat he mid þy spere, þæt hit sticode fæste on þæm herige, ond wæs swīde gefonde þære ongytenesse þæs soðan Godes bigonges. Ond he ðæt he nealehte to þæm herige, þæt he mid eallum þæm æselingum his peode 7 mid micle folce Cristes geleæfan 7 fulwite bæðe þy endlyftan geare his rices. Wæs he gefulwad from Paulini þæm biscope his lareowe in Eoforwicceastre þy halgestan Eastordæge in Sce 20 Petres cirican þæs apostoles, þæt he þær hræde geweorce of treo cirican getimbrode. Siðpan he geecnast wæs, swylce eac his lareowe 7 biscope Paulini biscopese ðæl forgeaf. Ond sone þæs þæt he gefulg wæs, he ongon mid þæs bispoces lare maran cirican 7 hyrran stænnenne timbran 7 wyrca þæs cirican utan, þæt he ær worhte. 25 Ac æþƿon heo seo heannis þæs wealles gefyllde wære 7 geendad, þæt he se cyning mid arleasre cwale ofslegen wæs, 7 þæt ilce geweorc his æfterfylgende Oswalde forlet to geendianne. Of þære tide Paulinus se biscope syx ger ful, þæt is 6ð endan þæs cyninges rices, þæt he mid his fultome in þære mægþe Godes word bodode 7 læarde; 7 men 30 gelyfdon 7 gefulwade wæron, swa monige swa forteode wæron to ecum life. In þæm wæron Osfrīc 7 Eatfrīc Eadwines suna cyninges, þæt begen him wæron cende, þæt he wrecca wæs, of Cwen-
and prayed the king to give him arms and a stallion to ride on and overthrow the idols. For the bishop of their religion was not allowed to bear arms, nor ride except on a mare. Then the king gave him a sword to gird on; and he took his spear in his hand, and springing on the king's stallion proceeded to the idols. Now when the people saw him thus equipped, they supposed that he was not in his right mind, but gone mad. As soon as he approached the sanctuary, he cast his spear, so that it stuck fast in the sanctuary, and exulted in his knowledge of the worship of the true God. Then he bade his companions pull down all that sanctuary and its buildings, and burn them up with fire. The place is still pointed out of that former idol worship, not far east of York beyond the river Derwent, and at this day it is still called Goodmanham, where the bishop, by the inspiration of the true God, pulled down and destroyed the 15 altars previously consecrated by himself.

XI.

Then king Eadwine, with all the princes of his people and a large crowd, received the faith of Christ and baptism in the eleventh year of his reign. He was baptized by his teacher, bishop Paulinus, at York on the most holy day of Easter in the church of the apostle St. Peter, which he there hastily erected of wood. After being catechized, he had also assigned an episcopal residence to his teacher and bishop, Paulinus. As soon as he was baptized, he began under the bishop's direction to erect and complete a larger and loftier church of stone, around the church previously built and enclosing it. But before the walls attained their full height and were finished, the king was slain by a foul death, and left the work for his successor Oswald to complete. For full six years from that time, that is to the end of the king's reign, bishop Paulinus with his support preached and taught God's word in that province; and men believed and were baptized, as many as were predestined to eternal life. Among them were Osfrith and Eatfrith, sons of king Eadwine, who were both born to him when in
Cap. 15. Hæfde Edwine se cyning swa micle wilsunnesse þæs bigonges Cristes geleafan, þæt he eac swylce Eorpbwalde Eastengla cyning Rædwælde sunu to þon gespeon, þæt he forlet þa idenesse deosolf-gilda 7 þæm gerynum onfæng Cristes geleafan mid his mægðe Eastenglum. Wæs Rædwælde his fæder geo geara in Cent gelæræd 30 in þa gerynu Cristes geleafan, ac holinga; forðon þa he eft ham
exile, of Cwenburh, daughter of Ceorl king of Mercia. At a later
time were baptized also his other children, born of queen Æthel-
burg, namely Æthelhun and Æthelfrith his daughters, and another
son named Wuscfrea. The first two died while chrisom-children,
and were buried in the church at York. Yffe, son of Osfrith, was
also baptized, and many princes of the royal race. It is said, that
there was such fervour and desire for Christ’s faith and baptism
among the people of Northumbria, that bishop Paulinus came once
with the king and queen to the royal residence, which was called
Yeverin; and there he remained thirty-six days to catechize and
baptize the people. And every day from early morning till evening
he did nothing but instruct Christ’s people in the word of God,
who flocked there from all villages and places, washing them in
the laver of the remission of sins at the river called the Glen.
This royal residence was abandoned in the time of his successors,
and another was erected instead at the place called Melfeld.
These places are in the province of Bernicia; but also in the pro-
vince of Deira, where the bishop was often with the king, he
baptized the people in the river Swallow, which passes by the
township of Catterick. For as yet, at the beginning of the new-
born church, neither churches nor baptisteries had been erected;
still at Slack, where there was a royal residence, Eadwine ordered
a church to be built, which after a time, along with all the royal
buildings, was burnt down by the heathen, who afterwards slew the
king. Afterwards, instead of it, his successors built a residence in
the district called Leeds.

XII.

King Eadwine was so zealous for the worship of Christ’s faith,
that he also induced Eorpwald, son of Redwald and king of the
East Angles, to give up the vanity of idol worship and receive the
sacraments of Christ’s faith with his people, the East Angles.
Long before, his father Redwald had been instructed in the sacra-
ments of Christ’s faith in Kent, but to no purpose; for on returning
com, wæs biswicen from his wife 7 from sumum unrihtum lære-wum, pæt he forlet þa hluttornesse Cristes geleafan. 7 his þa neorran tide wærøn wyron þam ærran, swa þætte þy þeawæ þe geo þa caldan Samaritane dydon, pæt he wæs gesewen Criste þeowian 7 eac deosfolcgeldum; ond he in þam ilcan herige wigbed 5 hæfde to Cristes onsaegdnese 7 oðer to deosla onsaegdnisse. Se ilca here þær wunade 0& Aldwulfes tide þære ilcan mægðe cyninges; sægde he þæt he hine cneoh ðeawæ. Wæs he se forespre-cena cyning Rædwald æðelre gebyrde, þeah þe he on dæde unæðele ðære: wæs he Tyteles sunu; þæs sæder wæs Wuffa haten, from 10 þæm Eastengla cyningas forðon Wuffingas wærøn nemnde.

Óno hwæt Eorpwald þa se cyning naes æfter micelre tide wæs ofslegen from sumum hæðnum men, Ricberht hatte. Þonon þa seo mægð þæo gear ful in gedwolan wæs līfiende, oðþæt Sigeberht Eorpwaldes broðor to þam rice feng. Se mon wæs þurh eall se 15 cristenesta 7 se gelæredesta; wæs he be þam breþer līfegendum wrecca in Gallia londe; 7 þær wæs mid þam gerynum Cristes geleafan wæl gelæred. Þæs geleafan he wolde his leode dælaimende gedon, sona þæs þe he to rice feng; 7 his þæm godan willan wæl gefultmode Felix se bispoc, se cwom of Burgundena rices dælum, 20 þær he wæs acenned 7 gehalgod. Cwom he ærest hidere ofer sæ to Honorie þæm ærcæbicope; 7 him sægde his willan 7 his lust. Þa sende he hine godeunde lære to læranne in Eastengle. Ond he sona se arfaest bigenga þæs gastlican londes micelne wæstm gemette in þære þeode geleafsumra folca. 7 he calle þa ðeode æfter þæm 25 geryne his noman from longre wenisse 7 ungesælignesse alysde, 7 to Cristes geleafan 7 to soðfæstnesse weorcum 7 to geofum þære ecan gesælignesse geleæde. Onfeng he bispocseal in Dommocceastre; ond mid þy þe he sofontyne winter in bispoclicum gerece fore wæs, 7 þær he in sibbe his lif goedæde.

30

XIII.

Cap. 16. Lærde he Sæs Paulinus se bispoc eac swelce Godes word in Lindesse, seo mægð is seo neahste in suðhealfe Humbre streames;

1. 2. þæt he forlet O. þ he forlet Ca. þ he forlet B. þa forlet he T. After þa in T. stands ærran, but struck through: not in O. Ca. B. 1. 12. óno O.
home he was seduced by his wife and unrighteous teachers, and left the first purity of Christ's faith. And his last time was worse than his first, so that, imitating the usage of the old Samaritans long ago, he was seen to serve Christ as well as idols; and in the same sanctuary he had an altar for Christ's sacrifice and another for sacrifice to devils. This sanctuary remained there till the time of Aldwulf, king of that people; he said that he saw it when a boy. The aforesaid king Redwald was of noble birth, though ignoble in his deeds. He was son of Tytel, whose father was called Wuffa, from whom the kings of the East Angles were accordingly named Wuffingas. Now the king Eorpwald soon after was slain by a heathen, named Ricberht. Then for three years' time this people lived in their errors, till Sigeberht, brother of Eorpwald, succeeded to the throne, a man in all points most Christian and most learned. In his brother's lifetime he had been an exile in Gaul; and there was well instructed in the sacraments of Christ's faith. In this faith he would have his people partake, as soon as he succeeded to the throne; and his good will was well seconded by bishop Felix, who came from the district of Burgundy, where he was born and consecrated. He came here across the sea, first to archbishop Honorius, and told him his will and desire. And he sent him to teach the word of God in East Anglia. And this pious cultivator of the spiritual soil soon found much fruit of faithful people in that nation. And he released all that people from long continued iniquity and infelicity, in accordance with the mystic import of his name, and turned them to the faith of Christ, to the works of truth, and to the grace of eternal felicity. He received an episcopal residence at Dunwich; and after ruling as bishop for seventeen years, he there ended his life in peace.

XIII.

Bishop Paulinus also taught God's word in Lindsey. This province is the nearest on the south side of the river Humber, and

*and* T. *and* B.: not in Ca. 1. 15. *to pam* to be *pam* not in T. Text from O. 1. 29. \( \text{Æwr} (= \text{ibidem}) \) T. C. O. B. \( \text{Æwr} \) Ca.
lageð ut on sé. Ond þa ærest to Drihtnes geleafan gecerde Lind-cylene ceastre gerefan, þæs noma wæs Blæcca, mid his heorode. Swelce he in þære ceastre stænenne cirican geþimbrede æðele geweorces, þære gen to dæge mæg mon geseon þa weallas stondan; ond þær gen æghwylce geare ætæwed bið monig wundor untrumra 5 hælo þara ðæ þa stowe mid geleafan secæð. In þære seolfan cirican Scœ Paulinus se bispoc, þa Iustus se bispoc to Criste leorde, Honorium for hime to bispoc gehalgode, swa we eft heræfter gemyndgiað. Bi þisse mægðæ geleafan, cwæð he Beda, me sægde sum æþyrðæ mæsseþreost 7 abbud of Peortanea þæm ham, se wæs 10 ∑ Þæt haten. Cwæð he, þæt him sægde sum cæld weota, þæt he wære gefulwad æt middum dæg from Paulino þæm bispoc in Eadwinis ondweardnisse þæs cyninges, ond micel menigeo þæs folces in Treontan streame bi Teolftinga ceastre. Sægde se ðæ mon hwylc þæs bispoces heow wære Scœ Paulinus: cwæð þæt he wære long 15 on bodige 7 hwon forðheald; hæfde blæc feax 7 blæcne ondwlitan, medmicle nose þynne, 7 wære æghwæðer ge æþyrðlice ge onderslic on to seonne. Hæfde he him to fulctume in þære godecundan þegnumne Iacobum diacon; wæs se mon wel gelæred 7 æðele ge in Criste ge in his cirican: se leofað usse tide.
runs out into the sea. And there first he converted to the faith of the Lord the reeve of Lincoln, whose name was Blæcca, and all his household. Also in that town he built a stone church of noble workmanship, of which the walls may be still seen standing; and there too every year are displayed many miracles in the healing of the sick, who visit that place in faith. In the same church bishop Paulinus, after bishop Justus departed to Christ, consecrated Honorius bishop in his room, as we will relate afterwards. With regard to the faith of this people, says Beda, a venerable priest, abbot at the house of Parteney, called Deda, spoke to me. He said, an old councillor had told him, that he was baptized at midday by bishop Paulinus in presence of king Eadwine, along with a great crowd of people, at the river Trent by the town of Torksey. The same man described the appearance of the bishop Paulinus: he said that he was long in body and slightly bent; he had black hair, a pale face and a small thin nose, and was both venerable and awful in aspect. He had, to assist him in the divine ministry, the deacon James, a man well instructed and noble both in Christ and in his church: he is alive in our day.

XIV.

It is said, that in those times there was such peace in Britain, everywhere around where Eadwine had authority, though a woman should go alone with her new-born child, she might proceed without injury from sea to sea all over this island. Also the king established for the use of his people a custom, that in many places where clear springs ran, and on frequented roads, where there was most traffic, he directed for the refreshment of travellers that poles should be set up and brazen cups hung upon them: and yet no one, out of fear and love for him, durst or would touch them, except for his necessary use. He maintained such a noble style in his realm, that not only were standards borne before him in battle, but also in time of peace, wherever he rode, among his hamlets or
sibbe tiide, þær he rad betweoh his hamum ðēpe be tunum mid his þegnum, ge þeah he code, þæt him mon symle þæt tacn beforan bær.

Cap. 17.

In þære tide hæfde Honorius biscoþad þæs apostolican sēcles, se wæs Bonefatius æftersylgend. ða he ċa se papa þæt geahsode, 5 þætte Norðanhythbro þeod mid Eadwine heora cyninge to Cristes geleafan 7 to his ondetnesse gecerred wæs þurh Paulinus godecunde lare, þæ sende he þam ilcan biscoþe hider pallium; 7 eac swylcæ Eadwine þæm cyninge sende trymendlic gewrit, 7 mid fæderlice lufan hine wæs onbærnende, þæt heo in þæm geleafan sōðfæstnisse, 10 þone þe heo onfengon, symle fæstlice astoden 7 aa wunodon.

XV.

Cap. 18.

Betweoh þæs þing þa wæs Íustus se ærcebiscop gelædæd to þæm heofonlecan rice þy scæðan dæge iduum Novembrium. Ond Honorius wæs haten se þæ for hine to biscoþe gecoren wæs. Se cwom to Scæ Paulini, þæt he hine halgian seolde; 7 he him 15 toegynes ferde to Lindcylene, 7 in þære cirican, þæ we ær beforan sægdon, he hine þær to biscoþe gehalgode. Se wæs frem Agustine fifta ærcebiscop Contwara burge. þæm biscoþe eac swylce se ỉela papa Honorius sende pallium 7 gewrit, in þæm he gesette 7 ǣrædde, þætte swa oft swa Cantwareburge biscoþ ðēpe 20 Eoforwicceastre of þissum life geleorde, þætte se þæ lifigende wære þæs hades, hæfde meahæ þærne biscoþ his stowe to halgianne, þær se ðefer forðærode, ðy læs nead wære, þæt heo simle swencte wæron ofer swa longne wæg sæs 7 londes to Rome for halgunge ærce-biscopes.

XVI.

Ono hwæt he Eadwine, æftor þon þe he seofonteone winter Ongolþeode 7 Bretta in cynedome wuldorlice fore wæs, of þæm wintrum he syx winter Cristes rice compade,—þa wonn wið hine Ceadwealla Bretta cyning; 7 him Penda on fultome wæs, se fro-

\[1.1. \text{be tunum (first u on erasure) O. B. tunum (only) Ca. be twoenum T.} \\
1.6. -bro T. -bra O. Ca. B. 1.10. -nende O. Ca. B. -nendne T. 1.17. from angustine (s above line and crossed) T. see austine O. see angustine\]
townships with his retinue, and even if he was on foot, the ensign was always borne before him.

At that time Honorius was bishop of the apostolic see, being successor to Boniface. Now when this pope learnt, that the people of Northumbria along with king Eadwine had been converted to the faith and confession of Christ by Paulinus' preaching, he sent here a pallium to this bishop; and he also sent a letter of exhortation to king Eadwine, and with fatherly affection encouraged him, that they might ever stand fast and always abide in belief of the truth, which they had received.

XV.

Meantime archbishop Justus had been taken to the kingdom of heaven on the tenth of November. Honorius was the name of the bishop chosen in his room. He came to St. Paulinus to be consecrated; who proceeded to Lincoln to meet him and consecrated him as bishop, in the church we have mentioned before. He was fifth archbishop of Canterbury from St. Augustine. To this bishop also pope Honorius sent a pallium and a letter, in which he arranged and directed, that as often as the bishop of Canterbury or York departed this life, the survivor of this rank should have power to consecrate another bishop, in room of the one who had departed, that there might be no need for perpetually toiling over so long a journey by sea and land to Rome, for consecration as archbishop.

XVI.

Now after Eadwine had reigned gloriously over English and Britons for seventeen years—during six of which he had been champion of Christ's kingdom—Ceadwealla king of the Britons went to war with him, and was supported by Penda, the most
mesta esne of Mercna cyning cynne. Ond he Penda of þære tide þære ilcan þeode Mercna rice tu 7 twentig wintra missenlice hlete fore wæs. Þa wæs gefeohd heigo gefeohht 7 micel on Hæðfelda, 7 þær mon Eadwine ðone cyning sloh þy feorðan dæge iduum Octobrium; hæðe he þa seoson 7 feowertig wintra: 7 eall his 5 weorod oðþe ofslṣen wæs oðþe geflýmed. Swylce eac in þæm ilcan gefeohhte Osfrið his sumu oðþer ær him gefeol, se hwætesca fyrdesne. Oðþer his sumu for neade Eadfrid to Pendas þæm cyninge gebeaġ; ond se æfter fæce from him, þa Oswald cyning wæs, unrihtlice ofslœn wæs oþer nacæ 7 treowœ.

Þære tide wæs þæt mæste wæl geworden in Norðanhybrena þeode 7 cirican. Ne wæs þæt holinga; forðon oðþer þara heretogena wæs hæðen, þæ þæt gefeohht fremede, oðþer wæs þæm hæðnum reðra 7 grimra, forðon þe he elreordig wæs. Wæs he Penda mid ealle Mercna þeode deofoilgedum geseald, 7 þæs Cristenan noman wæs 15 unwis. Ceadwealla, þeah þe he ða ondetnesse hæðe þæs Cristenan noman, hwædre he wæs in his mode 7 on his þeawum to þon elreordig, þæt he ne furþum wiiflice hade oðþe þære unsceðþændan eldo cilda árede, ac he ealle mid wildeorlicre reðnesse þurh tintrego deaðe geseald. Ond he longre tide ealle heora mægþe mid gewede 20 wæs geondforende, ond on his mode þohle 7 þreodeþæde, þæt wolde eall Ongolcyn of Breotone gemserum andread. Ond þeah þe he Cristen beon sceolde, ne wolde he ænge aare weotan on þære Cristen æfestnisse, seo mid him up cumen wæs: swa gen to dæge Bretta þeaw is, þæt heo Ongolcynnes geleafan 7 æfestnisse for noht 25 habbað, ne him in ængum þingum ma gemænsumigan willað þon-hæðnum monnum.

Da wæs broht Eadwinis heafod þæs cyninges to Eoforwiicceastre, 7 wæs eft æfter þon gedon in See Petres cirican þæs apostolis, þa he timbran ongon; ac Oswald his æfterfylgend heo geendade, swa 30 we ær beforan sægdon. Wæs hit geseted in See Gregories portice þæs papæ, from þæs discipuli he lifes word 7 Cristes geleafan onfeng.

Da æfter Eadwinis slege 7 for þisses tida frecelnisse See Paulinus

valiant soldier of the Mercian royal race. And this Penda at that time, had ruled over the kingdom of the Mercians for twenty-two years with varying fortune. The battle took place at Hatfield and was violent and bloody; in it fell king Eadwine on the twelfth of October; he was then forty-seven years old: and all his people were slain or put to flight. Also in this fight one of his sons, Osfrith, was killed before him, who was a brave warrior. His other son, Eadfrith of necessity submitted to king Penda; and he after a time, when Oswald was king, was unrighteously slain by him in defiance of oath and good faith. At that time very great carnage was wrought in the nation and church of Northumbria. Nor was that without reason; because one of those leaders, who carried on the war, was a heathen and the other more furious and cruel than the heathen, being a barbarian. Penda and all the Mercians were given up to idolatry and ignorant of the name of Christian. Though Ceadwealla professed to bear the name of Christian, yet in his mind and habits he was such a barbarian, that he respected not even the female sex nor the innocent years of children, but put all to death by torture with the savagery of a wild beast. And for a long time he traversed all that district like a madman, and in his heart thought and devised to drive all the English race beyond the borders of Britain. And though he should have been a christian, he would not show any regard for christian piety, which had sprung up among them. Such is still to this day the custom of the Britons, that they utterly disregard the faith and piety of the English, and will not communicate with them in any way more than with the heathen. Then the head of king Eadwine was brought to York, and later on was desposited in the church of the apostle Peter, which he began to build; but as we said before, it was completed by his successor Oswald. It was deposited in the chapel of pope St. Gregory, from whose disciples he had received the word of life and faith of Christ. Then after the slaughter of Eadwine, owing to the danger of the
se bispoc genom mid hine Æðelbyrga þæ cwene, þa he ær brohte, 7 in scipgesære hlweæf eft to Cent. Wæs Bassa heora latteow Eadwines cyninges þæg n se fromesta. Ond hi from Honorie þæm ærcæbiscope 7 Ædbaldæ þæm cyninge swiðe arweordlice onfongne waron. Hæfdon heo swylce mid him Eanflæde Eadwines dohtor 7 Wuse-5 frean his sunu, swylce eac Yffe heis suna sunu Osfrîcs, ða eft seæ modor æfter þon onsende for Ædbaldæs æge 7 Oswaldæs þæa cyninga in Gallia rice to fedanne Ðægbræhte þæm cyninge, se wæs hire freond. 7 heo begun þær in cildhade forðferdon, 7 æfter gerisenre ære heora ægelhisse 7 unscaegedhisse in ciriæcan bebyrgde 10 wæron. Brohte heo seo owen mid heo monig deorwyrðe fatu Eadwines þæs cyninges, mid þæm wæs sum micel gylden Cristæs mæl 7 gylden cáelc gehalgad to wigbedes þenunge, þa nu gen ðe þis mæg on sceawigan gehealden in Contwara ciriæcan.

In þa tid seo ciriæce æt Hrofæscætre wæs hoerdælas, forðon 15 Romanus þære castre bispoc wæs from Iusto þæm ærcæbiscope to ærendwrecan onsended to Honorie þæm papan, 7 weardæ bisenced in þæs ydum. Ond þurh þæt se foresprecena bispoc Sæs Paulinus þære ciriæcan scire onfeng mid þæs ærcæbiscopes hæse 7 Ædboldæs þæs cyninges; 7 he ða hæfde, oðþæt he on his tide þæt 20 heofonlice rice gestah mid wæstme his þæs wundurlæcan gewinnes. On þære ciriæcan he forlet his pallium þæt he onfeng fram þam Romaniscæ papan, 7 his licæma on sibbe restæð. Forlet he on his ciriæcan æt Eoforwicæcastre Iacobum þone diacon; wæs þæt ciriælic wer 7 halig on eallum þingum: 7 he syðdan langre 25 tide on þære ciriæcan wæs wumiæde, 7 micle hloþe þurh his lære 7 fullwihæ þæm ealdan feonde afyrde. 7 þone tun, þe he oftust on-eardode, wel neah Cetrehtæn geæn to dæge mon his naman cneodeð. 7 forþon þe he wæs on ciriæsonge se gelæredæsta, 7 æfter fæce sibbe tide comon eft on Norðanhymsra mægðæ 7 þæt rim wæox þra 30 leafsumra, þæt he wæs monigra magister ciriælices sanges æfter

times, bishop Paulinus took with him queen Æthelburh, whom he had previously brought there, and returned on board ship to Kent. Their guide was Bassa, a very brave follower of king Eadwine. And they were received with great honour by archbishop Honorius and king Eadbald. They had also with them Eanflaed—daughter of Eadwine and his son Wuscfrea, as well as Ye his son Osfrith's son. These their mother afterwards, for fear of the kings Eadbald and Oswald, sent to Gaul to be brought up by king Dagobert, who was her friend. There they both died in childhood, and were buried in church with the honour due to their birth and innocence. The queen brought with her much valuable plate belonging to king Eadwine, among which was a large golden crucifix and a golden chalice, consecrated for altar service, which may be still seen preserved in the church of Kent. At that time the church of Rochester had no pastor, because Romanus bishop of that town had been sent as envoy to pope Honorius by archbishop Justus, and had been drowned in the waves of the sea. For this reason the aforesaid bishop Paulinus received charge of the church, by invitation from the archbishop and king Eadbald; and he held it, till in his time he ascended to the kingdom of heaven with the reward of his glorious toil. In that church he left the pallium received from the Roman pontiff, and his body rests in peace. He left behind also in his church at York James the deacon, an ecclesiastic of great holiness: and he remained long after in that church, and by his teaching and by baptism he took much spoil from the old enemy. And the township in which he mostly lived, close to Ketterick, is still called by his name. And as he was most skilful in church music, and soon after times of peace returned to the people of Northumbria and the number of the faithful grew, he taught many church music after the usage of Rome
Romane peawe 7 Cantwara. 7 he pa eald 7 dagana full, past is godra deda, æfter pon pe halige writu spreað, past he sædera weg wæs fylgende.

Her endap seo æstre bōc.

TERTIUS INCIPIT ECCLESIASTICAE HYSTORIAE GENTIS ANGLORUM LIBER.

I.

Da Eadwine pa wæs on þam gefeohhte ofslegen, pa feng to Dera 5 rice his fæderan sunu Ælfrices, Osric wæs haten, forþon of þære mægþe he Eadwine hæfde cnorissee 7 rices fruman. Se Æric þurh Scæ Paulines lere þæs bisceopes mid þam gerynum Cristes geleafan gelærd wæs. Þonne feng to Beornica rice Æþelfrīpes sunu, Eanfric wæs haten, forþon he wæs þære mægþe cyning-10 cynnnes. Í þas twa mægþa Norþanhymbra Scæd iu geara todæled wæs. 7 eallre þære tide pe Eadwine cyning wæs, past he se Eanfric Æþelfrīpes sunu mid micelre æþelinge gegeðe ge mid Scottum ge mid Pehtum wracodon; 7 þær þurh Scotta lare Cristes geleafan onfengon, 7 gefullade wærón. 7 sona þæs pe Eadwine ofslegen 15 wæs hiora feond, pa hwurfan hi ham to hiora eðle; 7 se Eanfric feng to Beornica rice. Óno hwæt æþhwæþer þara cyninga, syðþan hi rice hæfðon, forletan þa geryno þæs heofonlican rices mid þam hi gehalgede wærón, 7 eft hwurfan to þam ealdan unsyfernessum deofolgylda. 7 hi sylfe þurh past forluran.

7 sona butan yldingæ æþhwæþerne Cadwalla Bretta cyning mid arleasre hond, ac hwæþre mid rihte wrace heo kwealde. Ond ærest þy neahstan sumera in municep þære byrig on ungearone þone Osric mid his fyrd becowm, 7 hine mid ealle his weorode

1. 2. halige Ca. -igge O. pa halegan B. fædera (w on erasure of two) O. fæ- Ca. B. 1. 4. These words and the Latin heading of Bk. iii. from C. Nothing in O. to mark division except that next line begins with capital D. Nothing in B. ; but there is a break of 1½ lines and blank for capital (D). -eg. -ria Ca. The chapter number (10) precedes the Latin. 1. 5. fen, O. feng Ca. B. 1. 6. osric B. Æfricd O. osfríd Ca. C. 1. 7. cnorissee (i by erasure
and Kent. And then old and full of days, that is of good deeds, as holy writ says, he went the way of his fathers.

Here ends the second book.

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE BEGINS.

I.

WHEN Eadwine was slain in the battle, the son of his uncle Ælfric, Osric by name, succeeded to the throne of Deira, for Eadwine was by origin from that province and there first reigned. Osric had been instructed in the mysteries of Christ’s faith by the teaching of the bishop Paulinus. Then Æthelfrith’s son, by name Eanfrith, succeeded to the throne of Bernicia, for he belonged to the royal family in that people. The nation of Northumbria was of old divided into these two tribes. And as long as Eadwine was king, Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, along with a large number of young nobles, remained in exile among the Scots and Picts; and there they received Christ’s faith through the teaching of the Scots and were baptized. And as soon as their enemy Eadwine was slain, they returned home to their native land; and Eanfrith succeeded to the throne of Bernicia. Now both of these kings, after their accession, gave up the sacraments of the kingdom of heaven by which they were sanctified, and fell back into the old foulness of idolatry. And by this they ruined themselves. At once without delay Cadwalla king of the Britons slew both with impious hand, but yet with just vengeance. And first, next summer, he came with his army on Osric by surprise at the town ‘Municep,’ and de-

adilgade. Æfter þon he eall ger onwalg Norðanymbra mægde ahite, nales swa swa sigefæst cyning, ac swa swa leodhata, þæt he grimsigende forleas ond heo on gelicenses þæs træican wæles wundade. Þa æt nyhstan cwom Eanfrīð buton gepealhte, his weotena twelfa sum, to him, þæt he wolde sibbe 7 friðes wilnian. 5 Þone he ða gelice hlete geniðrade 7 ofslag. Þís uungesælige gear 7 þæt godleæce gen to dæge laðe wunaw, ge fore fleame cyninga from Cristes geleasan—7 eft to deofolgyldum cerdon,—ge for wedeheortnisse þæs leodhatan Bretta cyninges. Forðon þæt ða eallum gemænelice licide, ðe ðara cyninga tiide teledon, þæt 10 heo onweg adythe þa gemynd þara treowleasra cyninga; ond þæt ilce ger to þæs æfterfylgandan cyninges rice teledon, þæt is, Gode þæs leofan weres Oswaldes. Þa wæs æfter Eanfrīðes sleige his broðor, þæt he cwom Oswald mid medmicle weorode ac mid Cristes geleasan getrymede, þæt he þone mánfullan Bretta cyning 15 mid his ummetum weorode, þæm he gealp, þæt him nowiht wiðstandan mealhte, ofslag 7 aewalde in þære stowe, þe Ongle nêman Denises burna.

Cap. 2.

Is seo stow gen to dæge æteawed 7 is in micelre arwyrdnesse hæfd, þær se Oswald to þisum geseolhte cwom, 7 þær þæt halige tæcn 20 Cristes rode æræde 7 his cneor begde 7 God wæs biddende, þæt he in swa micelre nedþearfnisse his bigengum mid hœfonlice fultone gehulpe. Is þæt sægd, þæt he þæt Cristæs mæl hraðe weoreo geworhte 7 sæðe adulfe, in þæm hit stondan scoldæ. Ond he se cyning seolf wæs wallende in his geleasæn; 7 þæt Cristes mæl 25 genom 7 in þone sæð sette 7 mid his hondum læm hit heold 7 hæfde, oc þæt his þegnas mid moldan hit bestryfde hæfdon 7 gefæstnadan. Ond þa hit æræed wæs, þæt he his stefne up ahof 7 cleopode to him eallum þæm weorode 7 cweð: Uton eallæ began usser cneor 7 gemænelice biddan þone ælmiltigan God þone 30 lîfendan 7 þone sðân, þæt he us eac from þæm oferhygdigan feonde 7 þæm rœkan mid his milsunge gescylde: forðon he wat þæt we rihtlice wunaw for hælo usse þeode. þa-dydon heo ealle swa he heht. 7 sona on morne, swa hit dagian ongan, þæt he for

stroyed him and his whole force. After that for a whole year he held the province of Northumbria, not as a victorious king, but as a tyrant, furiously ruining and rending it as it were with tragic carnage. Then at last Eanfrith, with twelve nobles, rashly came to him, purposing to sue for peace and alliance. Him the tyrant condemned to a like fate and slew. This inauspicious and miserable year is still odious, both for the apostasy of the kings from Christ's faith—and they returned to their idols—and for the fury of the tyrannical king of the Britons. Therefore all in common have determined, in computing the times of those kings, to strike out the record of these faithless monarchs, and reckon this year in the reign of their successor Oswald, the well beloved of God. Now after the death of his brother Eanfrith, Oswald marched with a small army but strengthened with the faith of Christ, and at the place, which in English is called Dilston, he defeated and slew the sinful king of the Britons, along with a monstrous host which he boasted was invincible.

The place is still shown at this day and is much venerated, where Oswald marched to the battle, and raised the holy ensign of Christ's cross and bowed his knees, and prayed God to assist with heavenly aid his worshippers in such dire necessity. It is said that the crucifix was of hasty workmanship, and that he dug a pit in which it should stand. The king himself was fervent in faith, and taking the crucifix set it in the pit, and with his two hands held and supported it, till his followers had piled up clay about it and made it fast. And when it was set up, he lifted up his voice and called to all that host and said: 'Come let us all bow our knees and together pray to the Almighty, living, and true God, to defend us from this proud and savage foe, with his mercy: for he knows that we justly fight for the safety of our people.' Then they all did as he bade. And in the morning, as soon as it began to dawn, he
on þone here þe him togegnæ gesomnad wæs, 7 æf ðæter gecærnunge
his geleafan þæt heo heora feond oferswiðdon 7 sige altun. In
þære gebedstowe æfter þon monig mægen 7 hælo tacen gefremed
wæron to tacnunge 7 to gemynunde þæs cyninges geleafan. Ond
monige gen to ðæge of þæm treo þæs halgan Cristes mæles sponas
7 scæfþon neomæ; 7 þa in wæter sendaþ, 7 þæt wæter on adlige
men ðæðe on neat stregdað ðeðpe drincan syllæþ; 7 heo sono hælo
onfod. Is seo stow on Englisc genenmed Heofenfeld. Wæs geo
geara swa nemned fore tacnunge ðæra toweardan wundra, forðon
þe þære þæt heofonlice sigebeacen æræred beon scolde, 7 þære heo-
fonlic sige þam cinge seald wæs, 7 þære gen to ðæge heofonlic
wundor mærosode beod.

Nis forðon ungerisne, þæt we aan mægen 7 aan wundor of
monegum aseegan, þe æt þissum halgan Cristes mæle geworden
wæs. Wæs sum Godes þeow of þæm broðrum þære cirican æt 15
Agostaldes ea, þæs noma wæs Bothelm. Þa eode he sume
neahhte on ðése unwarlice, þa gefeoll he semninga on his earm ufan,
7 þone swiðe geðræste 7 gebræc, 7 mid þa hefignesse þæs gebro-
cenan earmes swiðe geswenced wæs, swa þæt he for þy sære ne
meahhte furðon his hond to muðe gedon. Þa gehyrde he sumne 20
þara broðra sprecan, þæt he wolde feran to þæm halgan Cristes
mæle, þa bæd he hine þæt he him þæs arwyrdan treos hwylcne-
hwego dæl brohte, þonne he eft ham come; cwæð þæt he gelyfde,
þæt he þurh þæt meahhte hælo onfond þurh Drihtnes gife. Þa eode
se broðor, swa swa he hine bæd, 7 cwom eft on æfenne ham. Þa 25
broðor æt beode sæton. Þa brohte him sumne dæl ealdes meoses,
þe on þam halgan treo awexen wæs. Þa sæt he æt beode, nædle
þa æt honda hwær þæt brohte lac gehaldan scolde; sende þa in
his bosm. Þa he to reste eode, þa forget he þæt he in ðære
stowe þæt geheolde; let forð in his bosme áwunian. Þa wæs æt
middre neahhte, þa he wæccende wæs, þa ne wiste he hwæt he
gefelde ealde æt his sidan licgan; cunnode þa mid his hond 7

açunian Ca. .awunian (one erased) O. ð wunedon (omits let) B. 1. 32. cun-
node þa O. Ca. B. cunnoda T.
advanced against the enemy which was arrayed against him, and as his faith deserved, they defeated their enemies and won the victory. Afterwards at this place of prayer many marvels and miracles of healing were performed in token and memory of the king's faith. And at the present day still many take chips and shavings from the wood of this holy crucifix, and put them in water, and sprinkle the water on sick men or cattle, or give it to drink; and they are at once cured. The place is called in English 'Heavenfield.' It was of old so named, foreshadowing the future wonders, because there the heavenly trophy should be reared, and there victory from heaven was given to the king, and still at the present day heavenly marvels are celebrated there. It is not therefore unsuitable to relate one miracle and one marvel out of many, which took place at this holy crucifix. There was a servant of God among the brethren of the church at Hexham, whose name was Bothelm. He was walking one night on the ice cautiously and suddenly fell upon his arm, violently bruising and fracturing it, and was so tortured with the pain in the broken arm, that he could not on account of the pain even raise his hand to his mouth. When he heard one of the brethren say, that he was going to that holy crucifix, he begged him to bring a little bit of that precious tree, when he returned home; he said he believed, he might by God's grace be cured through its efficacy. Then the brother went, as he asked, and came home in the evening. The brethren were sitting at table. Then he brought him a bit of old moss, grown on the holy timber. As he sat at table, he had nothing at hand to keep the proffered gift in; so he slipped it into his bosom. When he went to bed, he forgot to put it away elsewhere, and let it remain in his bosom. Rousing up at midnight he felt, he knew not what, lying cold at his side, and tried with his hand to find what it was. Then he perceived that his arm and his hand
solte, hwæt þæt wære. Þa gemette he his earm 7 his hond swa hale 7 swa gesunde, swa him næfre bryce ne daro gedon wære.

II.

Cap. 3.

Ono ða se ilca cyninge Oswald sona, þæs þe he rice onfeng, lufade 7 wilnade, þætte eall seo þeod, þe he fore wæs, mid þære gife þæs cristnangælan gelærd wære, þæs geleasan ondcyðnesse he swiðust 5 onfeng in sigegefeohtum ellreordra cynna. Þa sende he to Scotta aldormonnum ærendwræcan, betweoð þæ se he longre tide wræcca wæs, 7 from þæm he fulwihtes geryno onfeng mid his þegnum, þe him mid wæron: bæd he þæt heo him bispoc onsende, þæs lære 7 þegnunge Óngolþeode, þe rehte, þæs Drihtenlecan geleasan gifæ 10 leornade 7 þæm geryne onfenge fulwihtes bæðes. 7 heo him lustlice tigþodon 7 him bispoc sendon; Aidan wæs haten micelre monþwæresse 7 arfæstnisse 7 gemetfæstnisse monn; 7 he hæfde Godes ellenwodnisse 7 his lufan micle.

Þa he ða se bispoc to þæm cyninge cwom, þa sealde he him stowe 15 7 bispocseðl in Lindesfarena ea, þær he seolfa bæd 7 wilnade. Ond he se cyning his monungum eaðmodlice 7 lustlice in eallum þingum hyrsum wæs; 7 he Cristes cirican in his rice geornlice tiembrede 7 rærde. 7 oft faegre wæfersyne gelomp, * þa se bispoc codcunde lære lærde se ðæ Englisc fullice ne cuðe, þæt he se cyning seolfa, se ðæ 20 Scyttisc fullice geleornad hæfde, his aldormonnum 7 his þegnum þære heofonlecan lære wæs wallstod geworden. Of þære tide monige cwoman dæghwamlice of Scotta lande on Bretone; 7 on þam mægþum Angelþeode, þe Óswald ofer cyning wæs, mid micelre willsumnesse Cristes geleasan bodedon 7 lærdon. 7 þa þe säcerd- 25 hades wæron, him fulwihtes þenedon. Þa wæron eac cyriecean tiembrede on monegum stowum, 7 þider geþeonde coman Angelcynnnes fæl Godes word to gehyranne, þe hi bodedon 7 lærdon. 7 se cyning him gef 7 sealde æhte 7 land mynster to timbranne; 7 Scottas lærdon geonge 7 ealde on reögollicne þéodscipe, forþon þe 30 þæt munecas wæron, þa þe hider coman to læranne. Wæs eac munuc

were as whole and sound, as if they had never suffered fracture or injury.

II.

Now as soon as king Oswald succeeded to the throne, it was his desire and will, that all the people he ruled over should be instructed in the grace of the christian faith, of which faith he most effectively received evidence in his victories over barbarous races. So he sent envoys to the chief men of Scotland, among whom he had long been an exile, and from whom he had received the sacrament of baptism, along with his followers: he begged them to send him a bishop, by whose teaching and ministry the English people, which he ruled, might learn the grace of God's faith and receive the sacrament of baptism. And they gladly assented and sent him a bishop named Aidan, a man of much gentleness, piety and moderation; and he had the zeal of God and love for him in a high degree. Now when the bishop came to the king, he assigned him a place and an episcopal residence in Lindisfarne, in accordance with his own prayer and desire. And the king humbly and cheerfully followed his admonitions in all points, and zealously set up and established Christ's church in his realm. And oft there was the fair spectacle, when the bishop was teaching the word of God, that as he was not quite familiar with English, the king himself, being fully acquainted with the Scots' tongue, acted as interpreter of the heavenly doctrine to his chief men and followers. At that time many came daily from the land of the Scots into Britain; and with great fervour preached and taught Christ's faith in the tribes of English under Oswald's rule. And those who belonged to the priesthood, administered baptism to them. And churches were also built in many places, and the people of English race flocked there eagerly to hear the word of God, which they preached and taught. And the king gave and bestowed on them possessions and land for the erection of a monastery; and Scots instructed young and old with monastic discipline. For those who had come to

daghwamlic. 26* begins heo purch call. Text from O. 1. 25. þe (o out of œ) O. þe Ca. þe B.
se ylca bysceop Aidan; wæs he sended of þam ealande 7 of þam mynstre þe Hí is nemned. Þæt mynster on eallum Norðscottum 7 eallum Peohtas mynstrum mycelre tide ealdordom 7 heanesse onfeng; ac hwæpere hit Peohtas sealdan 7 geafon Scotta munucum, forþon þe hi ær þurh heora lare Cristes geleafan onfengon.

III.

Ono fram þyssum ealande 7 fram þyssa munuca framscype tó lærenne Cristes geleafan Angellpeode wæs sended Aidan se bisceop. 7 he þa se bisceop, betwih ðæþre lære mannum to lyfgeanne, þæ fægerestan bysene his gingrum forlet, þæt he wæs micelre forhæfdenesse 7 forwyrnednesse lifes. 7 þæt swiðust his lære gefultum made, þæt he oðre wisan ne lyfde nemne swa he lærde. Forþon he nowiht sohte ne ne lufade ða ðe þysses middangeardes wæron; ac eall þa woruldgod þa þe him fram cyningum 7 fram welignum mannum þysses worulde gefyfene wæron, sona he þa *giseonde þærnum rehte 7 sealde, þa þe him togenes coman. 15 Ferde he geond eall ge þurh mynsterstowe ge þurh folcstowe, ne hé on horses hriecge cuman wolde, nemne hwile mare nyd abëdde, ac he hit eall his fotum geode. 7 swa hwær swa he com, 7 swa hwilce swa he geseah, swa rice swa heane, ðonne cyrde he to þam; gif bi ungeleafsume wæron, þonne lapode he hi þæt hi onfengan þam 20 geryne Cristes geleafan; oððe gif hi geleafsume wæron, þæt he þa strangede 7 trymde þæt hi fæstlice on hiora geleafan ðwunadæn, 7 to ælnessum 7 to godra dæda fylignessum hi aewhte ge mid wordum ge mid dædam.

7 swa swiðe his lif tosced fram ussa tida aswundenesse, þætte 25 eall, þa þe mid hine eodan, ge bescorene ge læwede, on swa

1. 2. hii B. his O. Ca. After Norðscottum O has 7 eallum Norðscottum 7; the words e. n. 7 are struck through. 1. 4. peohtas O. peohtas Ca. B. 1. 6. ono (no on erasure, the o out of d) O. and Ca. .a (blank left for ornamented D) B. 1. 7. se . (two erased) O. se Ca. B. 1. 10. forwyrnednesse O. -wyrnednesse B. -wyrdnesse Ca. 1. 15. gise B. giseonde C. gysende O. Not in Ca. s. de (one erasure) O. sealde Ca. B. 1. 17. nyd abëdde (y on erasure of e ?) O. nyd and abëdde Ca. neodware B. abëdde not in C. 1. 18. swa hwilce (7 above. e of hwilce on erasure) O. 7 swa hwylce Ca. 7 swa hwylce
teach, were monks, as was the bishop Aidan himself. He was sent from the island and monastery which is called Iona. For a long time this monastery was the chief seat and ruling authority among all the North Scots and monasteries of the Picts. However the Picts assigned and made over this place to the monks of the Scots, because they formerly received Christ's faith through their teaching.

III.

It was from this island and this brotherhood of monks that bishop Aidan was sent to preach Christ's faith to the English people. And among other instruction for men to live by, the bishop left to his disciples the fairest example, in that he was of great abstinence and continence of life. And this chiefly supported his teaching, that he lived just as he taught. For he did not seek or desire the things of this world; but all the worldly goods given him by kings and rich men in the world, he at once gladly distributed and made over to the poor who met him. He travelled everywhere through cities and country districts, and never would mount on horseback, except there were special need, but went about everywhere on foot. And wherever he came and whomsoever he saw, rich or lowly, he turned to them; if they were unbelievers, then he invited them to receive the mysteries of Christ's faith; and if they were believers, he confirmed them, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; and by word and deed he stirred them up to almsgiving and the performance of good deeds. And his life differed from the sluggishness of our time, that all who went with him, whether tonsured or lay, wherever they came, must either

B. 1. 19. heane (erasure of one) O. heane Ca. heanne B. 1. 22. ἤ ἤ (i by rough erasure out of e) O. ἤ ἤ Ca. B. ἀῸ νὰνδὸν O. awunedon Ca. awunedon B. 1. 23. fylgnessū hi awghte (erasure of one after w. erasure of a? above e, tick below) O. fylgnessū he hi awawhtē Ca. fylgnessū he hi awhē B. he not in C. 1. 25. tosc.e.d (c out of α; before d erasure of g) O. toscyde Ca. tosced B. ussa (ss on erasure, tick of r seen on a). ussa Ca. ura B. as wndenesse O. aswundennyssē Ca. -dennesse B. 1. 26. lâ.wede (erasure of one) O. lâwede Ca. B.
hwilere stowe swa hi cőman, þæt hi sceoldan ŏðæ sealmas
leornian ŏðæ ŏfre halige gewrīto ŏðæ pridd on halgum
gedēdum standan. þis wæs his dæghwamlice weorc 7 eallra
para, þe mid hine wæron. 7 gif þæt wæs, þæt hwæfere seldon
gelomp, þæt he to cyninges simble gelæpad wære, eode he in mid 5
ane ŏðæ mid twam his preosta, 7 þæs ŏfe hi hwon gereorde wæron,
aras he hræfæ, 7 ut eode to his gebede ŏðæ to leornianne mid his
gesarum. Mid þyres halgan manners bysenum wæron getrymede on
þa tid gehwilce æfeste ge væpnedmen ge wîmmen, þæt hi him
to gewunan genaman, þæt heo þurh eall ger buton fiftig nealta ofer 10
Eastron, þæt heo þy seorðan wicdæge 7 þy syxtan fæston to nones.
Ond he þes biscop ricum monnum no for are ne for ege næfre
forswigian nolde, gif heo on hwon agylton, ac he mid heardre
þrea hæ onspræc 7 heo gebette. Ond nænigum ricum men æfere
ænig feoh sellan wolde, nemne mete 7 swæsendo þæm þe hine 15
sohton; ac he ma ŏca gife 7 þa feoh þe him rice men selldon,
ŏðpe þearfum to âre gedælede ŏðpe to alysnesse gesealde þara
monna, þe unrihtlice bebohte wæron. Ond he monige þara, þe he
mid wæorþe alysde, him to discipuluæ genom, 7 þa æfter fæce to
sacerhade mid his geornnisse getyde 7 gelærde.

Seegað men, þa Oswald se cyning of Scotta ealonde biscopes bede,
se þe him meahtæ 7 his þeode Cristes geleafan 7 fulwihte þegnian
7 hældan, þa ïæs him sended ærest oðer biscop reðes modes monn.
Mid Þy he ŏca sum fæc Ongolþeode bodade 7 lærde, 7 he nowiht
fromade in his lare, ne hine þæt folc lustlice geheran wolde, þa 25
hwearf he eft in his ðæl on Scottas 7 in gemote heora weotena
sægde, þæt he nowiht fromian meahtæ in his lare þære þeode þe he
sended wæs; forðon þa men wæron unatemedlice 7 heardes modes
7 elreordes. Ond heo þa ðæfdon, þæs þe men sægdon, in þæm
gemote micle smæange 7 geþehte, hwæt him to donne wære. 30
Ond cwædon, þæt him leofre were 7 heo wilnadon, þæt heo þære
þeode hælo beon meahtæ, þe heo bedene wæron; ond swiðe

1. 2. halig. 0. halige Ca. B. 1. 3. his (is on erasure) O. his Ca.: not
in B. 1. 4. þa, þe O. þara þe Ca. þara þe þe B. þara not in C. seldon
(one erased) O. seldon Ca. seðn B. 1. 5. eode, O. eode he Ca. B. 1. 6. hi
learn psalms or other holy writings, or thirdly devote themselves
to holy prayer. This was his daily work and that of all with him.
And if it happened, which was seldom, that he was invited to
the king’s table, he went there with one or two of his priests,
and as soon as they had refreshed themselves a little, he at once
arose and went out to his prayers, or to study with his clergy.
By the example of this holy man at that time all religious
people, whether men or women, were so confirmed, that it became
their habit throughout the year, except during fifty days after
Easter, to fast up to the ninth hour on the fourth and sixth
days of the week. And this bishop never would either out
of respect or fear be silent before rich men, when they did anything
wrong, but addressed them with severe rebuke and corrected them.
And he never would give any money to a sick man, but merely food
and entertainment to those who visited him; but rather he
either bestowed the gifts and money, given him by the rich, for the
use of the poor, or made it over for the redemption of men, who had
been unjustly sold. And many of those whom he redeemed with a
price he took as his disciples, and by his zeal in training and
instructing them, raised them after a time to the priesthood. It is
said, when king Oswald begged for a bishop from the island of the
Scots, who should minister and maintain Christ’s faith and baptism
among his people, there was first sent to him another bishop, a
man of harsh temper. When he had been preaching and teaching
the English for some time and effected nothing by his teaching, and
the people were reluctant to hear him, he returned back to the
Scots in his native land, and in an assembly of their councillors he
declared, that he could not do anything by his teaching for the
people to whom he was sent; because the men were untameable
and of a hard and savage temper. And as it is related, they then
had long discussion and deliberation in the assembly, as to what
they should do. They declared, they preferred and desired to be
the saving of the people, as they were entreated; and they grieved

\footnotesize

\textit{hicon} (erasure of two) O. \textit{hi hicon gereorde} Ca. B. \ 1. 8. \textit{py.sses}

(a erased) O. \textit{pysses} Ca. \textit{pysses} B. \textit{getlymediae} O. \textit{getrymede} Ca. B. \ 1. 10. \textit{T.}


M 2
on þon sargedon, þæt heo þam lareowe onfon ne woldon, þe heo him
to sendon. Da sæt he Aidan in þam gemote between oðrum
weotum; cwæð to þam biscope, siðpan he his word gehyrde: Me
þynceð, broðor, cwæð he, þæt þu ware þæm ungærdum monnum
heardra, þonne hit riht ware, in þinne lare, ond þæt þu him ærest 5
ne woldest æfter þæm apostolican þéodseype meole drincan þære
hnescan lare, oðþæt heo styccemælum æafedde mid þy Godes
worde * þa þa fulfremedan 7 þa heredan Godes beboda onfôn
meahete. Da heo þa weotan þæs word gehyrdon, þa gecerdon heo
heora eagan 7 heora ondwlitan ealle to him, 7 geornlice smeadon hwæt 10
he cwæde. Ond þa heora ealra dome gedemed wæs, þæt he ware
biscophade wyrgetWindow, 7 þæt he to lareowe sended ware Ongolcynne,
se þe mid Godes gife swyle gescead funde in heora geþæhte. 7
heo swa dydon: hine to biscope gehalgedon, ond Oswalde þam
cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan. Þa he þa biscophade 15
onfongen hæfde, swa swa he ær mid þa metgunge þæs gesceades
funden hæfde, swa he æfter fæce mid oðrum gastlicum mægnum
gefrætweð æteawde.

IV.

p. 528.  Ónon mid ðyses biscopes lare Oswald mid Ongolpeode, þe he ofer
cyning wæs, gelæred wæs, þætte nales þæt an þæt he sæt him 20
gleornade, þæt he þa uplican ricu gehyhte heofona to onsonne, ac
swele eac eorðlican rico ma þonne ænig his eldrena from þæm ilcan
Gode onfenge, þe heofon 7 eorpan gescop. Forðon eall Breotone
cyn 7 mægðan, þa seonmon on sower gereordo teðæled, þæt is Bretta
7 Peohta 7 Scotta 7 Ongla, in onwald onfeng. Ond þeah þe he mid 25
þa heanisse þæs eorðlican rices swa ahæfen wære, nohte þon læs he,
þæt is wundor to cwæðanne, þearfum 7 eðpeodigum symle eaðmod
7 fremsum 7 rummod wæs.

Secgað men, þæt þæt gelumpe in sume tid þy halgan Eastordæge,
þæt he mid þy forespreccan biscope sæte æt his undernswæsendum 30
7 him wæs hæfen beod to; 7 þær stod micel seolfren disc on, ond

I. 8. All MSS. þæt þa: to amend the construction O. Ca. insert þu after
odðæt; B. puts in beon after afeddile, reading also od þe þe hi. In O, the u of
þu is on an erasure and the u is not first hand. 1. 11. dome B. dom T.
very much at their refusal to receive the teacher sent to them. Now Aidan sat in the assembly among the other councillors; and said to the bishop on hearing his words: 'I think, brother,' said he, 'you were in your teaching harder with those illiterate men than was right, and that you would not, in accordance with the apostolical discipline, first give them to drink the milk of gentle doctrine, till they being fed gradually with the word of God, might receive then the perfect and glorious ordinances of God.' Now when the council heard these words, they turned their eyes and faces all to him, and earnestly considered what he said. And it was decided by the judgment of all, that he was worthy of the episcopate, and that he should be sent as teacher to the English, as he by God's grace had exhibited such discretion at their deliberations. And they did so: they consecrated him bishop, and sent him as teacher to their friend king Oswald. Now when he received the episcopate, just as he had previously succeeded by the temperance of his discretion, so after a time he showed himself adorned with other spiritual virtues.

IV.

Now through this bishop's teaching Oswald, with the English under him, was instructed, and not only learnt from him to entertain hopes of a heavenly kingdom, but also received an earthly kingdom beyond any of his forefathers, from that same God who created heaven and earth. For all the race and tribes of Britain, which are divided into four languages, namely those of the Britons, and Picts and Scots and Angles, passed under his authority. And though he was so exalted with the elevation of his earthly kingdom, none the less, wonderful to relate, he was ever humble and helpful and liberal to poor men and foreigners. It is said, that once, on the holy Easter day, he happened to be sitting with the aforesaid bishop at his early meal, and the table was set before him; and on it stood a large silver dish filled with
V.

p. 529.

Cap. 7.

Dæretide ða Westseaxna þeod mid Cyngelse heora cyninge Cristes geleafan onfengon. Bodade him 7 lærde Godes word Birinus bispoc, se mid Honorius geþeahhte þæs papan cwom in Breetone. Gehet 25 he him, þæt he wolde in þam fyrrestum dælum Ongolecynnes, þær næpig lar ær cwom, þæs sæd sawan þæs halgan geleafan. Pa het se papa hine to biscope gehalgian, 7 hine on Breetone sende. Pa com he ærest upp in Westseaxum 7 heo þær hæðne gemette, þa ðuhte him nyttre 7 betre, þæt he ðær Godes word bodade 7 lærde, þonne 30 he fyrr in Breetone feran scolde. Ond he ða swa dyde: lærde þær godecunde lære 7 pone cyning to Cristes geleafan gecerde, 7 hine

se wæs mid cynelicum mettum gefyllde. Ond se bispoc nom hlaf 7 oletsoðe þæm cyninge sealde. Pa eode semninga his þegna sum inn, þæm he hæfsde beboden þæt he scolde þearfena 7 earmra monna ærendo wreccan, ond sægde þæm cyninge, þæt æghowan cwomemicele menigeo þearfena, þæt se weordig ful sæte 7 hine ælmesan bædon. 5 Pa het se cyning sone neoman þone mete 7 þæs swæsendo, þæm to asted wæs, 7 beran þam þearfum; 7 eac bebead, þæt mon þone disc tobræce to styccum 7 þæm þearfum gedælde. Pa se bispoc þæt þæ geseah, þæm him big sæt, þælicode him seo arfæste dæd þæs cyninges; genom hine þæ big þære swiðran hondæa 7 cyste, 7 þæs cwæð: Ne 10 forealdige þeos hond æfre. Þæt eac swa æfter þam willan his bletsunge geworden wæs. Forðon, þæ hine mon eft in gefohte slog, þæ gelomp þætte him mon aheow þæ hond mid þy earme of þæm lichoman; 7 nu gena ðæ pis ungebrosmade wuniað. Brohte heo mon in þæ cynelecan burg, þæ mon nemneð Bebbanburg; 7 þær in 15 seolfrene cyste arweorclice gehealdene syndon. Swelce eac mid þisses cyninges geornisse þa twa mægða Norðhymbra, Dere 7 Beornice, þæ ðæ eð þæt him betweoh ungeþwære 7 ungesibbe wæron, in ane sibble 7 in án folc geteoh 7 geþwærde. Wæs he Oswald Eadwines nefa þæs æðelæn cyninges, his sweostor sunu. Wæs þæt 20 þæs wyrðe þæt swa æðele foregenga swylcne yrfeœวดard his æfæst- nisse 7 his rites hæfde of his seolfes mægsibbe.
royal dainties. And the bishop took bread and blessed and gave it to the king. Then suddenly came in one of his attendants, whom he had directed to take charge of the poor and needy, and he told the king, that on all sides there was flocking a great crowd of the poor, so that the street was full of them sitting and begging for alms. Then at once the king bade the meat and the victuals set before him to be taken and carried to the poor, and also ordered the dish to be broken in pieces and distributed to them. When the bishop, who sat by him, saw this, he was pleased with the king’s pious action, took him by the right hand, kissed it and said: 'May this hand never grow old.' And this was fulfilled also in accordance with the desire in his benediction. For when he was afterwards slain in battle, it so happened that they cut off the hand with the arm from the body; and they still remain un-decayed to this day. These were carried to the royal city called Bamborough, and are there kept with reverence in a silver box. By the efforts of their king also the two provinces of Northumbria, Deira and Bernicia, which till then had been disunited and unfriendly to one another, were drawn together and united into one league and one people. This Oswald was nephew of the noble king Eadwine, being his sister’s son. It was meet that so noble a predecessor should have out of his own kindred such an inheritor of his piety and dominions.

V.

At that time the people of the West Saxons with their king Cyneegels received the faith of Christ. Bishop Birinus preached and taught them God’s word, who came to Britain by advice of pope Honorius. He promised him to sow the seed of the holy faith in the most remote parts of England, where no teaching had ever penetrated before. Then the pope directed him to be consecrated as bishop and sent him to Britain. When he landed first in Wessex and found the people there heathen, he thought it more useful and better to preach and teach God’s word there, than to travel further into Britain. And he did so: he taught God’s word there and converted the king to Christ’s faith, and catechized him
gecrinstade, 7 hine eft æfter sæce mid fulwihtes baæde æþwih mid his þeode Westseaxum. Ƿa gelomp in seolsan tid, þa mon þone cyning fulwade, sæt þær wæs se halgesta 7 se sigefæsta cyning Northymhram Oswald ondweard. Hæfde he his dohtor him to wise beweddad. Ƿa onsfeng he him 7 nom æt fulwihtæ baæde 7 æt 5 þæs biscopecs honda þære godcundan þegnunge him to godsunæ. Ƿa sealdon 7 gefon þa cyningas begen þæm bispoc eardungstowæ 7 biscopecgel on Dorcoteastre. Ond he þær se bispoc Gode lifde 7 circan worhtæ 7 halgade; 7 mid his arfaeste gewinne monig folæ to Drihtne gecerde. Ond he þær his dagas geendædæ 7 to Drihtne 10 ferde, 7 in þære ilcan ceastre bebyrgæd was. Ond eft æfter monegum gearum Hædde bispoc heht his lichoman upadon 7 lædan to Wintaceastre, 7 in circan þara eadigræ apostola Petrus 7 Paulus arwyrðlice geseted is.

Æfter þissum þa forðferde Cyneæils se cyning, 7 his sunu 15 Cenwalh feng to his rice. Se wiðsæc, þæt he geleæfan onfenge 7 þæm geryne þæs heofonlican cyninges; ond som æfter medmi-clum sæce þæa meaht forleas þæs eorðlican rices. Forlet he án, Pendan swustor, þa he hæfde ær him to wise broht, nom him oðer wiif. Ƿa teah Penda hine fyrd on 7 here, 7 hine his rices benom. 20 Þa gewat he to Eastengla cyningæ, se wæs Anna haten. Mid þon he þreo ger wæs wrecca, 7 he þær onget sóðfæstnisse geleæfan 7 onsfeng 7 gefulwad wæs. Forðon þe se cyning, þe he mid wrecce wæs, wæs god wæpnedmon 7 goodes tudres 7 haliges gesælig, swa we æft hereæfter ongitan magon.

Mid þy þe he eft Cenwalh on his rice geseted wæs, þa com in Westseaxe sum bispoc of Ibernia Scotta ealondæ, þæs nomæ wæs Ægelberht. Wæs he Gallia cymsæs; ac for leornunge haligra gewreota he wæs micelre tide in Ibernia Scotta ealonde wuniende. Ond he þa wilsunlice hine gepcodædæ to þæm cyningæ 7 hine godcundæ 30 lare lærde. Ƿa he þa se cyning his gelærednesæ 7 his geornfulnisæ gesæhæ, þæd he hine, þæt he gewunade in his þeode 7 heora bispoc wære: 7 he him wolde æðlic biscopecgel gesceawæn. Ond he his benum gepafode; 7 he monig ger þære ilcan þeode on biscopticum onwealdæ ðe wæs. Ƿa æt neðstan se cyningæ, se ßæ Scænæna gereorde 35
and, after a time, washed him in the laver of baptism, with his people the West Saxons. It so happened that at the very time of the king's baptism, Oswald, the saintly and victorious king of Northumbria, was present. He had betrothed his daughter to Cynegils; and he received and took him as godson at the font, after the sacred administration by the bishop's hands. Then the kings jointly made over and gave to the bishop a dwelling and episcopal seat at Dorchester-on-Thames. And the bishop lived there to God and built and consecrated a church; and by his pious labours converted much people to the Lord. And there he ended his days, and departing to the Lord was buried in that town. But many years later bishop Hædde directed his body to be taken up and brought to Winchester, and it was buried with honour within the church of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. After this king Cynegils died, and his son Cænwalh succeeded to the throne. He refused to receive the faith and sacraments of the Heavenly King; and shortly after he lost the dominion of his earthly kingdom. He abandoned one wife, sister of Penda, whom he had previously wedded, and took another wife. Then Penda led his troops and a host against him, and deprived him of his throne. And he departed to the king of the East Angles named Anna, and with him remained in exile three years, and he there learnt the true faith, received it and was baptized. For the king, at whose court he was an exile, was a good man, blessed with goodly and holy offspring, as we shall learn hereafter. When Cænwalh was restored to his kingdom, there came to Wessex from Ireland, the island of the Scots, a bishop named Ægelberht. He was of Gallic origin, but had lived long in Ireland to study the holy scriptures. And he readily joined the king and instructed him in God's word. When the king perceived his learning and zeal, he prayed him to remain among his people and be their bishop, promising to provide a bishop's seat suitable to his rank. And he assented to his request, and for many years presided with episcopal authority over that people. At last the king, who knew the Saxon tongue only,
ánu cuē, wæs aëroten his elreorder spræce: aspon þa in Westseaxe oðerne bispoc, se ðe his gereorde cuē: se wæs Wine haten, 7 se wæs in Gallia rice gehalgod. Ond he þa todælde in twa bispocs-sceire Westseaxna mægðe, ond þæm Wine gesalde bispocsend in Wintaceastre. Þa wæs Ægelberht swīðe abolgen, forþon se cyning 5 buton his gepeahhte swa dyde; gewat þa of Breetone 7 hwearf eft in his agene leode in Gallia rice. Ond þær he onfeng his agenre ceastre bispocsceire, Parisiace hatte; 7 he þær ald 7 godra dæda ful forðerde. Þa wæs æfter noht monegum gearum æfter his on-weggewitenesse of Breetone, þætte Wine wæs adriften from þæm 10 ilcan cyninge of his bispocsceale. Þa gewat he to Wulflhere Mercena cyninge; ond mid feó gebohte æt him þæt bispocsend æt Lundenceastre, 7 his bispoc wæs ðæ his daga ende. Ond swa Westseaxna mægð micelre tide wæs buton bispoc.

Þære seolfan tide þa eac swelce se foresprecena cyning þære 15 þeode mid þæm hefigestum wonungum his rices gelomlice from his feondum swenced wæs. Þa cwom him æt neðstan to gemynende, þæt hine ær his getrewleasnis of his rice adraf, ond eft, þa he Cristes geleafan onget, þæt he his rice onfeng. 7 þa eac ongeat þæt he hæfde on þweorh gedon, þætte seo mægð wæs buton bisscope, 7 þæt 20 heo ætgædre mid þy godcundan fultome forlæten wæs. Forðon he þa sende ærendwracan in Gallia rice to Ægelberhte þæm bisscope, 7 mid eaðmodre pingunge 7 bene hine bæd, þæt he hwurfe to þæm bispocsceale his þeode. Þa ladode he hine 7 cwæð, þæt he ne meahhte hider cuman, forðon he onfongen hæfde his agenre ceastre bisscope-25 sceire. Ond hwædre for his geornlicum benum, þæt he him fulton solhte, ond he him sende to Leutherium mæsepreost his nefan. Cwæð þæt he pone meahhte, gir he wolde, him to bispoc gehadigan, 7 he hine þæs wyrðe wisse on his lifes gecarnungum. Ond sona wæs from þæm cyninge, 7 from eallum his leodum arwyrðlice onfongen. 30 Ond þa bædon Theodorum pone þe þa wæs ærebishop Contware-burge cirican, þæt he hine to bispoc gehalgode. Ond he þa swa dyde; gehalgode hine in þære ilcan ceastre; ond he ana æfter alles seonoches

1. 11. cyninge T. cyninge O. Ca. B. C. 1. 16. þæm B. Ca. O. þære T. 1. 19. he to þæt wanting in T.; and also in B. Text from O. Ca. 1. 27. send, to T. onsende to Ca. B. O. (tō).
got tired of his foreign speech, and invited into Wessex another bishop acquainted with his language, who was called Wine and had been consecrated in Gaul. And the king then divided Wessex into two bishoprics, and assigned to Wine the episcopal seat at Winchester. Then Ægelberht was very angry, because the king acted without his advice; he left Britain and returned to his own people in Gaul. And he there received the bishopric of his own town, which was called Paris; and there he departed old and full of good deeds. Then a few years after his departure from Britain, Wine was expelled from his episcopal seat by the same king. So he went to Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and with money bought from him the episcopal seat in London, and was his bishop to the end of his days. And so the province of Wessex was long without a bishop. At the same time also the aforesaid king of this people frequently suffered severe damage to his dominions at the hands of his enemies. Then at last he recollected, that his want of faith formerly caused his expulsion, and that on receiving the faith of Christ he recovered the throne. So he also saw, that by his perverse conduct his land was without a bishop, and at the same time deprived of the divine support. So he sent envoys to bishop Ægelberht in Gaul, and with humble supplication and petition prayed him to return to the episcopal seat among his people. But the other excused himself, saying that he could not come here, as he had received the bishopric of his own town. And yet because of his earnest prayers in seeking his support, he also sent him his nephew the priest Leutherius. He said that he might, if he would, ordain him as bishop, and that he knew him to be worthy of the position by his meritorious life. And he was at once received with honour by the king and all his people. And they requested Theodore, then archbishop of the church of Canterbury, to consecrate him as bishop. And he did so; he consecrated him in that very town; and he, as sole bishop, with the sanction of the
dome monig ger þone bissçphad mid micle gerece heold 7 ræhte Westseaxna þeode.

VI.

Pa wæs ymb syx hund wintra 7 feowertig wintra from Drihtnes menniscnesse; þætte Eadbald Contwara cyning leorde of þissum life; ond Erconberht his sunu feng to his rice, 7 þæt eaðlice heold 7 steorde feower 7 twentig wintra 7 sumne monæð. Þæs cyning ðærest Ongolcyninga in eallum his rice he heft deofolgild toeworpan 7 fæstlice forlætan; ond swelce eac mid his ealdoricnesse bebed, þæt feowertiglice fæsten healden beon ær Eastrum bi witerædene. Þæs cyninges dohtor Ercongotæ wæs nicelra mægena sæmne, swa þæt swa 10 æcelum aldre gerás. Wæs heo seo sæmne Drihtne þeowiende in þæm mynstre, þe i Frönclonde wæs getimbred from þære æðelan abudessan, þe Fara hatte, in þære stowe þe cweden is in Briige. Forðon in þa tíð þa get ne wæron monig mynster getimbred in Ongolþeode, ond forðon monige gewunedon of Breetone for intingan 15 munuclifes secan Frönena mynster 7 Gallia. Swelce eac cyningas 7 rice men sendon heora dohtor þider to læranne 7 to geþeodenne þæm heofonlican brydgmuan, ond swipust i þissum mynstrum in Briige 7 in Caale 7 in Andelegum. Betweoh þa wæs Sædryð Annan wiifes dohtor Eastenga cyninges, 7 þæs ylcan cyninges gecyndelice dohtor 20 Æðelberg. Æghwæðer heora wæs elþeodig þær, 7 hwædre for heora lifes geearnunge gebungen, þæt heo buu wæron abbudissan in Briige þám mynstre. Þæs ilcan cyninges seo yldre dohtor Sæburg wæs Erconberhtes wiif Contwara cyninges; hæfde heo dohtor þa Ercongotan, bi þære we nu syndon sprencende. 25

Þisse sæmnan Gode gehaldodre monig weorc gæstlicra mægena 7 monig tacen heofonlicra wundra from þæm bigengum þære stowe gewuniað of þisne ondweardan dæg sægd beon. Ac we nu sculon hrædlice hwætwugnu be hire forðore anre secgan, hu heo þæt heofonlice rice gesohte. Ona þa sæm dæge nealæhte hire gæcgg 30 nesse of þissum life, þa ongon heo ymbgongan þa hus þyses.

whole synod for many years held and directed the bishopric of Wessex with much authority.

VI.

Now about 640 years after our Lord's incarnation Eadbald, king of Canterbury, departed this life; and Erconberht his son succeeded to his dominions, which he nobly swayed and directed for twenty-four years and a few months. He was the first among the kings of England, who ordered the idols to be overthrown and finally abandoned throughout all his kingdom; and by his authority he also directed the forty days' fast to be observed before Easter under fear of penalty. The king's daughter Ercingote was a lady of great virtues, as befitted such noble descent. She was a servant of the Lord in the convent built in France, by the noble abbess called Fara, at the place called Brie. For at that time but few monasteries had as yet been erected in England, and accordingly it was usual for many to leave Britain and go to monasteries in France and Gaul for the sake of monastic life. Kings also and rich men sent their daughters there, to be educated and to be espoused to the heavenly bridegroom, and above all at these monasteries, Brie, Chelles, and Andely. Among these was Sæthryth, daughter of the wife of Anna king of the East Angles, and Æthelberg the king's own daughter by birth. Both of these were foreigners there, and still from their meritorious life both were advanced to the position of abbess at the monastery in Brie. The king's elder daughter Sæburg was wife of Erconberht, king of Canterbury, and had a daughter Ercingote, about whom we shall now speak. The inhabitants of this place are wont to relate, up to the present day, many works of spiritual virtue and many signs of heavenly miracles wrought by this virgin hallowed to God. But we now shall rapidly touch on some points concerning her death only, and the manner of her ascent to the heavenly kingdom. Now when the day was at hand that she should be called from this life, she began to go round the dwellings of the infirm servants of
mynstres para untrumra Cristes þeowna, 7 swiðust þa þe gelyfdræ
elde wæron, oþþe in gecorenisse heora þeowa mærran 7 betran
wæron. Ond heo ealle þa eððmodlice hire gebeodo bæd, 7 him
cyðde 7 sægde, þæt heo geleornade on onwrignesse, þæt hire endedæg
7 hire forðþore wære swiðe neah. Sægde heo him, þæt seo 5
onwrigenis þyslic wære; ccweð, þæt heo gesege micelne þreat
þwittra monna 7 fægerra in þæt icle mynster ingongan, ond þæt
heo þa hy frugne, hwæt heo sohten oþþe hwæt heo pider wolden.
Ondswaredon hy 7 cwædon, þæt heo to þon pider sende wæron,
þæt heo sceolden þæt gyldne mynet mid him geneoman, þætte þider 10
of Cent cwom. Þa wæs in þære seolfaþa nihte þæm ytmæstan
dæle, þæt is þa hit dagian ongon, þæt heo þa þeostru pisses
ondweardan middangearde oferstag, 7 to þæm uplecen leohote leorde
heofona rices. Ond monige þara broðra þæs ylcan mynstres þara
þe in oðrum husum wæron, seqgdon, þæt heo swutolice engla song 15
gerordon, ge eac swécg gehyrdon swa swa micelre mengu in þæt
mynster gongan. Ond heo soma arison 7 ut eodon; wolden gewitan
hwæt þæt wære. Þa gesegon heo micel leohot heofonlic þær cuman.
þæt leohot þa halgan sawle from þæm bendum þæs lichoman
onlesde, 7 to þæm ecan gesean þæs heofonlican eþles gelædde. 20
Æeteton heo eac 7 seqgdon oþþo wundro, þæ oþþe godeundlic æteawed
wæron in þæm ilcan mynstre, þæ oþþe nu to long to secgenne syndon.
Þa wæs bebyrged se lichoma þære arwyrðan sæmnan 7 þære
Cristes bryde in See Stephanes cirican þæs ærestan 7 þæs eadgan
martires. Þa þuhtæ þam broðrum þy þriddan dæge, þæ þe heo 25
bebyrged wæs, þæt heo wolden þone stan, þæ seo byrgen mid
bewrigen wæs, hear 7 gerisenlicor in þære ilcan stowe gesettan.
Þa hy þa hine onweg dydon, þæ cwom of innweardre þære
byrgenne swa micel swetnisse stenc, þætte eallum þam higum puhte,
þe þære æstodon, swa swa mon hordærn ontynde þæ oþþe balsami 30
þara dæorwyrðestena wyrtæ 7 þara swetestena þara þe in middan-
gearde wæron.

Swelce eac hire modrige Ægelberg Gode seo leofe, be þære we

1. 1. gelyfede T. gelyfede T. (erasure of one) O. gelyfede Ca. B. 1. 18. hwæt
Christ in this monastery, and especially if they were of advanced age, or remarkable and superior for the excellence of their conduct. And she then humbly asked the prayers of all, and made known to them in words, that she had learnt by revelation her last day and her departure to be close at hand. She told them the revelation was on this wise; she said, she saw a great company of men white and fair enter the monastery, and she asked, what they sought or wanted there. They replied and said, that they were sent there to fetch the golden coin, that had come there from Kent. Now in the last 10 hours of the same night, when daybreak began, she rose above the darkness of this present world and passed to the light of the heavenly kingdom above. And many of the brethren of this monastery, who were in other dwellings, said that they clearly heard the song of angels, and heard too a noise as it were of a 15 great multitude entering the monastery. And they arose at once and went out, desiring to know what that was. And they saw a great light in the heaven approaching. This light released the holy soul from the fetters of the body, and led it to the eternal joys of the heavenly home. They further told other wonders, divinely 20 displayed at the same monastery, which are too long to be now related. Then the body of this honoured virgin and bride of Christ was buried in the church of St. Stephen the first and blessed martyr. Now the third day after her burial the brethren thought, they would set the stone, with which the tomb was covered, in 25 a higher and more suitable position at the same spot. On their removing it, there came from within the tomb such a sweet odour, that to all of that household who stood by, it seemed as if a storehouse of balsam and of the most valuable and sweetest spices in the world had been opened. Also her aunt Æthelberg, beloved 30 of God, of whom we spoke before, maintained the glory of per-
ær sægdon, þæt wuldor hire ece clænnisse 7 meæðhades in micelre forhæirdnesse hire lichoman geheld. Hwylc hire mægen wære, ma æfter hire dæðe gecyðed wæs. Þa heo abbudesse wæs, ongon heo on hire mynstre cirican timbran in ære ealra þara haligra apostola, in þære heo wilnade þæt hire lichoma bebyrged wære. 5 Æc þa ðæt weorc þære cirican hhuðugu healf wæs geworht, þa wæs heo mid dæðe forgripen, ær heo hit geendian moste; 7 in þære seolfan stowe þære cirican, þær heo wilnade, bebyrged wæs. Þa wæs æfter hire dæðe, þæt þa þroðor óðerra weorca swítur gemdon, 7 þisse cirican timbro forlæton seofon gear. Þa þa seofon ger 10 gefylled wæron, þa gesetton heo fæstile fore unmaetnisse þæs gewinnes, þæt heo callinga forlete þa getimbro þisse cirican. 7 þære abbudyssan ban upp adydan of þære stowe, 7 on óðre cyrican, þe fullice getimbred 7 gehalgod wære, gesetton. Ond heo þa ontyndon hire byrgenne, ond hire lichoman gemetton swa 15 ungewemmedne ond swa gesundne, swa swa heo wæs from gebros-nunge lichomlicre wilnunge clæne 7 unwemme. Ond heo þa eft þone lichoman onþwógon 7 mid óðre hrægle gegyredon, 7 hine gesetton in cirican þæs eadigan martires Sǣ Stephanus. Þære abbudessan gemynddæg ðæ þas tid in þære stowe in miclum 20 wuldre weorðad is, þy dæge þe nemned is Nonarum Iuliarum.

VII.

Hæfde Oswald se cristnesta cyning Norðanhymbra nigon gear ríc, togeteledum þy geare þe seo wildeorlice arleanis Breotta cyninges 7 seo awegoncernis from Cristes geleafan Ongleyninga onsœumiendlic wæs, swa swa we ær fororan sægdon. Þa se ryne þyssa 25 geara gefylled wæs, slog mon Oswald. Wæs hegif gefeoht 7 micel gefremed from þæm ilcan hæðnan cyninge 7 þære hæðnan þeode Mercena, from þæm his foregenga eac Eadwine ofslegen wæs, in þære stowe þe nemned is Maserfeld. Hæfde he Oswald lichomlicre yldo seofon 7 þritig wintra, þa hine mon slóg þy siftan dæge 30 Agustus monðes.

1. 12. 7 þære to cyrican wanting in T. Text from O. (abbuddysan). Ca. (bán; adydon; óðre cyrican.) B. (abbuddessan bán; adon; óðre cyrican.)
petual purity and virginity with great continence. What her virtue was, was more fully made known after her death. While abbess she began to build a church in her monastery in honour of all the holy apostles, in which she wished her body to be buried. But as the work on the church was about half completed, she was carried off by death, before she could finish it; and she was buried in the part of the church, where she desired. Then after her death, the brethren were more occupied with other works, and for seven years neglected the erection of the church. At the end of the seven years, they then finally resolved to give up altogether the construction of the church, owing to the immense labour. So they took up the bones of the abbess from that place, and laid them in another church, which was completed and consecrated. And then they opened her tomb, and found her body as undecayed and as sound, as it was pure and undefiled by the corruption of bodily desire. And they washed the body afresh and wrapped it in another shroud, and laid it in the church of the blessed martyr St. Stephen. And the festival of the abbess to this time is celebrated with much pomp at that spot, on the 15th of July.

VII.

Oswald, the most christian king of Northumbria, reigned for nine years, if we reckon in the year, which was disgraced by the savage impiety of the king of the Britons and the apostasy of the English kings from Christ’s faith, as we related above. When the course of these years was fulfilled, Oswald was slain. There was a great and bloody battle, brought on by the same heathen king and by the heathen people of Mercia, by whom his predecessor Eadwine was slain, in the place which is called Maserfield. Oswald was in the thirty-eighth year of his earthly life, when he was slain on the fifth day of August. What this king’s faith and devotion to God
Hwlec þæs cyninges geleafa 7 modes wilsunnis in Gððd wære, þæt æfter his deaðe mid mægena wundrum wæs gecyðed. Forðon in þære stowe, þe he for his eðle mid his leodum cðmpade 7 from þæm hæðnum osflegen wæs, oð þæsne ondweardan dæg þæt þær hælæ untrumra monna 7 neata mærsonoden seondon. Donon gelomp þatte 5 þa seolfan moldan, þær his lichoma gefeol, monige men neomende wæron, 7 in wæter dydon 7 sealdon heora untrumum monnum 7 neatum drincan; 7 him sona wél wæs. Ond þæt men to þon gelomlice dydon sticcemælum, þæt heo þa moldon namon, oð þæt þær wæs deop seáð adolfen, þætte wæpnedmon meahte oð his 10 sweoran inn stondan. Ne þæt swiðe to wundrinnen is, þeah þe in þære stowe his deaðes untrume hælo onfenge; se symle, mid þy þe he lisde, þearfum 7 untrumum árode 7 ælmesan sealde, 7 heora helpend wæs on heora sáre. Ond monig wundor mægena earon sægd, þæt in þære stowe gelumpon ge bi þære moldan, þa þe in 15 þære stowe genuemede wæron. Ac us genihtsumæð nu þæt we tuu án oðþe preo gehyran.

Gelomp noht micelre tide æfter his slege, þætte sum man rad be þære stowe. Þa ongon his hors semninga wergian 7 gestondan, 7 his heafod on eordan hylde; 7 þa füam of þæm muðe eode, 7 þæt 20 unmaête sáar weox 7 miclade, opþæt hit on eordan hreas. Þa lihte se eoredmonn 7 þæt gebæte of ateah, 7 þær hwile bad, hwonne his horse bet wurdde oðþe he hit þær dead forleete. Þa wæs hit longe mid hefige sáre swiðe swenced 7 in missenlice dælas hit wond 7 þæste, þa semmiga becwom hit in þa stowe, þær se gemyngoda 25 cyning osflegen wæs. Ne wæs þa elden, þætte þæt sáar gestilled wæs; 7 hit blonn from unhalum styrenessum para leoma, 7 þy gewunelican þeawe horsa æfter werignesse ongon wealwian, 7 on æghwæðre siidan hit gelomlice ofserwearp: 7 sóna aras purh eall hal 7 gesund, 7 ongon giferlice þæt gærst etan.

Þa he ða se mon þæt geseha, þa onget he mid scearpere gleawinnise hwæthwugu wundorlicere halignesse in þære stówe beon, þær his hors swa hraðe gehveled wæs. Ond he þær tacen asette 7 þa stowe gemcærcoðe, 7 on his hors hléop 7 rad pider he ær mynte. Þa he ða cwom to þæm men þe he secan wolde, þa gemette he þær 35

P. 534. 1. 21. hi T. hit O. Ca. B.
were, was manifested after his death by miraculous wonders. For at the spot, where he with his people fought for his land and was slain by the heathen, up to this present day, there are notable cures of sick men and animals. Hence it happened that the very clay, where his body fell, was carried away by many, and being put into water was given to sick men or animals to drink; and they at once recovered. And this was done gradually so often, that the clay was removed, till a deep pit was hollowed out, in which a man might stand up to his neck. It is no great marvel, that the sick were cured at the place of his death, seeing that he ever in life regarded the poor and sick, giving them alms and assisting them in their suffering. And many miraculous wonders are said to have taken place at that spot and with the clay taken from it. But it is now enough for us to hear two or three only. Not long after he was slain, a man happened to be riding past the place. Suddenly his horse began to tire and stand still, and hung its head to the ground; foam came from its mouth, and violent pains grew and increased, till it fell to the ground. The rider dismounting took off the bridle and waited awhile there, till his horse should get better or he should leave it there dead. After suffering long and severely from violent pain and rolling and twisting in every direction, suddenly it came to the spot, where the aforesaid king was slain. Without delay, the pain was relieved; and it ceased to move its limbs in suffering, and in the usual manner of horses after fatigue began to roll, and threw itself repeatedly from side to side: and soon arose thoroughly whole and sound, and began to eat the grass greedily. When the man saw this, he understood by keen discernment that there was some wonderful sanctity in the spot, where his horse was so rapidly cured. So he set up a sign and marked the spot, and jumping on his horse rode to the place he had previously intended. And on coming to the person he wished
Swylece eac in ða ðilcan tid cwom ðær sum : sægdon men ðæt he ðære Bretta leod. Ferde he be ðære ðilcan stowe, in ðære ðæt foresprecene gefeohht geworden wæs. ða gesæah he ánre stowe ðæc ðæm ðærum felda grenra 7 ðægæra. ða ongon he mid gleawe 15 mode ðencan 7 rærian, ðætte ðænig ðær intinga wære ðære stowe grennis 7 ðægærnis, nemne ðæt ðær sum *haligra mon hwylcwugu ðam ððrum weorode ofslegen wære. Genom ða ðære moldan dæl in ðære stowe, gebond in his sceate, ðohhte ðæt seo ilce molde to læcædome 7 to hælo geweorðan meahte untrumra monna; ond 20 he eft forðeode in his weg. ða cwom he to sumum huse in æsentiid, 7 eode in ðæt hus, ðær ðæt ham eall to symble gesomnod wæs. Wæs he onfogen from ðam hlæforde ðæs huses, 7 him mon setl tæhte, 7 he sæt mid him æt ðæm symble. Æheng he ðone sceat mid ðære moldan, ðe he brohte, on anestudu ðæs wages. 25 Wæs micel fyr onæled on middum ðam húse. Mid ðy heo ða longe symbledon 7 druncne wæron, ða spearcen up flugon in ðæs huses hróf, se wæs mid gyrdum awunden 7 mid ðæce beþeaht, ða gelomp ðæt ðæt hus eall wæs in fyren 7 ongon semninga byrnan. ða ðæt ða gebeoræs gesawon, ða flugon heo forhte út, 7 ðænighe helpe ðam 30 beornendan huse gedon meahton; ac hit clæne' forborn, nemne

to visit, he found there a woman, niece of the head of the household he was visiting; she had long been sorely afflicted with paralysis. When the people of the household began to lament before him about the dreadful illness of the woman, then he began to tell them of the place where his horse was cured. So they at once got ready a cart, put the woman in, brought her to the place and set her down there. She was tired when she was set down, and fell asleep for a little. As soon as she awoke, she felt she was healed of her bodily infirmity, called for water, washed and arranged her hair, and wrapping herself in a garment returned back home on foot whole and sound, in company of the men who brought her there.

VIII.

At that time also there came another man, who is said to have been of British descent. He was travelling past the spot, in which the aforesaid fight took place. He saw a portion of one place greener and brighter than the rest of the field. So being a man of sagacity he began to think and reason, that there was no other cause for the greenness and brightness of the place, than the circumstance that some man was slain there more holy than the rest of the army. He took some portion of the clay at that spot, tied it up in his garment, supposing that this clay might prove to be a medicine and a cure for the sick: and he went on his way once more. Then in the evening he came to a house, and went in and found all the hamlet assembled and feasting. He was received by the owner of the house, and they pointed him out a seat, and he sat down with them to the feast. But the cloak with the clay, which he brought, he hung on one of the supports of the wall. A large fire had been kindled in the middle of the house. And when they had been long feasting, and had drunk much, and the sparks flew up to the roof of the house, which was interwoven with rods and thatched, then it happened that the whole house within caught fire and suddenly began to burn. When the guests saw this, they fled out in fright, and could give no help to the burning house; and it was burnt clean down, except the single support on which the clay
seo studu aän þe seo molde on hongode, seo gesund 7 unghrinen from þæm fyre astód 7 awunade. Þa wundrodon heo þæt swiðe; 7 sméalice solton on hwon þæt gelang wære. Þa was him gecyðed þæt seo molde þær ón hongode, þe in þære stowe genumen was, þær Oswalde blót þæs cyninges on agoten wæs. Wærón þæs 5 wundor feorr 7 wide gemæred 7 gecyÐed; 7 monige men seoþpan dæghwanlice þa stowe solton, þær hælo gife him seolfum 7 heora freoundum neoman ongunnon.

VIII.

Cap. 11. Betweoh þæs Æng nis to forswigienne, hwelc heosollic wundor 7 mægen ætawed wæs, þa his bán funden 7 gemeted wærón 7 to 10 þære cirican gelædæ, þær heo nu gehealden syndon. Wæs þis geworden þurh Osþryðe geormnesse Mercna cwene, seo wæs Oswiges dohtor his broðor, se æfter him feng to Northymbra riice.

Is æðele mynster in Lindesse; is nemned Beardan ea. Þæt 15 mynster seo ilce cwén mid hire were Æpelrede swiðe lufade 7 arweorðade 7 beode. Þa heo wilnade gehealdan þa arwyrðan bán hire fædran. Mid þy se nægn þa cwom, þe þa baan in leded wærón, in þæt foresprecene mynster, þa ne woldon þa hiwan him, þe in þæm mynstre wærón, lustlice onfoðn. Forþon þeah þe heo hine 20 haligne wisten, hwædre forðon þe he of oferre mægþe wæs 7 ofer heo rice onfeng, ealdum fængum hine eac swylce deadne ehton. Þa was geworden, þætte þære seolfan neahþe þa brohton bán ute awunedon, nemne mon geteld ofer abráedde. Ac seo æteaðnis heosollices wundres geopenade, hu arwyrðlice heo wærón to under- 25 fonne eallum geleáfsumum. Forðon ealle þa niht stóð swylce beorht sunbeam from þæm wægne up ðæ heoson heah, þone mon neahþe lytesne of ealre Lindesse stowum sweotole geseon. Þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden, þa ongunnon þa broðor þæs mynstres, þa ðe ær wiðsōcon, geornlice biddan, þætte mid him þa 30 halgan reliquias 7 Gode þa leofan gehealdne beon moston. Ond heo þa ða baan onpwógon 7 in cyste gedydôn 7 in cirican æfter gerisenre aare gesetton. Ond þætte se cynelica had þæs halgan weres

1. 21. þære T. ðære B. ofre (on erasure) O. ðære Ca. ofere C.
hung, which remained standing sound and untouched by the fire. Then all marvelled at that very much, and enquired carefully into the cause of this. Then it was shown them that the clay hung there, which was taken from the place, where king Oswald's blood was shed. These marvels were celebrated and spread far and wide; and since that many men daily visited the spot, and there began to obtain the grace of healing for themselves and their friends.

IX.

In speaking of this, we cannot pass over a heavenly marvel and miracle, displayed when they came upon and found his bones and brought them to the church, where they are now kept. This was done through the zeal of Æthryth, queen of Mercia; she was daughter of his brother Oswio, who succeeded him on the throne of Northumbria. There is a noble monastery in Lindsey, called Bardney, which the queen and her husband Æthelred loved, honoured and cherished much. In this she wished to preserve the bones of her venerated uncle. When the wain came conveying the bones to the aforesaid monastery, the inmates in the monastery were unwilling to receive them. For though aware of his sanctity, yet as he was of another province and received authority over them, out of ancient hostility they persecuted him, even when dead. So it was, that the bones when brought remained outside that night, only that an awning was spread over them. But the display of a heavenly wonder showed, how reverently they should be received by all believers. For all night there stood as it were a bright sunbeam high up to heaven from the wain, which might be clearly seen almost from every part of Lindsey. So when it was light on the morrow, the brethren in the monastery, who had previously refused, earnestly begged, that the holy relics so precious in God's sight might be preserved among them. Then they washed the bones, and putting them in a chest, deposited them in the church with due honour. And that the royal rank of this
Gelomp pæt æfterfylgendre tide, mid þy seo foresprecene cwén wæs wuniende in þæm ylcan mynstre, þa cwom sum arwyrðe abbudesse to hire, seo wæs haten Æpelhild; wæs sweostor þara haligra wera Ægelwines 7 Aldwines. Para wæs ôðer bispoc in Lindesse, ôðer wæs 10 abbud in þæm mynstre þe hatte Peortamea, from þæm mynstre unfeor wæs þære abbudessan mynster. Mid þy heø þa to þære cwene cwom, 7 heo gesprecen hæfdom, 7 betweoh ôðer spræcon heo be Oswalde, cwæð heo seo abbudesse, þæt heo gesawe þære nihte þæt leoth ofer his banum úp ôð heofon heah. Cwæð heo seo cwén, 15 ðætte of þære moldan þæs flores, in þæm þæt wæter his bana þweales goten wæs, monige untrume gehæledæ wæron. Ond heo þa bæd, þæt hire mon sumne dæl þære halwendung moldan sealde; 7 hire mon swa dyde; 7 heo þa in clæðe bebond 7 in cyste dyde 7 hire ham ferde. þæt æfterfylgendre tide, seoppun heo in hire 20 mynstre wæs, ðætte þider cwom sum cuma, se wæs neahtlicum tidum semninga from úncænum gaste hefiglice swencend. Þa wæs he fremsumlice onfongen; 7 æfter his æfengereorde hine gerestan wolde. Þa wæs he semninga from deofle gerisen, 7 ongon cleopian 7 hlydan 7 mid his tocum gristbitian, 7 þa fáam of his 25 muðe ut eode, 7 he misseenecum styrenessum ongon his leomu þráestan. Mid þy hine þa næmig mon ne gehabban ne gebiand meahte, þa orn sum þegu 7 sloh tacen æt geate, 7 sægde þære abbudessan. Ond heo sona þæt geat þæs mynstres ontýnde, 7 eode mid áne hire þinenna to þære wæpnedmonna stowe, 7 gehet þone 30 mæsepreost to hire, þæt he sceolde mid heo gán to þam untruman men. Þa heo þa ðider cwómon, þa gesawon heo þær monige men æt him beon, þa þe georne ongunnon, þæt heo his wedenheitnisse gestilden; ac heo ne meahton. Song he se mæsepreost 7 rædde orationem, þa þe wið þære ædle awritene wærôn, 7 þa þing dyde, þe 35

1. 2. 7 all MSS. Þæs.
holy man might be kept in perpetual remembrance, his ensign, adorned with gold and purple, was placed above his tomb. And the water, in which the bones were washed, was poured out at one end of the church. From that time on the earth, which received this holy water, had power to heal demoniacs and other infirmities. At a later time, when the aforesaid queen happened to be staying in the monastery, she was visited by a venerable abbess called Æthelhild, sister of the holy men Æthelwin and Aldwin. Of these one was bishop in Lindsey, and the other abbot at the monastery called Parteney, not far from which was the convent of the abbess. When she came to the queen, and they had been conversing, among other topics they spoke of Oswald. Then the abbess declared, that she saw on the night the light over his bones high up to heaven. The queen told her, that many sick were healed by dust from the floor, where the water that washed his bones had been poured. She begged that some of this healing dust might be given her; and this was done; and she bound it in a cloth, put it in a box and went home. At a later time, after her return to the monastery, a stranger came there, who in the hours of the night used to suffer severely by sudden visitations from an unclean spirit. He was hospitably received; and after supper desired to repose. Then he was suddenly seized by the devil, and began to call and shout and grind his teeth, and the foam came from his mouth, and he began to twist his limbs with all sorts of movements. As no one could hold or bind him, an attendant ran and knocked at the gate and told the abbess. She at once opened the monastery gate, and went with one of her women to the men's quarter, sum-moning the priest to accompany her to the sick man. On coming there they saw many with him, who earnestly endeavoured to calm his madness, but could not. The priest chaunted and recited an exorcism composed for this sickness, and did all that he knew to be
he selust wið þon cuðe; 7 he hwæðre noht on þon fremede. Mid þy heora þa næning nænge helpe him findan meahte, þa cwom semninga þære ab supposed in gemynd seo foresprecene molde. Þa het heo sona hire þinnenne gaan 7 þa cyste hire to gesfetigan, þe seo molde in væs. Þa heo þa mid þa cyste in þone cafertúin eode þæs 5 huses, þe se feondseoca mon in þrästed væs, þa geswigade he semninga 7 his heafod onhylde, swa swa he slapan wolde, 7 his leomu in stilnesse gesette. Þa swigodon heo eac ealle 7 stille væron; 7 sorgiende bidon to hwon his þing weorðan scolde. Þa væs after medmicelre tide fæce ðæt he upp asæt 7 hefiglice 10 asworette 7 cwæð: Nu ic wat teala, 7 ic onsweng gewit mines modes. Ónd heo þa geornlice hine ahsoðon, hu þæt gelumpe. Cwæð he: Sona mid þy þe seo sæmne mid þære cyste, þe heo bær, geneolcete þæm cafertune þæs huses, þa gewiton ealle þa wergan gastas onweg, þa ðe mec swencton 7 prycton, 7 mec forleton 7 15 nower seoðan 7eteawdon. Þa sealdæ seo abbudisse him sumne dæl þære moldan; 7 seo mæssepreost orationem rædde, 7 heo for hine gebædon: 7 he ða niht ealle hal 7 gesund hine reste. Ónd siðpan of þære tide þa awyrgedan gastas hine mid næninge ege ne mid geswencenisse grétan dorston.

X.

Æfter ðissum væs æfterfylgendre tide sum cneohht in þæm mynstre in Beardan ea in longre lenctenadlæ hefiglice swenced. Þa væs sume dæge, þætte he sorgende bæd hwonne seo æðl to him cwome, þa væs gongende in to him sum þara broðra; cwæð him to: Wilt þu min cild þæt ic þe lære, hu þu gehæled beon meaht 25 from þisse æðle hefignesse? Aris 7 gong to cirican to þæs halgan Oswaldes lice, 7 site þær 7 stille wuna, 7 geseoh þæt þu ut þohon ne gonge, ær seo æðl from þe gewiten sy. Þonne cume ic to ðe þæc þohon ham lædo. Þa dyde he swa he hine lærde; eode gesittan to þæs halgan weres lice. Þa ne cwom him no seo 30 untrynnis to þy dæge; ac heo, swa ondrædende, from him gewat, þætte ne ðy æfteran dæge ne ðy þriddan ne ofer þæt siðpan hine oo geðrinan dorste. Cwom sum broðor þohon, cwæð Beda, þe me sægde þæt hit þus gedon være: 7 eac sægde, þæt se ilca broðor þa gyt in
best for it, but still produced no effect by this. As none could find anything to help him, suddenly the abbess bethought her of the aforesaid dust, and at once ordered her attendant to go and fetch the box containing it. When she with the box entered the hall of the house, where the demoniac was tormented, he suddenly became silent and dropped his head, as though he would sleep, and composed his limbs to rest. Then all were silent and still, and awaited the result with apprehension. Then after a little he sat up, sighed heavily and said: 'Now I am in my right mind, and have recovered my senses.' And they eagerly asked him, how that was. He replied: 'As soon as the woman carrying the box came near the hall of the house, all the evil spirits departed, who tormented and oppressed me, and they left me and appeared not here any more.' Then the abbess gave him a portion of the dust; and the priest recited an exorcism, and they prayed for him: and all that night he rested whole and sound. And from that time on the evil spirits durst not visit him with any terror or torment.

X.

After this at a subsequent time a boy in the monastery at Bardney suffered severely from a prolonged fever. When one day he was looking with apprehension for an attack, then one of the brethren came in to him and said: 'My child, will you learn from me, how you may be cured of this grievous sickness? Rise up and go into the church, and sit by the body of the holy Oswald and keep still, and see that you do not leave, till the attack is gone. Then I will come to you and bring you off home.' The boy did as he was directed, and went to sit by the saint's body. And that day the illness did not visit him, but kept away as if afraid, nor on the next, nor on the third day, nor ever after durst attack him. A brother coming from that place, said Beda, told me that it so happened, adding that the brother was still alive in the monastery
pæm mystre lizigende wære, in pæm cneohwesendum pis hælo wundor geworden wæs. Ne wæs pæt ðonne to wundrienne, ðeh ðæs cyninges bene, ða he mid Drihtne ricsade, mid him swìcåde 7 genge wære, se þæ never, ðendæn he pis hwilendlice hæfde riice, ma he gewunadæ, þæt he for pæm ecgan riice symle wonn 7 5 God bletsode.

Sægdon þætte þa menn, þa hit cuðon, þæt he oftost from þære tide þæs uhtlican lossonges oð huþtornæ dæg in gebedum astôde 7 awunadæ; 7 for þæm gelomlicum þeawæ his gebeda, swa hwæt swa he sæt, þæt his gewuna wæs þæt he his honda upward hæfde ofer 10 his cneo, 7 symle Drihtne Gode his gooda þæc sægde. Wæs eac swylca wiid mærsed 7 in gewunan gýddis gehwyrfeð, þæt he eac swylca withwæ ðæs gebedes word his lif geendade. Forðon þa he wæs mid wæþnum 7 mid feondum all utan behoped, 7 he seolfæ onget þæt hine mon ofslæan scolde, þa gebæd he for þam sawllum his 15 weorodes. Cwædon heo bi ðon þus in gýdde: Drihten God miltsæ þu sawllum ussa leoda, cwæð se halga Oswald, þa he on eorðan sáðg.

Wæron his baan gelæded 7 gehealden in þæm mystre, þe we ær cwædon æt Beardan ea. Heht se cyning, se þe hine sîlçg, his heafod 20 on steng asetton; 7 his hond mid þy earme, þe of his lichoman aslegen wæs, het to ahoon. Þa cwom æfter gîres fæce mid herige se æfterfylgend his riices Oswæo his mæg 7 heo þær genom: 7 his heafod mon lædde to Lindesfærena eae, 7 þær in cirican bebyrgde; 7 his hond mid þy earme in þære cynelican ceastre in Bebbanbyrig 25 gehealdene syndon.

XI.

p. 538.  
Cap. 13.

Nales ðæt an ðætte se hlisa pîses æðelan weres cæl Breotene gemæro geondsclne, ac swylce cac bi suðan sæ in Germania 7 eac somod þa dælas Hibernia Scotia celondes se hlisa his wundra bicwoom. Forðon Acca se arwyrða bispoc gewunode oft seevan, 30 þa he to Rome wæs ferende, 7 mid Wilbrord þon ealgn bispoc

on whom, as a boy, this miracle of healing had been wrought. It was no wonder, if the king’s prayer, when reigning with the Lord, prevailed and was effective with him, seeing that while he held this temporal kingdom, it was rather his wont ever to contend and bless God for the eternal kingdom. Those who knew said, that he very often continued and persevered in prayer from the time of lauds till clear daylight; and owing to his constant habit of praying, wherever he sat, he habitually kept his hands on his knees with the palms upwards, and he was continually thanking God for his mercies. It was also repeated far and wide, and it turned into a current saying, that he died with a prayer on his lips. For being surrounded on all sides by armed enemies, and perceiving that he should be slain, he prayed for the souls of his army; and thus they expressed it in a saying: ‘The Lord God have mercy on the souls of our people, said the holy Oswald, as he sank to the ground.’ His bones were brought and preserved in the aforesaid monastery at Bardney. The king who slew him, ordered his head to be set on a pole, and to hang up his hand with the arm, that was struck from his body. Then after a year’s time, his brother Oswio, who succeeded to his throne, came with a host and took them away from that place: and his head was brought to Lindisfarne and was buried in the church; but his hand and arm are preserved in the royal town of Bamborough.

XI.

The fame of this noble man not only was diffused over all Britain, but also the fame of his miracles spread along the south sea into Germany, and also into the districts of Ireland the island of the Scots. For the venerable bishop Acca was often wont to repeat that, on his way to Rome, when staying with the holy Wilbrord, bishop of the Frisians, he often heard him speak of...
Fresena wæs wuniende, ðæt he hine gelomlice herde secan in þære mægðe bi þæm wundrum, þe æt þæm banum þæs arwyrðan cyninges gedon wæron.

Swelce he eac sægde se bispoc, mid þy he ða gena mæsepreost wæs in Hibernia 7 pær for heofona rices lufan in elþeodignesse 5 lifde, þæt he þær þone hlisan in þæm ealonde his halignesse fœorr 7 wide gelomlice herde secan. Þonne magon we nu an wundor secan, þe he sægde betweoh oðer monego. Sægde he, þæt in þa tid þæs miclan wólés 7 monnewilde, þe Breotone ealond 7 Hibernia mid micle wæle fornorm 7 forhergade, ða wæs geslegen betweoh 10 oðre monige mid þy wæle þæs ilcan wólés sum leornungmon in scole Scotia cynnes. Wæs se mon wel gelæred in gewritum; ac ymb þa gemænne his ecre hælo wæs to sæne 7 to receleas. Da he þæ geseah þæt he sona, þæt þæs he forhtian 7 him ondredon, þæt he monige mid þy micle wæsele fornorn 7 forhergade, þa wæs geslegen betweoh 100.

1. 11. sum O. Ca. B. sunne T. 1. 25. þæode T. ðæode O. ðæode Ca. underðæode B. 1. 30. yldenn.ne (erasure of one) T. yldin.e, O. yldinge Ca. yldde B. onfende (o above f) T. onfonde O. Ca. onfeonge (om. beon) B.
the wonders, that had been wrought in that land at the relics of the revered king. The bishop also said, that when he was still a priest in Ireland, living there in a foreign land for love of the heavenly kingdom, that he often heard the fame of his sanctity repeated far and wide in that island. So we may now relate one miracle, which he mentioned among many others. He said that at the time of the great plague and loss of life, which ruined and wasted the islands of Britain and Ireland with great mortality, among many others there was smitten by the mortality a disciple in the school of Scotch descent. He was well read, but too slack and careless in regard for his eternal salvation. When he saw himself near death, he began to fear and to dread that, as soon as he died, he should be carried to hell prison according to his sins' deserts. As I was near him, he called me, and amid his feeble sighs, trembling and with plaintive voice, he thus spoke lamenting to me, and said: 'Now you see that this sickness and heaviness of my body increases much, so that I am forced soon to undergo death. I do not doubt, that after the death of this body I shall be carried at once to the eternal death of my soul and be subject to hell's torments. For I have long served sin and vice rather than God's commandments, while studying the divine word. I am now firmly resolved, if the heavenly goodness will grant me any time to live, that I will renounce my vicious habits, and steadfastly change all my mind and life to the ordinance of the divine will. I know in truth, that I shall not receive for my own merits a respite to live, nor do I trust to receive it, unless God will have mercy on me, a miserable and unworthy man, through the aid and prayers of his true servants. We have heard, and it is everywhere reported,
192

Liber Tertius.

maeresta hlisa is, paette waere in eowerre peode wundorlicere halignesse cyning, Oswald hatte, pes cyninges geleasan 7 megenes heannis æfter deðe eac swilce mid gelomlicra wundra wyrnisse scân 7 beorhte. Bidde ic pe la, gif þu ænige his reliquias hæbbe mid þec, paet þu me selle. Eaðæ meæg, paet me Drihten þurh his geearnung 5 miltsigan wille. Da ondsworode ic him: Ic hæbbu, cwæð, þæs treowes dæl, þe his heafod on aseted ðæs, þa he ofslegen ðæs.

Ond gif þu mid trumre heortan gelefest, þonne meæg seo godcunde arfæstnisse þurh geearnungeswa micles monnesæghwæsæer ge lengre sæc pisses lifes þe forgisan, ge þec eac þæs eac lifes ingonges 10 wyrðone gedon. Ne waes þe þa oldende, ac sone andsworode 7 cwæð, paet he in þissum hæfde fæstne geleasan 7 onwalhne. Þa gehalgode ic wæter 7 scæfpan dyde in þæs foresprecenan treoes, 7 sealde þam untruman drincan. 7 sone paet him waes bet 7 hine getrumade 7 gewyrpte from þære untrymnnesse. 7 he longe tiid seofðan lifde 7 15 mid ealle his heortan 7 dædum fæstlice to Gode gecerde; ond swa hwær swa he cwom, paet he eallum monnum sægde 7 bedade þa mildheortnesse þæs arfæstan scyppendes 7 paet wuldor his getreowan þeowes.

XII.

Cap. 14. Ono ða Oswald waes geæded to þam heofonlican rice, þa onfeng 20 þæs eorðlican rice sepl æfter him his broðor Osweo. Hæfde he þrætig wintra, þa he to riice feng, 7 þæt eahæt 7 twentig wintra gewinnesfullice heold 7 hæfde. Feaht him on 7 wynn Penda se cyning 7 seo hæðne peod Mercua; swelce eac his agen sunu Alhfrid 7 æðelwald his broðor sunu, se ær him riice hæfde. Þa 25 waes þy æfteran gere his rices, þætte se arwyrða sæder Paulinus, se waes geo in Eoferwicceastre biscop, þa waes in Hrofesceastre, forð-gewæt 7 to Drihtne ferde þy syxten dæge Iduum Octobrium, æfter þun þe he nigontyne winter 7 twegen monæð 7 an 7 twentig daga biscalophade onfeng. Ond he waes bebyrged on Seo Andreas 30 cirican þæs apostoles, ða æðelberht se cyning. in þære ilcan

1. 7. þa he ofslegen waes O. Ca. B. Not in T. 1. 10. in.gonges (erasure of n) T. ingonges O. Ca. B. 1. 29. nigon T. nygantyn O. Ca. nigontyne B. l. 30. on O. Ca. B. 7 T.
that in your people there was a king of wondrous sanctity called Oswald; and the loftiness of this king's faith and virtue shone out and was evident even after death by the working of repeated wonders. Lo now I pray you, if you have any of his relics with you, that you give them me. It may easily be, that the Lord will have mercy on me for his merits.' Then I answered him: 'I have,' said I, 'a portion of the tree on which his head was placed, when he was slain. And if you believe with a firm heart, then divine goodness, through the merits of so great a man, may either give you a longer time in this life, or make you worthy to enter into eternal life.' Then at once without delay he answered and said, that he had firm and full belief in this. Then I blessed water and put in it a chip from the aforesaid tree, and gave it to the sick man to drink. And at once he was better, grew strong and recovered from sickness. And he lived long after and turned steadfastly to God with all his heart and actions; and wherever he came, he reported and preached to all the mercy of the good God and the glory of his faithful servant.

XII.

Now when Oswald was carried to the kingdom of heaven, his brother Oswio succeeded him on the throne of his earthly kingdom. He was thirty years old at his accession, and held and maintained the kingdom amid many difficulties for twenty-eight years. King Penda and the heathen people of the Mercians assailed and fought with him, as well as his own son Alhfrith, and Æthelwald, son of the brother who reigned before him. In the second year of his reign the venerable father Paulinus, formerly bishop at York, then at Rochester, departed and went to the Lord on the 10th of October, after he had been bishop for nineteen years two months and twenty-one days. He was buried in the church of the apostle St. Andrew, which king Æthelberht formerly
Hrofesceastre ær heht getimbran. In þære stowe Honorius se ærcebiscop gehalgode Itthamar, se wæs Contwara leod, ac on his life 7 on his gelærednesse he wæs his foregengum gelic.

Hæfdæ Oswego se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efen-hletan þære cynelecæn weorðnesse, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Ead-5 wines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he secoþon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfæst 7 arfaest, 7 forðon callum his leodium leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone operne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfdæ, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwarænes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod, 7 on his gelserednesse he wæs his foregengura gelic. Hsefde Osweo se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efendæorhæfde, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Ead-5 wines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he secoþon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfæst 7 arfaest, 7 forðon callum his leodium leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone operne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfdæ, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwarænes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod, 7 on his gelserednesse he wæs his foregengura gelic. Hsefde Osweo se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efendæorhæfde, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Ead-5 wines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he secoþon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfæst 7 arfaest, 7 forðon callum his leodium leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone operne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfdæ, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwarænes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod, 7 on his gelserednesse he wæs his foregengura gelic. Hsefde Osweo se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efendæorhæfde, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Ead-5 wines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he secoþon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfæst 7 arfaest, 7 forðon callum his leodium leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone operne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfdæ, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwarænes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod, 7 on his gelserednesse he wæs his foregengura gelic. Hsefde Osweo se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efendæorhæfde, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Ead-5 wines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he secoþon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfæst 7 arfaest, 7 forðon callum his leodium leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone operne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfdæ, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwarænes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod, 7 on his gelserednesse he wæs his foregengura gelic.

Mid þy Oswini þa geseah, þætte he ne meahte wið hine gewinnan, forðon he maran fultum 7 mare mægen hæfdæ, þa wæs he nyttra þinga þencende, 7 demende þæt he þæt gefeoht forleot 7 15 hine geheolkde to betrane tide. Forlet þa his weorod, 7 bebead þæt him hwa ham ferde from þære stowe, þæt is nemned Wilfares dún. Seo is tyn milum westrihte from Cetreht weorðige. Þa gecerde he mid ánæ his þegne, þe he him getreowestne tealde, ðæs noma wæs Tondhere, to Hunwaldes ham his gesiðes, þæt he þær 20 wolde deagol beon, þone he him ær þone holdestan gelefeðe. Ac hit feorr on ðære wisan wæs. Forþon se ilca gesið þurh Æðelwine his geréfan mid þy foresprecen his þegne hine þær ameldedon; 7 hine mon þær laðlice deade cwælde. Wæs þis geworden þy þeottoþon dæge Kalendarum Septembrium þy nigoþan geare 25 Oswios riices in þære stowe, þæt is cweden Ingetlingum. Þær æfter fæce for intingan clæsnuæge pisses manes wæs munster getimbræ, in þæm for æghwæðres cyninges sawle alesnesse, ge þæs ofslegenæge þæs þe hine slean het, deågwamlice Drihtne bene 7 gebedo borene beon scoldan.

Wæs he Oswine se cyning ge on ðonsyne sæger ge on bodie heah ge wynsum on gespréæ, 7 in þeawum monþware ; 7 he wæs callum rungeofa ge æðelum ge únaæðelum. Donon gelomp, þætte fore his cynelicnesse ge modes ge onsynes 7 his geearnunge wyrmnesse, þæt he wæs from callum monnum lufod. Ond æghwonan lytesne of 35
ordered to be built in this town of Rochester. In his place archbishop Honorius consecrated Itthamar, of Kentish descent, but in life and learning equal to his predecessors. In the first years of his reign king Oswio had a partner in the royal dignity, named Oswini, of the family of king Eadwine, being son of Osric whom we mentioned before. Oswini reigned over Deira for seven years in complete affluence. He was just and pious, and for this beloved by all his people. But he could not maintain peace with the king, who had the other part of the Northumbrian realm, that is, Bernicia. Such disunion and hostility sprang up between them, that they assembled their followers and armies. Now when Oswini saw that he could not cope with him, as he had more auxiliaries and a greater force, he bethought him of the more expedient course, and determined to give up the struggle and reserve himself for better times. So he disbanded his troops and directed everyone to return home from the place, which is called Wilfares-dun, which is ten miles west from the village of Catterick. And he turned off with one attendant, whom he considered most faithful, named Tondheri, to the house of his gesith Hunwald, whom he formerly believed to be most loyal to him, intending to conceal himself there. But it was far otherwise. For this gesith, by the instrumentality of his reeve Æthelwin, betrayed the king with his aforesaid attendant; and he was shamefully put to death. This took place on the 20th of August in the ninth year of Oswio's reign, at the place called Gilling. There after a time to purge away this sin a monastery was erected, in which daily prayer and supplication should be offered to the Lord for the deliverance of the souls of both kings, the one that was slain and the one who ordered his slaying. King Oswini was handsome in appearance, tall in person, and pleasant in address, gentle in his manners, and liberal to all whether gentle or simple. Consequently he was beloved of all for the kingliness of his spirit and his looks, and his high merits. And the noblest flocked to join his retinue and
callum pissum bysylcum to his folgadē 7 his āpegunne ām æslestan men cwomon.

Pisses cyninges betweoh oðer mægon 7 gemetfæstnisse 7 syndriglicre bletsunge wuldir, eac swilce is sægd, ðæt he wære þære mæstan caðmodnesse, swa swa we magon on ðære bisene sweotole 5 oncnawan. Geaf he 7 sealde ðæt betste hors 7 þæs fægerestan eordes Aidane þæm biscope, þeah þæ he gewuna wære ðæt he ma eode þonne he ride, þæt he hwætre on þæm meahete fordas oferridan, þonne he to hwelcere ea cwome; oððe gif hwyle ned gelumpe, ðæt he hrædlicor feran scolde. Þa wæs æfter medmicelre tiide, þa he 10 on þæm horse sæt, ðæt him cwum sum þearfa togeanes 7 him ælnessan bæd. Þa lihte he sona 7 heht þæm þearfan þæt hors syllan mid þæm cyneelicum gehætum þe he onstodon. Forpon he wæs swiðe mيدheort 7 þearfena bigenga 7 swa swa fæder cearna. Þa pis þa wæs þæm cyninge gesægd, cwæð he to þæm biscope, þa 15 heo wærnut to heora swæsendum gongende: Hwæt woldest þu, min domne biscope, þæt cyneelic hors þæm þearfan syllan, þe ðe gedæfenade agan to habbanne? Æc ne læfdon wit monig oðer uncymre hors 7 oðres eordes, þæt wit meahton pearfum to tigðe sellan, þeah þu þæt hors him ne sealde, þæt ic ðe synderlice to æhte 20 geceas? Þa andswaredre se biscope him sona 7 cwæð: Hwæt sprycest þu cyning? Ćwist ðu ðæt þe sy leofre þære myran sunu þonne þæt Godes bearn? Ða heo þa pis sprecon, þa iodon heo in to swæsendum, 7 se biscope eode ge sæt in his stowe on his selde.

Se cyning þonne, forðon he of huntæ cwom, gestōd æt þæm fyre 25 7 hine wyrmde mid his þegnum. Ond þa semninga betweoh þa werminge gemunde þæt word, þæt se biscope him ær to cwæð: ongyrne hine þa his sweorde 7 sealde his þegne, 7 stop ofostlice toforan biscope 7 feoll to his fotum, 7 bæd þæt he him bliðe wære, 7 cwæð: Næstre ofer þis ic owiht ma spreco oððe demo, hwæt oððe 30 hu micel of uncrum feó þu Godes bearnum selle. Þa se biscope þa geseah þa caðmodnesse þæs cyninges swa micle, þa ondred he him swiðe 7 sona aras him togegenes 7 hine up ahóf, 7 geheht þæt

1. 3. gemetfæstnisse syndriglicre bletsunge T.  gemetfæstnise syndriglicre bletsunge (the last s of first word and the first s of second word on erasure) O.
service, from almost every quarter in all the adjoining provinces. Among other virtues of this king and signal instances of modesty and of special blessedness, it is also said that he was of the utmost humility, as we may clearly perceive from a single example.

5 He bestowed and gave his best horse of the finest breed to bishop Aidan, though the latter was wont to travel more on foot than on horseback, to enable him at any rate to ride over the fords, when he came to any river, or in case of need, to proceed more rapidly. Now after a little, when the bishop was on horseback, a poor man met him and begged alms. Then he dismounted at once and ordered the horse to be given to the poor man, along with the royal trappings that were on it. For he was very benevolent and cared for the needy and was, as it were, a father to the poor. On this being reported to the king he said to the bishop, as they were going to dinner: 'Sir bishop, why would give that royal steed to the poor man, which it was proper for you to keep for yourself? Had we not many other less handsome horses of other breeds, which we might give to the poor as a gift, without your giving them the horse, which I specially chose to be your own property?' The bishop replied at once: 'What do you say, O king? Do you say that the offspring of a mare is dearer to you than God's child?' Having thus spoken they went in to dinner, and the bishop went and took his place on his own chair. Then the king, having just come from hunting, stood at the fire and warmed himself among his attendants. And suddenly, while warming himself, he recollected the words which the bishop had just said to him, unbuckled his sword and gave it to his attendant, and stepping up quickly to the bishop, fell at his feet and begged him to be friendly with him, saying:

'Never after this will I say a word more, or judge as to what or how much you give of our property to God's children.' When the bishop saw the king's humility to be so great, he was much afraid, at once arose to meet him, lifted him up, promised to be very

gemæfæstnesse ændirlicere bleysunge Ca. gemæfæstnesse ænderlice bleysunge B. 1. 21. da—cwad not in T. Text from O. Ca. B.
he him swiðe bliðe wære, 7 georne bädd þæt he eode to his sceal sittan to his swæsendum 7 unrotnisse of his heortan asette. Mid þy he þæ wascyning bi þæs bispoces hæse 7 bene blisse onfeng, þæ ongon he se bispoc ongegn þon unrot weosan, 7 swa unrot wæs, þæt he ongon wepan hluttrum tearum. Þa frægn hine 75 ahods his mæssepriest on his aen geðeode, þæ se cyning ne cuðe ne his higen, for hwon he weope. Cwæð he: ic wat þæt þæs cyning æfter þissum noht lange ne leofæð, forþon ic næfre ær þissum geseah eaðmodne cyning. Forþon ic ongeote, þæt he hraedlice of þissum life leoran sceal; ond nis þes þeod wyrdæ 10 þæt heo swilce recenc 7 cyning hassbe. Ne wæs þa long sec æfter þætte se grimma witedom þæs bispocs wæs gefyllæ, þæt mon laðlice deape þone cyning acwealde, swa we ær beforan sægdon. Ge eac se seolfa bispoc Aidan naes ma þonne þy twelftan dæge æfter þæs cyninges slege, þone þæ he hufode, þæt 15 is þy ærran dæge Kalendas Septembris, of þisse worulde ælæded wæs, 7 ece mede his gewinna from Drihtne onfeng.

XIII.

Cap. 15. Ono hwylcre geearnunge þes bispoc wære, mid wundra tacnum eac swilce se inlica dema ælmhiltig God monnum gecyðode. Þonne is us nu genoh, þæt we of monegum þeod areccen for intingan 20 his gemynde. Wæs sum arwyrdæ mæssepriest, þæs noma wæs Æutta: wæs micelre gestæðpignesse 7 soðfæstnisse wer, 7 he forþon eallum ge þisse worulde ældormonnum wæs leof 7 weorð. Wæs he sended in sume tid to Cent, þæt he seolde Osweo þæm cyninge wið fertiga Eanflæde Eadwines dohtor þæs cyninges, 25 seo wæs ær þider geleæded, þa hire fæder ofselegen wæs. Þa gestihhade he 7 funde, þæt he wolde londlyrde þider gefaran, 7 eft in sciplade mid þære fæmman haam hweorfan. Þa eode se mæssepriest to Aidane þæm bispocæ; bädd hine þæt he for hine gebæde 7 for his gefaran, 7 for heora gesyntu to Gode þingade, 30 þa heo swa micelne siðfæt feran scolden. Þa dyde he swa:

friendly to him, earnestly entreating that he would go and sit in his place at the meal, and put away sadness from his heart. Now when the king at the bishop's bidding and request recovered his spirits, the bishop on the other hand began to be sad, and so sad that he began to weep profusely. Then his priest asked him in his own language, which neither the king nor his household knew, why he wept. He said: 'I know that this king will not survive long, for I never before saw humility in a king: therefore I feel that he is soon to depart this life; and this people is not worthy to have such a king and ruler.' Not long after the dire prophecy of the bishop was fulfilled, namely, that the king was murdered by a foul death as already related. And bishop Aidan himself, not more than twelve days after the death of the king whom he loved, that is on the last day of August, was taken from this world, and received from the Lord the eternal reward of his labours.

XIII.

Now what this bishop's merits were, was made known to men also by miraculous signs from God the judge of hearts. But it is now enough to relate, for his memory's sake, three out of many. There was a venerable priest named Utta, a man of great gravity and truthfulness, and for this reason beloved and valued by all, as well as by the great men of this world. He was once sent to Kent to fetch Eanflæde, daughter of king Eadwine, to be wife of king Oswio, who had been brought there, when her father was slain. Then he settled and arranged to go there by a land route; and to return home with the lady on board ship. Then the priest went to bishop Aidan, entreated his prayers for himself and companions and supplications to God for their safety, as they had such a long journey to travel. Then he did so: he prayed for them, blessed them,
gebæd heo fore 7 heo gebletsade 7 Gode bebead; sealde eac swylce þæm mæssepreostge gehalgodne éle. Cwað him to: Ìc wat sona, cwæð he, þæs þe ge in scip astigaþ, þæt ofer eow cymoð micel storm 7 hreonis, 7 wiðerweard wind astigeð. Ac gemyne þu þæt þu þisne éle, þe ic þe nu sylle, synd in þa sé; 7 sona instæpe 5 se wind gestilleð 7 sæs smyltnes æfterfylgeð, 7 eow eac blide on cowerne wilsid hám förætad.

Ond eal þas þing, swa se bispoc forecwæð of endebyrdnesse gelumpun 7 gefylde wæren. Ond sona ðærest, þæs þe heo in scip eodon 7 ut leton, þætte astigon wiðorwearde windas, 7 þa yða 10 weollon 7 weddon þæs sé. Þa ongunnon þa nedlingas 7 þa scipmen þa oncras upp teon, 7 in þone sé syndon; woldon þæt scip mid gefæstnian. 7 þeah þe heo þis dydon, noht heo on þon fremedon; ac þa yða weollon 7 ymsweopon 7 æghwunan þæt scip fyldon, þæt heo him nænigra gesynta wendon, ac heo ealle 15 deæ seolfné him onwearnde gesægon. Þa æt nyhstan gemunde se mæssepreost þæs biscopes word: genom his ommellan, 7 sumne dæl þæs éles sende in þone sé. Ond sona instæpe, swa hit forecweden wæs, gestilde se sæ from þæm wylme. Ond swa wæs geworden, þætte se Godes wer þurh wìtedomes gast þone storm 20 towearnde foresæah, 7 þurh þæs ilcan gastes mægen, þa he up cumen wæs, þæt he hine aswefede 7 gestilde, þeah þe he lichomlice þær æfwærd wære. Þisses wundres endebyrdnesse nænig tweonde secgend, ac se getreowesta mæssepreost usse cirican, Cynemund hadde, me þis sægde; sægde he, he hit gehyrde from þæm seolfnæ 25 Uttan mæssepreoste, in þæm 7 þurh þone þis wundor gefylled wæs.

XIII.

Cap. 16. Þonne scegæþ monige, þa þe hit gearuwe cuðon, ðoð gemyn-delic wundor þæs ilcan fæder. Þæt gelomp in þa tid his biscopnæda, þætte Þenda Mercu cyning gæledde here on Norðan-hymbra lond, 7 hit seor 7 wide mid arlease wæle hyðde 7 hergode. 30 þa becwom he æt-nyhstan to þære cyndeðæn byrig, seo is nemned Bebbanburg. Þa he þa gesæah, þæt seo burg wæs to þon fæst.
and commended them to God. He also gave the priest consecrated oil, saying: 'I know that, soon after you embark, a great storm and tempest will come upon you, and a contrary wind will arise. But remember to cast into the sea this oil which I give you; and at once the wind will fall, and calm will follow and send you home rejoicing on your way, as you desire.' And all fell out in order, and was fulfilled according to the bishop's prophecy. And first, as soon as they went on board and put out, contrary winds arose, and the waves of the sea rose and raged. Then the ship's crew and the sailors hoisted the anchors, and dropped them into the sea, intending to moor the ship with them. But they effected nothing, though they did so; for the waves seethed and swept round them, and filled the ship from all sides, so that they utterly despaired of safety, and all saw death before their eyes. At last the priest recollected the bishop's words, took his flask and poured some of the oil into the sea. And at once, as it was foretold, the sea calmed down from its fury. And so had the man of God by a spirit of prophecy foreseen the storm coming, and by virtue of the same spirit, laid to rest and stilled it, after it had arisen, though not there present in the body. The circumstances of this miracle were reported to me by no doubtful authority, but by a most trustworthy priest of our church called Cynemund, who said he heard it from the priest Utta himself, in whose case and through whom this miracle was wrought.

XIV.

Now many, who are well informed, relate another memorable miracle of the same father. During the time of his episcopate it happened, that Penda, king of Mercia, led his host into the land of Northumbria, wasting and despoiling it far and wide with cruel carnage. At last he came to the royal city, named Bamborough;
he ne meahte ne mid gescohtene mid ymbsete heo abrekan ne gegaan, 
þa wolde he mid fyre forbaeran. Asłat þa þa túnas ealle ymb 
þa burg onwæg, ðe he þær on neaweste gemette, 7 to þære byrigh 
gewæg, 7 micelne ád gesomnade on beamum 7 on ræstrum 7 on 
wagum 7 on watelum 7 on ðeacon; 7 mid þissum þa burg mid 5 
micelre heannisse ymbsealde from þæm dæle, þe heo londe gepceded 
is. Þa hit þa wæs wel gewinde in þa burg, þa onbærnde he þone 
aæd 7 þa burg forbaeran wolde.

Da in þa seolstan tid wæs se arwyrdican bispoc 7 se halga Aidan in 
Farne þæm ealonde, þæt is on twæm milum from þære byrigh ut on 10 
sé. Wæs his gewuna þæt he ða stowe gelomlice sohte for intingan 
stillnesse 7 his deagolra gebeda, ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa 
stoðe his sæcles on þæm ilcan ealonde sceawian. Þa he þa se 
bispoc geseah swapendum windum þone leg þæs fyres 7 þone rèc 
up ofer þære burge wallas ahefenne, is sægd, þæt he his eagan mid 15 
his hondum to heofonum hofe 7 mid tearum þus cwæde: Þu 
Drihten, geseoh hu micel yfel Penda wyrced. Ond þa sona 
instæpe oncerde se wind from þære byrigh, 7 se leg 7 seo haet 
ræðe on þa seolstan, þe þæt fyr ældon 7 bærndon, 7 monig monn 
swîde gewyrdledon; 7 heo ealle afyrhte onweg flugon 7 blunnon þa 20 
burg afeohton, þa heo ongeton þæt heo godcundlice gescilded wæs.

Cap. 17. Da þæt ða gen wæs, þæt þa ger gefylle gewaron his biscothada, 
þæt he þis deadlice lif forlaeten scoelde, 7 he únrum wæs, þa wæs 
he in þæm cynelecan tune noht seorr from þære byrigh, þe we ær 25 
foresprecende waron, in þæm he hæfde cirican 7 cytan. 7 his 
gewuna wæs, þæt he gelomlique þider cerde 7 þær wunade, 7 
þonon eode gehwyder ymb, 7 þær godcunde lare bodade 7 lærde. 
(þæt eac swilce his peaw wæs ón ðe oðrum cyninges tune to donne, 
swa swa hit eæe beon mihte, forðon þe he nowiht agnes hæfde, 30 
butan his cyricean 7 þær to feower æceras.) Þa aslogan his

1. 3. de T. þe Ca. O. ðe to gewæg not in B. 1. 9. The divergency is 
now so great between T. B. on one side and O. Ca. (C.) on the other, that full 
citations of the latter must be reserved for Part ii. (to end of cap. 18).
1. 13. sceawian T. sceawian B. 1. 14. windu (erasure) T. windu B.
1. 22. T. has the illuminated initial, and coloured capitals (as far as wæs), 
marking the beginning of a new chapter. The number XVII is late. There
or investment destroy or capture it, he determined to burn it down. So he pulled down all the villages around the city, which were to be found in the neighbourhood, and conveyed to the city and collected a huge pile of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles and thatch. With these he surrounded the city to a great height, on the side where it adjoins the land. And when the wind blew fair on to the town, he kindled the pile, intending to burn down the town. Now just at this time the venerable bishop St. Aidan was at the island of Farne, which is two miles out at sea from the town. He was wont often to visit the place for the sake of retirement and prayer in secret, and still at this day his dwelling-place may be seen on the island. Now when the bishop saw the flames of fire and the smoke carried up by the sweeping winds over the walls of that city, it is said that he raised his hands and his eyes to heaven and spoke thus with tears: 'Lord, see how much evil Penda does.' And then at once on the spot the wind shifted from the town, and the flames and the heat turned on those, who kindled and burnt the fire, and many were much injured; and all fled away in alarm and ceased to attack the city, which they saw was divinely protected. Now when the years of his episcopate were fulfilled, that he should leave this mortal life, and he fell sick, he was then at that royal residence, not far from the city we have mentioned before, at which he had a church and a cell. And it was his wont to go often and stay there, and from this he went about in every direction, preaching and teaching the word of God. This also it was his habit to do at other residences of the king, as easily might be the case, for he had nothing of his own, save his church and a few fields adjoining. Then his companions, when he fell ill, put

is no number in Ca. (which numbers Cap. 21 as XV); but here is inserted in red letters eft oder őw, and at beginning of Cap. 18, 7 eft oder cwde: cc. 19, 20 are wanting in O. Ca. C. The beginning of the chapter is marked in O. (as usual) by a capital coloured; in B. (as generally) by a blank left for the initial. 1. 29. Dat to acerus inserted from O. Ca. (C): not in T. B.
geferan teld, ūa he untrum wæs, on westan þære cirican fæst. Ūa gelomp, ūa he forðferan scolde, þæt he genom ūa studu, þe seo cirice mid awreðed wæs, 7 on þære styðe stōndende forðferde ymb feowertyno ger, þæs þe he bispoc wæs, ðarran dægæ Kalendærum Septembruin. Ledde mon his lichoman to Lindesarena ēa, 7 in broðra lictune wæs bebyrged. Ūa wæs æfterfylgendre tide, mîd þy þær mare cirice getimbred wæs 7 in Ócæ Petres noman þæs aldorapostolæs wæs gehalged, þæt heo his bán ūpp adydon 7 in þa cirican in suphealfæ þæs wigbedes asetton æfter arwyrðesæsa swa micles bispoces. Æfter him fylgde in þone bispophad Fiinan, 10 se wæs eac from Hīi Scotta mynstre 7 ealondæ sended, 7 longæ tiid bispoc wæs.

Ūa gelomp æfter unmonægum gearum, þætte Penda Mercna cyning cwom mid Mercna here in þa stōwe, 7 all þa ðæ he meahæte, mid iserne 7 fyres lége fornorn 7 forleas, 7 swylce eac þone túns, þe se bispoc 15 in forðferde, ætgaedre mid þa gemyndgedæ cirican fyrc forberænde. Ac wundorlicæ gemetæ þa studu æne, þe se bispoc onhleoniende forðferde, þæt fyr gretan ne meahæte. Ūa þis wundor þus gecyðed wæs, timbrede mon hraðe eft þa cirican 7 þa ilcan studu útan tógesette to tymnesæ þæs wages, swa swa heo ær wæs. Æft gelomp æfter 20 tida fæce þurh ungemanne synne, þætte se ilca túns forborn 7 seo ilce cirice ætgaedre wæs mid fyrc fornumæn. Ac hwæðre se leg þa ilcan stúdu gehrinæ ne meahæte, 7 mid micle wundre, þætte se lég þurhæt þa næglæs in þæm pyrelæm, þe heo mid þæm to þæm timbre gefæstnæd wæs, 7 hwæðre þa stúdu sæðpan ne meahæte. Úa tim-25 brode mon þriddæn síde þa cirican þær; 7 þa ilcan studu nailes swa swa ær uton tógesetton to tymnesæ þæs huses, ac in gemynd þæs wundres in þa ciricon setton, þætte þa ingongendæ þær heora eneo begeæn scoldæn 7 him heofonlicæ mildheortnesæ wilnian 7 secan. Ond þæt cuð is, þætte monige of þære tiide in þære ilcan 30 stōwe hælc gife onfengen. Ge eac swylce of þære ilcan styðe spónas þweoton 7 sæðpan noman, 7 in wæter sendon 7 untrumæm drincæn sealdon, 7 monigæ úntrymnæsa læcedomas onfengen.

1. 24. pur,æt B. þær T. 1. 29. heofonlicæ B. -rice T.
up a tent fastened to the west side of the church. And it happened, when he was about to die, that he took hold of the buttress, which supported the church, and leaning on that so died, in the fourteenth year of his episcopate, on the last day of August. His body was carried to Lindisfarne and buried in the cemetery of the brethren. And at a later time, when a larger church was built there and consecrated in the name of the chief apostle St. Peter, they took up his bones and laid them in the church, on the south of the altar, as was due to so great a bishop. Finan followed him in the episcopate; he too was sent from Iona, a monastery and island of the Scots, and was a long time bishop. After not many years it happened that Penda, king of Mercia, came with a Mercian host to that place, and ruined and destroyed all he could with fire and sword, and burnt also the village where the bishop died, along with the church we have mentioned. But in a wonderful way the fire could not touch the buttress alone, on which the bishop leant when he died. Now when the story of this marvel was made known, the church was quickly rebuilt and the same buttress set up without, to support the wall as before.

Again after a time it happened by sinful carelessness, that the same village was burnt down, and the same church along with it, was destroyed in the fire. Yet the flame might not touch this buttress, but very wonderfully the flame eat through the nails in the nail holes, by which it was fastened to the edifice, and still might not injure the buttress. Then the church was built a third time on that spot; and the buttress was not placed as before outside to support the building, but in memory of the miracle, they put it in the church, that those who entered might there bow the knee, and desire and seek for themselves the mercy of heaven. And it is well known, that many from that time received the grace of healing at that spot. They also cut off chips from the same buttress and took shavings, and put them in water and gave them to the sick to drink, and they obtained remedies against many infirmities.
(Soālice pis ic wrat be þam weorcum þēs forespreecenān weres: ac me swa þēah no ne licede on him, þæt he þa weorpunge Eastrena on riht ne heold ne nyste; ac ic hit swiðe onscunede, swa swa ic on þære bec, þe ic worhtē de temporibūs, swiðe sweotole gecyðe. Ac ic, swa swa sósagal stærwritere, þa þing, þe be him 5 oðde þurh hine gewordene wæron, ic awrat, 7 þa þing þe herunge wyrde wæron, ic herede. He hæfde swiðe micle geornnesse sibbe 7 sóþre lufan 7 forhæfdesse 7 eāðmodnesse. Næfde he on him nāðer ne yrre ne oferhyd ne gytsunge, ne idel gylp him on ne ricsade. He hæfde þa gleawnesse Godes bebudō to healdanne 7 to 10 læranne; 7 he hæfde þa geornfulnesse haligu gewritu to rædanne 7 wæcecean tō beganganne; 7 he hæfde sacerde gerisene ealdor-licnesse þa ofermedan to þreageanne 7 þa weligan; 7 he hæfde mildheartnesse þa untruman 7 þa þeardandes mid to frefregenne. Swa swa ic nu æt feawum wordum sege, be þon þe þædon þe 15 hine cupon, þæt of callum þon, þe on halgum bocum beboden is to healdanne, he nowiht to gymeleste ne forlet, ac he hit eall, swa forþ swa he mihte, hæfde gælest. Þas þing ic on þam forespreecenān biscoepe swiðe lufie, forðan ic nó ne tweoeg þæt hi Gode liciǣ. Þæt he þa Eastran on hiora rihttīd ne heold, forðon þe oðde he 20 hiora gesetton tīde nyste oðde, þēah þe he wiste, for þære ealdor-licnesse his agerē þeode he hire ne gymbde, ic no ne herige. On þara Eastrana mœrsunge swa þēah he nowiht oðres ne ne gelyfde ne ne weorðode ne ne bodode, buton þæt ylice þæt we, þæt is þa alysnesse monna cynnes þurh prowunge 7 þurh æriste 7 þurh 25 ūpstige on heofonas þēs midligendes Godes 7 monna, monnes Hælendes Cristes. Ne heold he no þa Eastran, swa swa sume men wenað, mid Iudeum on feowertynenihtne mónan gehwylce dæge on wucan, ac a symle on Sunnandæge fram feowertyne- nihtum monan oð twentigesnihtne, for þam geleasan þære 30 Dryhtenlican æriste, þa æriste he gelyfde on anum þara restedaga.

1. 1. soālice to end of chap., not in T. B. Text from O. weorcum O. weorcum Ca. 1. 2. swa C. se O. seo Ca. 1. 6. herunge wyrde (n out of o by erasure of top; ṭe on erasure) O. her on wyrde Ca. 1. 8. hæfde he Ca.; O. has the words in margin and not first hand. Not in C. 1. 9. gylp, O. gylp hi Ca. him not in C. 1. 12. hæfde Ca. hæfde (with cross stroke
Now I have written thus about the works of the aforesaid man. Still I did not approve of this in him, that he did not rightly hold or know the celebration of Easter; but I objected to it strongly, as I very clearly showed in the book which I composed, De temp-oribus. But I, as a truthful historian, wrote what was done about him or through him, and praised what deserved praise. He was very earnest for peace and true love, for temperance and humility. There was in him neither anger nor pride nor covetousness, nor had idle boasting any hold on him. He was wise in keeping and teaching God's ordinances; he was zealous in reading Holy Scripture and in keeping vigils. He had authority befitting a priest to check the arrogant and powerful; he was compassionate in comforting the sick and needy. To declare in a few words all that was said by those who knew him, of all that is ordained in the holy books to be kept, he allowed nothing to be neglected, but ever fulfilled all, as far as he had power. This then I heartily love in the aforesaid bishop, not doubting that it is well pleasing in God's sight. But that he did not keep Easter at its right time, either not knowing its appointed season, or, though he knew, dis-regarding it owing to the authority of his own people, this I do not approve. However in celebrating Easter he neither believed, nor esteemed, nor preached anything else than we do, that is, the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection and ascension of our Saviour, the man Christ, the Mediator between God and man. He did not keep Easter, as some imagine, in agreement with the Jews, on the fourteenth night of the moon on any day of the week, but always on Sunday, from the fourteenth night of the moon up to the twentieth night, from belief in our Lord's resurrection, which he believed to have been on one of the days of rest, and also


mona C.; erased in O. but traceable; not in Ca. 1. 28. ïnde.m., (letter erased after m) O. indeam on (sic) Ca. nihhte monan (the second stroke of n.e and all monan on erasure) O. nihte monan Ca. 1. 29. ac Ca.; not in O. C. 1. 31. æriste (i out of e) O. æriste Ca.
Cap. 18. *Pissum tidum* Eastengla rice æfter Eorwpwalde Rædwaldes æfter-5 fylgengde Sigeberht his broðor fore wæs. Wæs he god man 7 æfest, se ær in Gallia rice fulwihtes bæðe onfeng, pa he þær wrecce wæs 7 Rædwaldes seonðscipefleah. Ond sonda þæs pe he eft on his eðel hwearf ond rice onfeng, pa wilnade he liif onhyrgan, þe he wel gesetæd gesæh in Gallia rice. Ond he scole gesette, in þære cneohatas 7 geonge menn 10 tydde 7 læerde wæron; 7 him fullmade Felix se bispoc, þone he of Cent onfeng. Gesette he magistras 7 lære æfter Contwara þeave. Ond swa swiðe se cyning wæs geworden lufiend þæs heofonlican rices, þæt he æt nyhstan forlet þæt eorðlice rice, 7 his mæge Ecgberhtæ bebead, 7 in mynster code, þæt he him seolfaer getimbrade, 15 7 sceare onfeng 7 ma gemde for þam ecan rice to comipiene.

Pa he þæt pa longe tiid dyde, pa gelomp þætte Penda Mercna cyning teah here 7 fyrd wið Eastengle 7 ðider to gefeohite cwom. Pa heo pa hie in þæm gefeohite neopor gesegon 7 læsson weorude heora feondum, þæd heo Sigeberht, þæt he mid him owome 20 to þæm gefeohite heora compweorod to trymmmanne. Pa ne wolde he ac wiðcwæð, þa tugon heo hine nydinga of þam mynstre 7 læddon on þone here. Wendon heo þæt heora compweorodes môd þy unforhtre beon seoelde, 7 þy læs fluge for his andweardnesse; forðon he was ær se fromesta heretoga. Ac he wæs gemyndig 25 his ondetnesse 7 his gehata, þe he God geheht. Pa he wæs mid þy unmetan weorode ymblaed, ne wolde he oðer wepen nemme ðæne gyrrde him on honda habban; ond he was ofslegen mid Ecgrice þam cyningas, 7 eall heora weorod oðpe geselgen oððe gefyldem wæs. Wæs æfterfylgend his rices Anna geworden Eanes sunu of heora 30 cyningcynne; wæs god monn 7 þæs betðstan tudres *ceumnend, bi þon her æfter in heora tid is to scegynne. Ond he scolda æfter þon

1. 5. T. marks beginning of chapter by illumination, etc., as usual. Ca. has 7 *eft oðer cwide.* O. has coloured initial. B. has blank for D, in which a
The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.