

— *Anglo-Saxon Texts 5* —

***ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF
SAINT BASIL THE GREAT***

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

*Edited by
Gabriella Corona*

Anglo-Saxon Texts 5

ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF SAINT BASIL THE GREAT

The life and thought of Saint Basil the Great (329–79) were a seminal influence on western theology and monasticism, their echoes reaching as far as Anglo-Saxon England: the hagiographic tradition of this saint began in Greek, but by the end of the tenth century had already been translated three times into Latin and once into Old English.

This book presents a new edition and translation of the Old English text, prepared by Ælfric of Eynsham in the tenth century, with an edition of one of the Latin versions of the *Vita Basilii*. These are complemented by the first ever full-length study of the hagiographies of Basil, setting these textual traditions against their wider intellectual background. It outlines evidence for the cult of Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon England from the late-seventh century, together with the influence of his theological thought, especially upon Bede's work. It then moves on to explore the Old English translation in detail, setting it in the context of the English Benedictine reform.

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ÆLFRIC'S
LIFE OF SAINT BASIL THE GREAT

Background and Context

Edited by
GABRIELLA CORONA

D. S. BREWER

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*University of York
December 2005*

Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Acta SS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bolland <i>et al.</i> (Brussels, 1643–)
<i>ÆHom</i>	<i>Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection</i> , ed. J. C. Pope, EETS o.s. 259, 260 (London, 1967–78)
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>ASPR</i>	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, NY, 1931–42)
BaP	Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>BBV</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Basiliana Unversalis</i> , ed. P. J. Fedwick, 4 vols. (Turnhout, 1993–2000)
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), and <i>Auctarium</i> (Brussels, 1984)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , 2 vols. and <i>Supplementum</i> (Brussels, 1898–1901); <i>Novum Supplementum</i> , ed. H. Fros (Brussels, 1986)
BL	British Library
<i>BSS</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sanctorum</i> , ed. F. Caraffa, 12 vols. and <i>Indici</i> (Vatican City, 1961–70)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
<i>CHI</i>	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series</i> , ed. P. A. M. Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford, 1997)
<i>CH II</i>	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series</i> , ed. M. R. Godden, EETS s.s. 5 (Oxford, 1979)
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , ed. M. Geerard <i>et al.</i> , 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–87)
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 3rd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995)
<i>CPPM</i>	<i>Clavis Patristica Pseudographicorum Medii Aevi</i> , ed. J. J. Machielsens, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1990–4)
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1912–)
EETS	Early English Text Society
— o.s.	original series
— s.s.	supplementary series

ABBREVIATIONS

- Flor. Cas.* *Florilegium Casinense*, ed. Benedictines of Monte Cassino, 3 vols. (Monte Cassino, 1873–7)
- Gneuss* H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, MRTS 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001)
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society
- JEGP* *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
- Ker* N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); ‘A Supplement to *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*’, *ASE* 5 (1976), 121–31
- Ker MSS* N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1977)
- LB Ælfric’s Life of Saint Basil
- LS* *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900, rpt. in 2 vols., 1966)
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- Auct. Antiq. Auctores Antiquissimi
- Conc. Concilia
- Ep. Kar. Epistolae Aevi Karolini
- Hilfs. Hilfsmittel
- SRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
- MRTS Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
- MS* *Mediaeval Studies*
- NQ* *Notes and Queries*
- ODCC* *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997)
- PG Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
- PL Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
- SASLC 1 *Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Acta Sanctorum*, Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture 1, ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill, P. E. Szarmach and G. E. Whatley (Binghamton, NY, 2001)
- Settimane Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo (Spoleto)
- SP* *Studies in Philology*
- TLL* *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–)
- TMLT Toronto Medieval Latin Texts

Study

INTRODUCTION

ÆLFRIC of Eynsham, also known as Ælfric the Grammarian, lived approximately between 955 and 1016, during the troubled years of Æthelred Unræd's reign (978–1016). Not much is known about Ælfric's life. Most of what there is can be gathered from his writings and from documentary evidence on the construction of Eynsham Abbey.¹ He studied as a monk at Winchester in Æthelwold's school, where he learned Latin. In 987 he was sent to Cernel (Cerne Abbas, Dorset), where he came under the patronage of Æthelmær and possibly his father Æthelweard and where he wrote the bulk of his work. When he was sent to Eynsham, (Oxfordshire) in 1005, as its founding abbot, Ælfric had, therefore, already committed to parchment most of the surviving works attributed to him.² The eighty sermons known as the *Catholic Homilies* were issued in two stages, as two separate collections, and are linked to the liturgical year, containing pieces for both movable and unmovable feasts. The compilation of these two series must be dated to the year 995 at the latest. As Ælfric himself stated, it seems as if he had in mind a fourfold homiletic plan. This, however, he did not carry forward after his third group of sermons which goes under the editorial title the *Lives of Saints*.³

The Life of Saint Basil (LB) is part of this third collection, dated variously by scholars to either 998 or 1002.⁴ Like the *Catholic Homilies*, this collection is organised *per circulum anni* (according to the calendar

¹ For a summary of the key facts of Ælfric's life see M. Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Saint Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 575–9.

² See P. A. M. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. A. M. Clemoes (London, 1956), pp. 212–47, see too J. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 2–15.

³ *LS* Preface, lines 32–3: 'sed decreui modo quiescere post quartum librum'. For a discussion of the inappropriateness of the title see Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, pp. 576–7 and note 14.

⁴ J. Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 235–59.

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year), and contains twenty-seven hagiographies concerning those saints venerated by the monks (presumably of Winchester or Cerne Abbas).⁵

All of Ælfric's saints' lives are based on a Latin antecedent, and it seems now likely that they derive from a very large collection of continental origin, which has survived in a group of manuscripts known as the Cotton-Corpus Legendary. This title conveniently defines an entire manuscript tradition and comes from the library shelf-marks of its earliest surviving witness, a very large English manuscript, now in two separate codices: London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i (parts 1 and 2), and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (respectively *Gneuss* 344 and 36). The Cotton-Corpus Legendary belongs to a much earlier manuscript tradition from the north of Europe, now identified with the archdiocese of Reims.⁶ The collection contains 165 lives (between *passiones* and *uitae*), and must have come to Ælfric's attention, though not in its current form, either at Winchester or at Cerne Abbas. There is great uncertainty as to when an ancestor of the Legendary could have reached England. It might have arrived with the Frankish scholars invited to Wessex during the reign of King Alfred, with the books which reached England during the reign of King Athelstan, or with the intellectual revival of the Benedictine Reform.

Ælfric's use of the Cotton-Corpus tradition as a base for his *sanctorale* was first postulated by Patrick Zettel in his doctoral work, and has been further explored by Gordon Whatley, Michael Lapidge and Peter Jackson.⁷ Prior to Zettel's discovery, Max Förster and Heinrich Ott had identified most of Ælfric's sources for the homilies and for the saints' lives, largely basing their investigations on printed editions of Latin lives, and without the

⁵ *LS* 'Preface', lines 43–5: '[n]u gewearð us þæt we þas boc be þæra halgena ðrowungum and life . gedihon þe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað'.

⁶ M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 115–29, and Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, p. 578. The connection with the archdiocese of Reims is especially significant for the present study; see below, pp. 19–21.

⁷ P. Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographical Sources and the Legendary Preserved in British Library, Manuscript Cotton Nero E.i + CCCC Manuscript 9 and Other Manuscripts' (unpubl. DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1979), and 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric', *Peritia* 1 (1987), 83–94; E. G. Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950–1150', in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1150* 2, ed. G. Philippart (Turnhout, 1996), 429–99; Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', and P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 131–46.

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Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina.⁸ Zettel's thesis pointed to a number of unprinted texts as potential sources for Ælfric's *sanctorale*. He first noted the striking similarity between Ælfric's work and a group of manuscripts listed by Wilhelm Levison.⁹ Therefore, Zettel was the first scholar to attempt a textual comparison between the Latin lives contained in the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts and Ælfric's hagiographical writings.

However, in accepting the texts found in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary as Ælfric's sources, one should keep in mind Gordon Whatley's reservations. Not all pieces in Ælfric's *sanctorale* may be traced back to the Cotton-Corpus family of manuscripts. Since the latter tradition is originally from the north of France, it does not contain, for instance, the lives of the English saints.¹⁰ Additional questions raised by Whatley address Zettel's methodology. Other manuscripts outside the Cotton-Corpus tradition should be consulted, in order to obtain a wider perspective on the textual transmission of Ælfric's putative sources.¹¹ Like Whatley, Lapidge warns against a hasty use of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, pointing out the discrepancies between the calendar order followed in the Latin text and Ælfric's choice of days for the commemoration of some saints.¹² On the whole, scholarly consensus now recognises that Ælfric must have known a Latin legendary similar to the Cotton-Corpus collection, if perhaps affiliated to a different textual tradition.

⁸ J. H. Ott, 'Über die Quellen der Heiligen Leben in Ælfrics *Lives of Saints*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Halle, 1892), and M. Förster, 'Über die Quellen von Ælfrics *Homiliae Catholicae*: I. Legenden' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Berlin, 1892). See also the update by G. Loomis, 'Further Sources in Ælfric's Saints' Lives', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 13 (1931), 1–8.

⁹ W. Levison, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, MGH, SRM 7 (Hanover, 1920–1), 529–706. Levison lists five surviving manuscripts of English origin for this collection, all are further discussed in Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographical Sources', pp. 10–13.

¹⁰ With the exception of the *Vita Guthlaci* (which is not part of *LS*) the collection as it survives does not contain Æthelthryth (*LS* 20), Swithun (*LS* 21), Oswald (*LS* 26) and Edmund (*LS* 32); see also Lapidge, *The Cult of Swithun*, p. 578. It also lacks Peter and Paul (*CH* I, 26), Philip and James (*CH* II, 17) and the Invention of the Cross (*CH* II, 18); see Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography', pp. 476–8.

¹¹ 'It is probably unwise, therefore, to regard the extant Cotton-Corpus Legendary as a detailed guide to Ælfric's source for any given legend, unless one collates the English manuscripts thoroughly with other manuscript witnesses, a practice followed notably by Cross in his studies of the *Old English Martyrology*', Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography', pp. 481–2.

¹² Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', pp. 122–3.

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Ælfric's version of the Life of Basil translates one of the Latin versions of a *Vita Basilii*, previously unedited, designated in the *BHL* as number 1023.¹³ Within the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition, this particular version is only found in two of the manuscripts discussed by Zettel: Cotton Nero E. i, part 1 (= N), and Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 221 (= S, *Gneuss* 754.5, once Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4). For the present study the *Vita Basilii* contained in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition is printed as a working text in Appendix I, and will be used for comparison with Ælfric's translation.¹⁴ The transmission history of the *Vita Basilii* forms an especially fascinating case study, because its journey from the Eastern Roman Empire to Continental Europe and subsequently to Anglo-Saxon England remains wrapped in mystery.

The following pages will examine the layers of translation, from Greek to Latin (chapter 1), accounting, as far as is possible, for the idiosyncratic style of the Latin text. Chapter 1 also explores the dissemination of the *Vita Basilii* in Carolingian Europe, its uses and possible readership. Chapter 2 brings to the fore Basil's reputation as a saintly figure, which circulated hand in hand with his fame as a biblical commentator, legislator and monastic founder. Indeed, before considering Ælfric's work on Saint Basil, it is necessary to establish the extent of Basil's fame in Anglo-Saxon England. It is against the context outlined in chapters 1 and 2 that chapters 3 and 4 analyse the Old English text and compare it to the Latin *Vita Basilii*. Chapter 5 is a study of the style and rhetoric of Ælfric's translation, and of how these work together with structure to create a homogeneous text. Chapter 6 discusses the manuscripts and previous editions of the Latin and Old English hagiographies on Basil. The edition of Ælfric's Life of Saint Basil presented here is a critical edition of the only complete witness and all the fragments of Ælfric's translation which I have been able to find. The notoriously peculiar spelling of the complete manuscript of the *Lives of Saints* has been emended according to Ælfric's usage. The (previously

¹³ For a detailed account of the manuscript and earlier editions of both texts, see pp. 139–50.

¹⁴ There are multiple Latin translations of the Greek original (below, pp. 23–5 and 74–7), but throughout this book the text of *BHL* 1023 is referred to as *Vita Basilii*. The textual tradition of *BHL* 1023 is vast, and for my discussion I have therefore consulted a number of manuscripts outside the Cotton-Corpus Legendary family: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, series noua 4635 (from Freising), Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 528 (from St-Denis) and BAV, Pal. lat. 582 (from Mainz). I have also consulted two later English manuscripts: London, Lambeth Palace 94 and Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 22, both datable to the end of the thirteenth century. All references to the text of *BHL* 1023 are from the edition in Appendix I, unless otherwise stated.

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unedited) Latin text printed in Appendix I should be used as a working edition. It is a collation of the two witnesses in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition and a fragment from tenth-century Exeter.

The text of *BHL* 1023 is written in an idiosyncratic style with numerous eccentricities, suggesting a close dependence on its Greek original. In order to clarify the Latinity of the text with which Ælfric was confronted, the following chapter sets out to define, insofar as is possible, a hypothesis for the transmission and circulation of the original Greek and Latin texts in ninth-century Western Europe.

1
THE GREEK AND LATIN BACKGROUNDS

The Greek text of the Life of Basil

One of the most significant figures of the Eastern Church, Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea (329–79), is remembered nowadays as the founder of monasticism and the author of the liturgy of the Christian Orthodox Church. Basil was born and died in Caesarea, Cappadocia (modern Turkey), a region which no longer exists politically, but which has maintained a strong identity and which held an important metropolitan role in the Middle Ages. During his lifetime, Basil was a very influential figure as a leader of the Eastern Church. After a brief period of asceticism, which more closely reflected his inclinations, Basil found himself involved in the struggle against the Arian heresy and its greatest supporter, the Emperor Valens (368–78).¹ During his episcopacy (370–9), Basil turned the metropolitan see of Caesarea into a citadel of orthodoxy, bringing it honour, riches and power, while struggling to maintain its jurisdictional position after Valens' division of Cappadocia into two provinces, Cappadocia Prima and Cappadocia Secunda. When Basil died, a plethora of biographical material was written in his honour, mostly in the form of *encomia* by his brother Gregory of Nyssa, by his close friend Gregory of Nazianzus and by Pseudo-Ephrem.²

The surviving hagiographies depict Basil as a model of fortitude and determination, placing more emphasis on his leadership in the Church than on his importance as a theologian. The main Greek hagiography is also crowded with extravagant details: there is, for example, no evidence outside this text for the existence of a certain Eubolus, who appears as Basil's teacher and became Basil's pupil after their trip to Jerusalem, disappearing from the narrative after the first quarter of the text. In addition, the Greek hagiography also contains many anachronisms: the most glaring and

¹ See BSS 2, cols. 910–44, at 912–13. For a summary of the life and works of Basil see especially P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 133–53.

² See respectively, Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio funebris qua fratris sui Basilii Magni laudes et memoriam concelebrat*, PG 46, cols. 788–817; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Caesareae in Cappadocia Episcopi*, PG 36, cols. 493–606; S. I. Mercati, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syrii opera* 1 (Rome, 1915), 143–78. Basil also left some 360 letters from which autobiographical information can be gleaned; see Y. Courtonne, ed., *Saint Basile, lettres*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1957–66).

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interesting of these is perhaps the encounter between Basil and Julian the Apostate (emperor 361–3). According to the Greek text, at the time of this encounter Basil was already bishop of Caesarea, even though he only acquired this title upon the death of his predecessor Eusebius in 370.

The surviving Greek life of Basil (*BHG* 247–60, *CPG* 3253) was for a long time attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium (ca. 340–95), a contemporary and close friend of Basil, but it is now generally believed to have been compiled, anonymously, several centuries after the archbishop's death. Indeed, its first and only editor, Francis Combefis, attributed it to Amphilochius, providing in his edition abundant notes to prove his authorship.³ Even though doubts about the authenticity of the Greek life of Basil had already been advanced by Caesar Baronius, the most authoritative voice to reject Amphilochius' authorship came about half a century after Combefis' work, in 1697, from the Bollandist father Francis Baert, editor of the entry for Basil in the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴

The Pseudo-Amphilochian life appears to be the result of a progressive accumulation of different legends on the miracles of Saint Basil, some of which circulated independently as eyewitness accounts under the name of Bishop Elladius (or Helladius, one of Basil's successors to the see of Caesarea); others appear separately in the eastern *menologia* and *synaxaria*.⁵ There is great disagreement about the time and place of

³ F. Combefis, ed., *SS Patrum Amphilochii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis et Andreae Cretensis opera omnia, quae reperiri potuerunt* (Paris, 1644), pp. 155–225. The Greek text only exists in this one edition, but Combefis' facing Latin translation was reprinted twice more, once in *Acta SS* (see note 4, below) and once in PG 29, ccxcii–cccxvi (without the Greek).

⁴ F. Baert, ed., *Vita Basilii ex ipsius, Gregorii Nazianzi, Nysseni aliorumque veterum scriptis collecta*, in *Acta SS*, 3 June, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1867), 293–436, which was first printed in 1697. Baert partially based his study on Baronius' reservations on the authorship of the Greek life: '*Isti tamen omnibus cautior Baronius ... in Notis ad Romanum Martyrologium, 1 Januarii ait: Extat Amphilochii nomine scripta Vita Basilii, qua tamen, ex prudentiorum omnium sententia, alterius cujuspiam potius quam Amphilochii, aequalis Basilio, esse putatur*' and further: '*Et in Annalibus ad an. 378, quae Amphilochii falso nomine fertur Vita Basilii*' (p. 416).

⁵ *BSS* 2, cols. 924–9. The legends listed here are: the miracle of Julian the Apostate's death (c. 7 in the Latin translation, see Appendix I); the miracle of the youth who forsook Christ in order to obtain the love of a woman (c. 11); the miracle of Mary's icon (not recorded in the Pseudo-Amphilochian life); the encounter of Basil with Ephrem the Syrian (c. 13); and the miracle of the opening of the church at Nicea (c. 14). In the Latin *Vita* printed in Appendix I Helladius is mentioned only in cc. 11 (line 1) and 12 (line 2). See also O. Rousseau, 'La rencontre de Saint Basile et de saint Ephrem', *L'Orient syrien* 2 (1957), 261–84, at 264–8. For a section of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life which might have been

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composition of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life and extensive work on its manuscript tradition remains to be done.⁶

The circulation of individual sections of the text has led scholars to assign its origin to the region of Cappadocia and its date of compilation to the seventh century. De Jerphanion, in his discussion of the similarity between the decorative panels in a church in Toqale Kilissé (Cappadocia, modern Turkey) and the frescoes in Santa Maria in Gradellis, Rome, narrowed its origin to Cappadocia or Lycaonia.⁷ On the basis of the episodes of penance found in the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, Barringer concluded that the life must have been composed at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.⁸ Barringer's observations on Basil's administering of penance also show that the Greek life must have been written at different stages, because different episodes reflect varying attitudes towards sinners. A later date (eighth century) is assigned to this text by Bardy.⁹ Finally, Jonathan Wortley suggested that the Pseudo-Amphilochian life was written around the end of the eighth century, perhaps in Rome, by Greek monks exiled during the iconoclastic persecution, adducing the absence of Basil's miracles from the *Synaxarion Constantinopolitanum*. Failure to mention the saint proves, according to Wortley, his relative lack of popularity in the east prior to the first outburst of the Iconoclastic Controversy and the ensuing persecutions.¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that Basil's miracles do appear in the *Synaxarion* and that his name is listed thirteen times, with his feast-day fixed at 1 January.¹¹ In short, given the difficulties involved in

added at a later stage; see below, pp. 84, 87, note 45, and 215–16.

⁶ R. Barringer, 'The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St Basil: Ecclesiastical Penance and Byzantine Hagiography', *Theologia* 51 (1980), 49–61, at 56.

⁷ G. De Jerphanion, 'Histoires de Saint Basile dans les peintures cappadociennes et dans les peintures romaines du Moyen Age', *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 535–58, at 541 and, for a possible connection with Anastasius Bibliothecarius, see below, pp. 23–4; see too, T. Orlandi, 'La leggenda di San Mercurio e l'uccisione di Giuliano l'Apostata', in *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità. Studi copti* 22 (Milan, 1970), 89–145 and 'I Miracula S. Mercurii: testo latino inedito da un manoscritto della Vallicelliana', *Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere, rendiconti* 101 (1968), 263–72; Rousseau, 'La rencontre', p. 267.

⁸ Barringer, 'The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St Basil', pp. 57–9.

⁹ *DHGE* 6, cols. 1111–26.

¹⁰ J. Wortley, 'The Pseudo-Amphilochian Vita Basilii: An Apocryphal Life of Saint Basil the Great', *Florilegium* 2 (1980), 217–39, especially pp. 219–22.

¹¹ H. Delehaye, 'Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae', in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum, novembris* (Brussels, 1902), cols. 364, 450–60 and 1063. Basil is also commemorated in the Italo-Greek tradition of this *Synaxarion*; see L. Pieralli, 'Synaxarion

establishing the origin and date of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, it is not currently possible to determine how, when and from where a copy of it found its way into Western Europe, but it will be appropriate to provide a working hypothesis.

The text exists in three complete Latin translations, all datable from the second half to the end of the ninth century (in order of composition, *BHL* 1023, 1022 and 1024). The first complete Latin translation of the Greek life, the thus far unedited text of *BHL* 1023, made its earliest (attested) appearance in an extract from Paschasius Radbertus' *De corpore et sanguine Domini* of 843. The translator, known in the Carolingian period as Euphemius *interpres*,¹² kept his Latin translation as faithful as possible to the Greek original, maintaining its wording and syntax, often to the point of compromising the clarity of his work.¹³ Combefis' edition of the Greek text, though remaining the only available printed text, is challenging for the modern reader, because it retains many of the original manuscript abbreviations and ligatures. However, despite the semi-unedited state of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, a comparison between the Greek and the Latin text sheds light on many of the extravagant stylistic features of the first Latin *Vita Basilii* known to the West.

From a syntactical viewpoint, one of the most apparent and unusual features of *BHL* 1023 is the often jarring abundance of present and past participles, a distinctive feature of the Greek language, which tends to use participles in adjectival function much more frequently than Latin. In addition, the Latin text is littered with the relative pronoun *qui*, regarded as a demonstrative, both in the singular and in the plural – a literal rendering of the Greek ὁ δε or οἱ δε. However, arguably one of the most interesting stylistic eccentricities of *BHL* 1023 is its use of the verb 'to be' in the coined

ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: la famiglia C', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60 (1994), 399–470.

¹² See below, pp. 14–25.

¹³ De Jerphanion, 'Histoires de Saint Basile' p. 544, briefly refers to this issue: '[I]e récit du Pseudo-Amphiloque y est traduit avec une fidélité surprenante'. This text has further been defined as *wortgetreu* by R. Förster, 'Kaiser Julian in der Dichtung alter und neue Zeit', in *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, ed. M. Koch (Berlin, 1905), pp. 1–10. Combefis reported in the margins of his edition some variant readings from a different manuscript tradition which seem closer to the text used by the Latin translator (personal communication with Father Edouard Jeauneau). Similar problems are discussed for the life of Anastasius Persa (*BHL* 408) in C. Viricillo-Franklin and P. Meyvaert, 'Has Bede's Version of the *Passio Anastasii* Come down to us in *BHL* 408?', *AB* 100 (1982), 373–400 and, more recently, in C. Viricillo-Franklin, ed., *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 54–70.

compound **cosum*, employed in participial function.¹⁴ The present participle of this verb is used three times and is an obvious calque of the Greek equivalent σύνειμι, which, however, means both 'to be together' and 'to go together'. The problem our translator must have faced was, then, of a twofold nature: while the compound **cosum* does not exist in Latin, the compound **coeo* ('I go together with') does, even though only in conjugated forms.¹⁵ Furthermore, in Greek the present participle of εἰμί ('I am') and compounds is very frequent, whereas in Latin the present participle of *sum* does not exist, but the present participle of *eo* and compounds does (as do the present participle forms of Greek εἶμι, 'I go'). Thus, for example, c. 1, line 41: *coessentes sibi* ('those being with him') translates literally the Greek συνόντας αὐτῷ (p. 159).¹⁶ In the other two instances, the translator preceded this unusual Latin form with the pleonastic preposition *cum*: hence the redundant phrases *cum coessentibus sibi* ('with those being together with him', c. 7, lines 3–4), and *cum coessente suo abbate* ('with his abbot being together with him', c. 13, line 41), which respectively translate the Greek συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ (p. 179) and τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ Ἀββᾶ (p. 205).

Literal renderings of Greek idioms often result in unusually constructed prepositional phrases, such as 'sub Miletio ... in diaconi ordine consecratus' ('consecrated by Miletius in the order of a deacon', c. 3, line 3), for the Greek ὑπὸ Μελετίου ... εἰς τὴν διακόνου τάξιν προχειριθείς (p. 173), where ὑπὸ + genitive, expressing the agent (Μελετίου), is rendered literally with the Latin prepositional phrase *sub* + ablative, normally used to indicate dependence or submission. Thus the Latin translator is clearly trying to render Greek agents and instrumentals too literally, as a further example will illustrate. During Basil's vision of the Virgin, the Latin reports: '[Basilius] factus est sub timore' ('he became fearful', c. 7, lines 43–4), a literal translation of the Greek ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου (p. 182).

Occasionally, the translator seems to falter on the differences between Greek and Latin concord, as for example in rendering the preposition ἔξω, which normally takes the genitive case, with Latin *foris* and genitive (note that *foris* normally takes the ablative in Latin). Thus the first half of the parallel construction ἔξω τῶν βήλων ... ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας (p. 183, 'out of the curtains ... out of the church') is translated as 'foris uelorum ... foris

¹⁴ De Jerphanion observed, but did not comment on, this unusual participle, 'Histoires de Saint Basile', p. 554, note 4.

¹⁵ This form is unattested in the first person singular present indicative; see *TLL*.

¹⁶ All references are to Combefis, ed., *Amphilochii Iconiensis*, pp. 155–225, by page number only, since he does not provide line numbers. I have not attempted to correct Combefis' editorial policy and have retained all accents and breathings as printed in his work.

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... mysterio' c. 8, lines 13–14, 'out of the curtains ... away from Mass'), once with the genitive and once with the ablative.¹⁷ Genitive absolutes are consistently rendered with ablative absolutes, as for instance in c. 4, line 37: 'in Iordane baptizato Domino' ('the Lord having been baptized in the Jordan'), for Greek ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ τοῦ κυρίου βαπτίζομένου (p. 177). Instances of subjective genitive strike the modern reader as Graecisms; for example *medicus autem cicatricum* ('thus, the physician of the wounds', c. 12, line 64), a parallel of the original ἰατρὸς τῶν τραυμάτων (p. 201).

Sentence structure also reveals the translator's care in following the original as closely as possible. Indeed, some of the most peculiar constructions of the *Vita Basilii* are a result of an over-literal rendering of the Greek. In the episode of the youth who was supposed to translate the Homeric lines for Libanius the Sophist (c. 1), the Latin keeps the very same Greek construction by merging direct and indirect speech: 'dixit ei sophistam et uersus, et quia "Causa hac agonizo"' ('he told him about the sophist and about the lines, and that "I suffer for this reason"', c. 1, lines 101–2), translated from εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸν τε σοφιστὴν καὶ τοὺς στίχους καὶ ὅτι τούτου ἔνεκεν ἀγωνίζῳ (p. 170). The translator, in his effort to keep his work as faithful as possible to the Greek, coined words of his own, which in at least one instance caused no little confusion among scribes. An exemplary case is found in c. 6 (lines 10–11), which I have emended to '[e]t factae sunt ei res'. The manuscripts in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition read 'et facta sunt ei res carecteres'; one of the continental manuscripts (from Freising) reads 'et factae sunt ei tres characteres'; and another (Mainz) has 'et factae sunt ei res characteres'.¹⁸ The Greek text in Combefis' edition reads as follows: καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πράγματα τὰ χαράγματα (literally: 'and those written things happened to him' p. 179).¹⁹ It is obvious that the translator must have tried to render at the same time the punctual action of the aorist 2 (ἐγένετο) and its neuter (plural) subject phrase (πράγματα τὰ χαράγματα), realised that Latin had no adequate morphological or syntactical equivalent for the plural verbal noun χαράγματα, and came up with as close an approximation as he could manage (*facta characteres*). Scribal confusion results from the translator's decision to remain as faithful to the Greek as possible.

¹⁷ For this episode, see below, pp. 30–1 and 206–7.

¹⁸ This clause cannot be rendered literally in modern English. The manuscripts mentioned above are: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, series noua 4635 and Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 582; see above, p. 4, note 14.

¹⁹ Combefis, ed., *Amphilochii Iconiensis*, p. 173 offers, in the margin, a variant reading from another manuscript (not named): πράγμα τό χαράγμα. Though interesting, this is no help in clarifying the Latin.

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A lexical comparison between the Greek and the Latin offers an insight into some of the apparently outlandish vocabulary found in *BHL* 1023. An interesting distinction introduced in the Greek text very early on is the one between true faith, ὀρθοδοξία, and error, κακοδοξία (p. 156), which our translator rendered faithfully, according to his knowledge of New Testament terminology, respectively as *recta gloria* and *mala gloria* (Prologue, 21 and 22). Such a dichotomy is preserved throughout the Latin text, in which the frequently used expressions *mala gloria* or *maligloriosi* correspond respectively to the Greek κακοδοξία and κακοδόξοι.²⁰ There are, in addition, a number of Greek calques which are used widely outside this text: *archimandritarum* (genitive plural, 'prior of a convent', c. 1, line 23) and, as already pointed out by De Jerphanion, *castrimargiae* (or *gastrimargiae*, dative singular, 'gluttony', c. 15, line 4).²¹ In fact, literal translations of vocabulary items are at the core of the eccentric style of the Latin *Vita Basilii*. In a rather convoluted passage in which Basil discusses with Eubolus the foundations of Christian dogma, this odd assertion suddenly appears: 'tres catinos menti proposuit in uestibulis cogitationis' c. 1, lines 53–4).²² The Greek word corresponding to *catinos* is πίνακας (accusative plural, p. 160), 'tables, grids, pictures'. In the midst of the highly philosophical section, the translator possibly mistook this word for a derivative of the verb πίνω, 'to drink', and turned it into Latin *catinos*, 'bowls, vessels'.²³

Unusual or redundant present and past participles in adjectival function found in the Latin may also be explained by a comparison with their Greek equivalent. Thus, Latin: '[admirans autem] pelagus adiacentis in eis sapientiae' (literally, 'admiring therefore, the sea of knowledge which was lying nearby in them', c. 3, lines 22–3) corresponds precisely to Greek πέλαγος τῆς ἐγκειμενῆς αὐτοῖς σοφίας (p. 175). The genitive present participle *adiacentis* ('lying nearby, being next to') mirrors the Greek ἐγκειμενῆς 'lying nearby or within, inherent', but it alters the meaning somewhat. Another puzzling instance can be explained in light of analogous observations. At the end of the section on the youth who forsook Christ for love of a woman, the saint 'reddidit eum mulieri eius, intacibili ore glorificantem' ('[Basil] returned to his wife the one glorifying [God] with "unquietable" mouth', c. 11, lines 149–50). Here the difficulty lies in the

²⁰ Ælfric's Old English translation retained this opposition, but transforms it into one of true faith and heresy (*geleafa* and *gedwyld*); see below, pp. 207–8..

²¹ De Jerphanion, 'Histoires de Saint Basile', p. 554, note 4.

²² '[He] proposed three containers for the mind at the beginning of the thinking process.'

²³ Note, that *TLL* records one instance in which the word πίναξ is used to gloss the Latin word *catinus* (in Palladius monachus' *Historia monachorum*).

word *intacibili*.²⁴ This rather bizarre formation is a calque of the Greek dative adjective ἀσιγήτω (p. 197), ‘unable to remain silent’, mirroring the negative prefix α- with *in-* and the verbal theme from σιγαῶ with *taceo*. The antecedent of this peculiar Latin adjective may be further verified by a comparison with the Greek, since the adjective ἀσιγήτω modifies a neuter word and, unlike the Latin, leaves no room for ambiguity (τῇ γυναικί ἀσιγήτω στόματι, ‘to the woman with “unquietable” mouth’).²⁵

One interesting Latin departure from the Greek text is represented by the names of the bishops mentioned in the original. Thus the bishop of Jerusalem, Maximus in the Greek, is called Maximinus in the Latin (c. 2, line 4); and Basil’s predecessor at Caesarea, Leontius in the Greek, is renamed (accurately) Eusebius in the Latin translation (c. 3, line 7). Note, however, that in c. 16, during Basil’s burial, the Latin ambiguously says that Basil was buried ‘in templo sancti et gloriosi martyris Isichii ubi et Leontius ante eum episcopus cum ceteris dormit’ (‘in the temple of the holy and glorious martyr Isichius, where also Leontius, bishop before him, rests with the others’, c. 16, lines 80–1). The Latin is ambiguous as to whether Leontius was Basil’s predecessor or Isichius’, but translates the Greek faithfully this time, not replacing Leontius with Eusebius (as in c. 2).

The structure of the Latin text is very similar to that of the Greek, even though the translation is considerably shorter. The section on Basil’s explanations and disquisitions with Eubolus (c. 1) is greatly abbreviated in places and one large section is omitted. The most glaring omission, however, consists of an entire episode, which should have fallen between cc. 14 and 15 (respectively, the chapter on the meeting between Basil and Ephrem the Syrian and that on the sinful woman). The passage contains a miracle by Basil on behalf of his brother Peter, Bishop of Sebastes, who is accused of having intimate relations with his own wife. Basil intervenes by asking his brother to let his wife spend one night with him and five holy men in a church. After the night passes, the five men, interrogated by Basil, declare that they have had a vision regarding the sanctity of Peter’s and his wife’s bed. The next day Basil, in front of a crowd of believers, asks the woman to hand him her shawl, which he attempts to set alight with torches. He then does the same with his brother’s cape. To the crowd’s great awe, there is no smoke and the garments remain unburned, signifying that the couple are chaste.²⁶ The Latin translation was compiled in a Benedictine monastery and

²⁴ N reads *intancibili*.

²⁵ The word στόματι is dative neuter and agrees with the adjective ἀσιγήτω, rather than with γυναικί, which is feminine.

²⁶ Combefis, ed., *Amphilochii Iconiensis*, pp. 211–14.

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this episode on episcopal marriage must have been omitted because of its unacceptable contents.

In conclusion, the numerous and puzzling eccentricities of *BHL* 1023 can be explained for the most part by a comparison with the Pseudo-Amphilochian life. The translator made every effort to remain very faithful to the original, coining new words rather than departing from the text. Such considerations, however, tell us very little about this translator and the world in which he operated, information which has to be gathered, instead, from external evidence. As will be shown below, the Pseudo-Amphilochian life had already been translated by the middle of the ninth century, because a number of quotations from it survive in the works of distinguished scholars within the Carolingian Empire.

The translator of BHL 1023

Regardless of its time and place of composition, the Greek life of Basil by Pseudo-Amphilochius gained considerable popularity in the West and was translated three times into Latin in the same century. According to Albert Siegmund, the three translations of this Greek text show no interconnections and seem to have been made independently. They are: *BHL* 1022 by Anastasius Bibliothecarius; *BHL* 1023 attributed to Euphemius *interpres*; and *BHL* 1024 by Ursus *sacerdos*. The earliest of these is *BHL* 1023.²⁷

Unfortunately, precise biographical information on Euphemius *interpres* is not available. His name appears in connection with the *Vita Basilii* for the first time in a reference by Aeneas, Bishop of Paris (856–70), in his *Liber adversus Graecos* written around 860: ‘in vita beati Basilii caesariensis archiepiscopi, quae de Graeco in Latinum a quodam Graeco vocabulo Euphemio est veraciter de verbo ad verbum translata inter caetera sic legitur’.²⁸ Aeneas proceeded by quoting verbatim two sections from the Latin *Vita Basilii*, both times to illustrate the miraculous effects of the elevation

²⁷ A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie 5 (Munich, 1949), 259.

²⁸ ‘Among other things, we read as follows in the life of the blessed Basil, which was translated literally from Greek into Latin word for word, by a certain one with the Greek name Euphemius’, Aeneas of Paris, *Liber adversus Graecos*, PL 121, cols. 738–9 (c. 166). See in addition W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, rev. and trans. J. Frakes (Washington, DC, 1988), p. 315. The *Liber adversus Graecos* is a collection of patristic and council texts, aimed at defending the Roman faith and promoting clerical celibacy (*DHGE* 15, cols. 459–60).

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when performed by the Greek Father. The first reference in the *Liber adversus Graecos* comes from c. 4 of the *Vita Basilii* (lines 2–26), on Basil's election as a bishop and on the Lord's appearance to the saint the first time he blessed the Eucharist. The second episode, which in Aeneas' work follows immediately afterwards (c. 167), is an excerpt from *Vita Basilii* c. 8 (lines 3–9), on a young deacon making eye contact with a woman in church and therefore tarnishing, in Aeneas' argument, the mystery of the Eucharist:

Et post pauca ita scribitur: 'Sancta exaltante sancto Basilio, signum non fuit factum sicut erat solitum, moveri videlicet columbam, quae cum sacramento Dominico pendebat super altare, semper ad exaltationem sancti sacrificii moveri ter solens. Et cogitante eo quid hoc esset, vidit unum ventilantium diaconem innuentem mulieri inclinatae deorsum; et transponens eum de altari, infra ecclesiam iussit custodiri; et ita videns sancti Spiritus adventum, hortatus est omnem populum septem diebus ibidem in oratione manere'.²⁹

The passage cited by Aeneas contains an important variant (*inclinatae*) which solves a textual problem found in the manuscripts used for the working edition in Appendix I (which read *inclinante* (N) and *inclinantem* (S)).³⁰ Even though it is not possible to determine with any certainty under what circumstances Aeneas came into the possession of Euphemius' translation (or perhaps the relevant excerpts), he may have seen it during the time spent at the court of Charles the Bald, between 843 and 856, or while travelling on one of his pilgrimages to Rome.³¹

According to Fedwick, the translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life did not circulate in southern Europe in the ninth century, and I have been unable to find any evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the Pseudo-Amphilochian life was read and cited north of the Alps, used by eminent intellectuals, all of whom were associated with the

²⁹ 'And shortly after it is written: "While Saint Basil was elevating the holy sacraments, there did not appear any sign that the dove which hung above the altar with the Lord's sacrament would move three times as was customary. And wondering how this could be so, he saw one of the deacons with a fan nodding to a woman who was bending backwards. Removing him from the altar he ordered that he should be kept under the church in custody [*scil.* in a crypt]. Thus he saw the advent of the Holy Spirit and bade all the people to remain there in prayer for seven days"', PL 121, col. 739 (spelling and punctuation have been retained).

³⁰ See below, p. 149, and, for a discussion of this passage, pp. 30–1 and 206.

³¹ *DHGE* 15, col. 459.

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court and patronage of Charles the Bald (reigned 843–77).³² Indeed, the early transmission history and circulation of this version of the *Vita Basilii* can be limited both geographically and chronologically to the ninth-century Carolingian kingdoms.

Euphemius' name is further mentioned in the *Expositio in Matthaëum Evangelistam* by Christian of Stavelot (died after 880). As Christian himself stated, he consulted a certain 'Euphemius graecus' on a matter of biblical canonical order:

Vidi tamen librum Evangelium Graece scriptum, qui dicebatur sancti Hilarii fuisse, in quo primi erant Matthaëus et Iohannes et post alii duo. Interrogavi enim Euphemium Graecum cum hoc ita esset. Dixit mihi: in similitudine boni agricolae, qui quos fortiores habet boves primo iungit.³³

If Aeneas' attribution of the *Vita Basilii* to Euphemius is correct, and Christian indeed spoke to a certain Euphemius, chronological evidence suggests that we may very well be concerned with the same person. Interestingly, McCormick regarded this passage as evidence for the presence of a Greek traveller named Euphemius within the kingdom of Charles the Bald, in 870.³⁴ There is no evidence to explain the circumstances under which Christian of Stavelot was able to converse with Euphemius for an opinion while compiling his original commentary on Matthew. We do not have any indication that Christian ever travelled anywhere beyond the Frankish boundaries. There can be no doubt that he thought Euphemius learned enough to consult him on the order of the New Testament. The latest date suggested for the composition of the *Expositio in Matthaëum* is 865, at which point Christian was already at the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter in Stavelot.³⁵ This suggests that Christian met Euphemius within the

³² See *BBV* IV, 1, 157 and 161.

³³ 'Indeed, I saw a Gospel book written in Greek, which was said to be that of Saint Hilarius, in which first there were Matthew and John and afterwards the other two. I then asked Euphemius the Greek how this could be. He said to me: "Just like the good farmer, who yokes in front the strongest oxen he owns.'" Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in Matthaëum Evangelistam*, PL 106, cols. 1261–504, at col. 1266. See also M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (Munich, 1959), 137–8 and Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 315.

³⁴ M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 801.

³⁵ PL 106, cols. 1259–62; *DHGE* 14, cols. 1519–24; L. H. Cottineau, *Repertoire topographique des abbayes et prieurés* 2 (Mâcon, 1935–70), s.v. Stablo; and Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 387.

kingdom, or perhaps at Stavelot itself. Christian's commentary on Matthew shows great familiarity with the work of other contemporary exegetes, Hrabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, John Scotus Eriugena, Hincmar of Reims and Sedulius Scotus, testifying to the lively intellectual exchange among the Carolingian cultural centres.³⁶ It is also possible that Christian had met Euphemius while working under the patronage of Charles the Bald before he went to Stavelot, or perhaps consulted him in epistolary form, though all these possibilities must remain speculative for the time being. Euphemius' identity remains a mystery, because he is only mentioned by name twice. Following common practice, 'Euphemius' could be an ad hoc pseudonym reflecting the task which he had undertaken ('Euphemius' means 'interpreter, he who speaks well'), but it may also have been adopted to preserve his anonymity, especially if, as a biblical exegete, Euphemius did not wish his real name to be associated with the translation of a hagiographical text.³⁷

Even though only Aeneas of Paris and Christian of Stavelot mention Euphemius by name, excerpts from his translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life were cited in other leading works of Carolingian theological activity. Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie (ca. 790–865) is another contemporary who was familiar with the *Vita Basilii*, as is evident from a passage in his *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*:

Beato igitur Basilio diuina misteria publice agente, Hebreus quidam se sicut Christianus populo commiscuit. Officii ministerium et muneris explorare uolens, uidit infantem partiri in manibus Basilii. Et communicantibus omnibus uenit et ipse dataque est ei uere caro facta. Inde
5 accessit ad calicem sanguine repletum ut uere est, et ipsius factus est particeps. Atque de utrisque seruans reliquias abiensque in domum suam ostendit uxori suae ad confirmationem dictorum et narrauit quae propriis oculis uiderat. Credens ergo ait: uere quia horribile et admirabile est Christianorum misterium. In crastino uenit ad Basilium postulans se sine
10 dilatione accipere quod in Christo est signaculum. Basilius autem sanctus

³⁶ M. Laistner, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages* (New York, NY, 1966), pp. 216–36; see also B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), p. 43.

³⁷ On the use of *noms de plume* in this context, see M. D. Garrison, 'Alcuin's World through his Letters and Verse' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1995), pp. 140–246.

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non differens sed consuetam eucharistiam, uolenti omnes saluare, offerens baptizauit eum cum omni domo sua credentem Domino.³⁸

This passage (*Vita Basilii*, c. 5) was added as part of the second redaction of the *De corpore*, which Paschasius completed either for Christmas of 843 or for Easter of 844 and presented as a gift to Charles the Bald.³⁹ One cannot be sure at what stage Paschasius came into possession of the *Vita Basilii*; but, since this passage does not appear in the first redaction of the *De corpore* (831–3), it is plausible that he must have seen it in the decade between the first two redactions of his work (831–3 and 843–4).

There are only two significant departures between Paschasius' citation and the *Vita Basilii*, both occurring at line 12 of the citation above. The reading *sua*, which is not found in *Vita Basilii*, simply complements the prepositional phrase *cum omni domo* ('with all [his] household', rendering with a periphrasis the Greek adverb πανοικί). The second variant reading, *credentem* (referring to *eum*), translates literally the original Greek accusative πεπιστευκότα, and, even though it may improve grammar and

³⁸ B. Paul, ed., *Pascasii Radberti de corpore et sanguine Domini*, CCCM 16 (Turnhout, 1959), 86–7. 'When the blessed Basil performed the divine mysteries for the people, a certain Jew mingled with the crowd as if he were a Christian; wishing to find out about the administering of Mass and of the Eucharist [*lit.* gift], he saw a baby being torn in Basil's hands. While all were communicating, he also went forward and the flesh truly transformed was given to him. He then approached the chalice filled with blood (just as it is truly) and he partook of it. And so, keeping a token of both as he went home, he showed them to his wife to confirm his words, and told her those things which he had seen with his own eyes. Therefore, believing, he said: "Truly, indeed, the mystery of the Christians is terrible and awe-inspiring". The next day he then went to Basil asking to receive without delay that which is a symbol in Christ. Saint Basil indeed without hesitation but offering the habitual Eucharist, wishing to save everyone, baptized the one who now believed in God with all his household.' See also Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur* 1, 403–4 and *BBV* IV, 1, 157. Note that Paul indicates *BHL* 1022 as a source for this passage, the translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Not only is Anastasius' translation of this episode very different, but, more importantly, it had not yet been compiled; see below, p. 24.

³⁹ Paul, ed., *Paschasius Radbertus*, pp. ix–x. Paul includes the passages added in the second redaction in square brackets. In the so-called fourth edition of the *De corpore* a shorter, modified version of this miracle was added, in which an unrepentant man had a vision of an angel dismembering a baby. This fourth redaction contains many later interpolations and one cannot determine whether the above intervention is authorial or not; see, however, T. Leinbaugh, 'Paschasius Radbertus', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill and P. E. Szarmach, MRTS 74 (Binghamton, NY, 1990), 143–4.

sense over *credente* (*Vita Basilii* c. 5, line 14, where it is an ablative referring to *domo*), it does not substantially alter the meaning of the passage. Given the similarity of the two texts, therefore, it must be inferred that Paschasius had at least an excerpt of *BHL* 1023 in front of him as he was updating his *De corpore* to present it to Charles the Bald, and that, rather than translating from the Greek himself, he must have copied it from Euphemius' translation.⁴⁰

Among ninth-century men of letters, Hincmar of Reims (806–82) stands out for his recurrent use of Euphemius' translation. A very long excerpt from it appears in his *De divortio Lotharii et Theutbergae reginae* (written in 860). The episode of the youth who denied Christ for love of a woman (c. 11) is cited verbatim in a crucial section of the treatise, where Hincmar provides an inventory of the kinds of sorcerers and soothsayers against whom the good Christian should be warned.⁴¹ This section is central to Hincmar's tract on divorce, because it forms the core of his invective against the bishops who had backed Lothar II.⁴² Under Hincmar's long episcopacy (845–82), Reims and its territory flourished, accumulating land, prestige and papal support, and it is therefore conceivable that he could access a rich

⁴⁰ Wortley, 'The Pseudo-Amphilochian *Vita Basilii*', pp. 225–6, suggests that βρέφος μελιζόμενον translated as *infantem partiri* c. 5, lines 3–4) is an original rendering by Paschasius. It is however unlikely that Paschasius knew enough Greek to translate the passage himself, see Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 130. The phrase is translated as *infantulum membratim incidi* by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*BHL* 1022, the text which Wortley compares to *De corpore*).

⁴¹ Listed under *BHL* 1022e (γ). See L. Böhringer, ed., *Hincmar von Reims. De divortio Lotharii et Theutbergae reginae*, MGH, Conc. IV, suppl. 1 (Hanover, 1992), 210–12, at 80 and note 359, where the editor states that she was unable to identify the translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life used by Hincmar. The archbishop cites verbatim a very long excerpt from *BHL* 1023, of which I report only the *incipit* and *explicit* from Böhringer's edition of the *De divortio. Inc.*: 'Elladius autem ipsius sanctissimae memoriae visor et minister factus ab eo perfectorum miraculorum et successor sedis post obitum iam dictae memoriae apostolicae Basilii, vir venerabilis et in omni virtute decoratus, narravit mihi' (p. 210, lines 1–3) and *expl.*: '[e]t faciens susceptionem magnam refrigeravit omnem populum et ducens puerum ac instruens seu dans ei regulam decentem reddidit eum mulieri eius intacibili ore glorificantem et laudantem deum. Amen' (p. 212, lines 39–41). The episode had also attracted the imagination of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, who versified it; see W. Berschin, ed., *Hrotsvit. Opera omnia*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum Romanorum Teubneriana (Munich, 2001), pp. 95–103 (*BHL* 1026); see also below, p. 53–4, note 10.

⁴² See V. I. J. Flint, 'Magic and Marriage in Ninth-Century Francia: Lothar, Hincmar – and Susanna', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethel*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 61–74.

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library. The passage cited in *De divortio* and its function within the treatise suggest that Hincmar valued the *Vita Basilii* above other sources, and that he was copying from it rather than quoting from memory.

Indeed, Hincmar must have had easy access to, or perhaps even owned, a copy of the *Vita Basilii*, because about seventeen years after the composition of his *De divortio*, he cited again from it in his *Vita Remigii* (877–8):

Legimus in vita beati Basilii, a sancto Amphilochio Iconii episcopo inter viros precipuos et scriptores catholicos nominatissimo dictata, quia baptizato eo in Iordane flumine, venit speties columbe cum fulgore ignis super eum.⁴³

For this reference, Hincmar had in mind c. 2 of the *Vita Basilii* ('ecce fulgor ignis uenit super eos, et columba ex eodem fulgore uenit in Iordanem', lines 11–12),⁴⁴ with close verbal and syntactical parallels to Luke 3.22: 'et descendit Spiritus Sanctus corporali specie sicut columba in ipsum'.⁴⁵ The passage from Luke is the source for Hincmar's phrasing *speties columbe* and for his use of the accusative singular *super eum*, rather than the plural *super eos* of *BHL* 1023 (the Pseudo-Amphilochian text indeed reads αὐτοῖς). In any case the quotation shows an unmistakable familiarity with c. 2 of the *Vita Basilii*. Later on in the same chapter of the *Vita Remigii*, Hincmar continues:

In prefata etiam vita beati Basilii legimus, columbe figuram auro factam cum Christi corpore ab eo super altare pensam, et in exaltatione sancti panis ternum eius motum aspiciendo prestolari solitum fore, quo sancti Spiritus adventum in sacramenta cognosceret; sed et inter celebranda divina mysteria sanctum Spiritum in spetie ignis descendisse super altare et supra Anastasium presbyterum, qui, eo iubente, coram ipso sacra mysteria celebrabat.⁴⁶

⁴³ 'We read in the life of the blessed Basil written by Saint Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium, very famous among eminent men and catholic writers, that, when he was baptized in the River Jordan, the shape of a dove came over him with the brightness of fire', B. Krusch, ed., *Hincmari vita sancti Remigii*, MGH, SRM 3 (Berlin, 1896), 239–336, at 299, lines 7–10, see in addition, *BBV* IV, 1, 161.

⁴⁴ 'Thereupon the brightness of fire came upon them and a dove came towards the Jordan out of that brightness.'

⁴⁵ 'And the Holy Spirit came down upon him just as in the physical shape of a dove.'

⁴⁶ 'In the aforementioned life of the blessed Basil we read that a golden effigy in the shape of a dove was hung from the altar with the body of Christ and that during the elevation of the holy bread, he was accustomed to waiting in order to see the threefold movement

GREEK AND LATIN BACKGROUNDS

This excerpt shows that Hincmar was no longer citing from the Latin *Vita Basilii* word for word: instead, he had read both c. 4, from which he knew that the dove was made out of gold ('et fecit columbam ex auro puro', line 35), and also c. 8, from which he knew that the dove moved three times upon recognition of the Holy Spirit ('signum non fuit factum ... ter moueri solens', c. 8, lines 3–5). Furthermore, Hincmar had also read from c. 12 of the *Vita Basilii*, which he cited to show that the Holy Spirit may descend either as a dove or as fire, depending, perhaps, on the celebrant (c. 12, lines 31–41). While it is possible that Hincmar knew Aeneas of Paris' work (which cited two of the same excerpts),⁴⁷ it is also clear that the archbishop had read the *Vita Basilii* extensively, showing knowledge of at least cc. 2, 4, 8, 11 and 12. By citing from Euphemius' translation so many times, Hincmar put on it, as it were, his seal of approval, especially as he was willing to use it in support of the most pivotal arguments of his highly political tract on divorce.

If, therefore, the Euphemius mentioned by Aeneas of Paris and the one referred to by Christian of Stavelot were the same person, and if he, in fact, is the translator of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, then it can also be inferred that this individual, or at least his translation, must have been within the Frankish kingdom around 843–4 when Paschasius was revising his treatise on the Eucharist for the second time. Moreover, if a man of Hincmar's political stature and influence cited the *Vita Basilii* twice, one may also speculate that this work was highly regarded as an authoritative source, whether for its contents or its writer's reputation. The means by which the Pseudo-Amphilochian life entered Carolingian Europe remain a matter for speculation, however. After the Second Iconoclastic Controversy (814–42), political and cultural exchanges between the East and the Carolingian Empire intensified.⁴⁸ Numerous monks fled from the Byzantine Empire to southern Italy and Rome in order to avoid persecution, which had become particularly fierce under Emperor Theophilus (829–42) and the Patriarch John the Grammarian (fl. 832–40). A number of these Greek-speaking scholars also reached the court of Louis the Pious, who in 827 received a delegation of eastern *literati* from Constantinople and a donation of books. It was on this occasion, for instance, that the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the

through which he would recognise the arrival of the Holy Spirit; but also [we read that], during the elevation, the Holy Spirit in the shape of fire descended on the altar and on Anastasius the priest, while he was celebrating the Holy Mass in front of Basil who had asked him to', Krusch, ed., *Hincmari vita Remigii*, p. 299, lines 16–22.

⁴⁷ For Aeneas of Paris, see above, pp. 14–16.

⁴⁸ *ODCC*, p. 815.

Areopagite reached the Carolingian Empire for the first time.⁴⁹ Many political connections also existed between Louis' successor, Charles the Bald, Constantinople, Rome and southern Italy, through which channels Greek works travelled regularly into the Frankish kingdom.⁵⁰ Recent work on commercial routes also points in this direction. Trade between northern Europe and Constantinople had intensified and new routes of communication were established for travel via the Balkans.⁵¹ The Greek text could conceivably have reached the Frankish kingdom through one of these channels.

One further complication is generated by the nebulous identity of our translator, Euphemius *interpres*. It is likely that this man was a Latin speaker who knew enough Greek to translate a text as long and complex as the Pseudo-Amphilochian life into Latin fairly literally, though with often cumbersome syntax and some unusual word-choices.⁵² It is no surprise that Euphemius should have been consulted on issues of theology and that his work was cited as an authority: only a few intellectuals mastered Greek north of the Alps in the mid-ninth century. It is, perhaps, much more surprising that no other evidence on Euphemius seems to have survived, which increases the likelihood that the translator had adopted a pseudonym.⁵³ Euphemius, as Aeneas and Christian seem to confirm, could also have been Greek: Einhard, Alcuin and Lupus of Ferrières all mention the presence of *Graeci* within the empire who interacted and consulted with the court and the

⁴⁹ G. Cavallo, 'La circolazione dei testi greci nell'Europa dell'alto Medioevo', in *Rencontres de culture dans la philosophie médiévale*, ed. J. Hamesse and M. Fattori (Louvain, 1990), pp. 48–64. In particular, the manuscript to which Cavallo refers (p. 51) is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 437. See also W. Berschin, 'The Greek Elements in Medieval Latin Manuscripts', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. Herren with S. A. Brown, King's College London Medieval Studies 2 (London, 1988), 85–104, at 95.

⁵⁰ Cavallo, 'La circolazione dei testi', pp. 53–4.

⁵¹ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 548–62.

⁵² Much detailed work has been done on the knowledge of Greek in Carolingian Europe, notably *The Sacred Nectar*, ed. Herren; B. Kaczynski, 'A Ninth Century Latin Translation of Mark the Hermit's Περὶ Νομῶν Πνευματικῶν', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1996), 379–88; and by the same author *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St Gall Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA, 1988). See also B. Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart, 1967), 227–45, and 'Das Griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', in *ibid.*, pp. 246–75, and Viricillo-Franklin, ed., *Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, pp. 54–70 and 109–113.

⁵³ See above, p. 17.

literati of the time.⁵⁴ Euphemius could have had enough Latin to produce a relatively fluent translation with a number of Graecisms, as some of the textual blunders discussed above would suggest. This possibility remains, though it is very remote, since the presence of Greek scholars who spoke fluent Latin in northern Europe is poorly attested.⁵⁵ In any case, if we are to believe the sources cited above, one fact can be ascertained beyond doubt: that between the 840s (or earlier) and 870 there was in the Carolingian kingdom a man called Euphemius, who had either translated *in loco* or brought with him his Latin translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life of Basil. Surely, Euphemius must have been thought of as a very knowledgeable source to be cited in the prologue of a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, and, as seems to be implied by Hincmar's observation ('inter uiros precipuos et scriptores catholicos nominatissimo dictata'), someone able to translate the Pseudo-Amphilochian life must himself have belonged to a circle of very learned men.

The ninth century and the turn of the tenth century saw two other translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, *BHL* 1022 and 1024. The textual tradition designated as *BHL* 1022 by the Bollandists is a translation of the Greek text by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, made while he was abbot at Santa Maria in Trastevere, between 858 and 867, as he himself states.⁵⁶ In his prefatory letter to his translation of the *Vita Basilii*, Anastasius Bibliothecarius mentioned that he knew of another translation, but that this version was incomplete (containing only the episode of the youth who denied

⁵⁴ See Berschin, *Greek Letters*, pp. 132–3.

⁵⁵ See A. C. Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in *The Sacred Nectar*, ed. Herren, pp. 1–56. Dionisotti observed that, if the Latin men of letters were prone to mistakes when translating from the Greek, the Greeks residing in Western Europe had even less understanding of the Latin language.

⁵⁶ E. Perels and G. Laehr, ed., *Epistolae sive praefationes*, MGH, Ep. Kar. 7 (Berlin, 1928), 398–400: 'abbas sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae Virginis siti trans Tiberim, ubi olim circa Domini nativitatem fons olei fluxit' (at p. 399, lines 7–9). Anastasius' translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life is printed and discussed in PL 73, cols. 293–320, where it is attributed to a certain Ursus subdeacon. For the attribution to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, see Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 387; C. Leonardi, 'Anastasio Bibliothecario e le traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale', in *The Sacred Nectar*, ed. Herren, pp. 277–96, and 'L'agiografia romana nel secolo IX', in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés: IVe XIIe siècles: Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris 2–5 mai 1979*, ed. E. Patlagean and P. Riché, Centre de Recherches sur l'Antiquité Tardive et le Haut Moyen Age (Paris, 1981), pp. 471–90. See also *ODCC*, p. 58. It is important to note here that *BHL* 1022 is in need of a modern edition which would shed light not only on the western reception of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, but also on Anastasius' extensive hagiographic project.

Christ and that of the repentant woman), and therefore needed to be replaced.⁵⁷ It is not currently possible to determine whether Anastasius was referring to a now lost translation or to Euphemius' work. However, if the latter had indeed been compiled within the Carolingian Empire barely twenty years earlier, it is plausible that Anastasius may have been unaware of its existence, or that he may have known only a fragmentary version of it. One of the two miracles mentioned by Anastasius in his prefatory letter, the miracle of the repentant woman (c. 15), is also represented in a fresco at Santa Maria in Gradellis, a small church near Anastasius' abbey. This was apparently decorated shortly after Anastasius' translation, under the patronage of Pope John VIII (872–82), in imitation of the decorative panels found at Toqale Kilissé.⁵⁸ Rousseau reports the Latin inscription found with the fresco as follows: 'hic mulier deprecans scm basilium ut pro eius crimin[e] dominum exoraret'.⁵⁹ This inscription has no apparent textual relationship with *BHL* 1023 and the episode of the repentant woman does not appear in the PL version of Anastasius' work. Therefore, even though it would be tempting to speculate on Anastasius' familiarity with this fresco, it is impossible, for the time being, to establish any direct connection between any of the ninth-century translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life and this decoration.

The third translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, *BHL* 1024, was produced later, at the turn of the ninth century, apparently by a certain Ursus *sacerdos* at the court of Naples under Gregory II (died ca. 916).⁶⁰ Ursus' preface is a chain of hagiographical *topoi*, from the declaration of the author's inadequacy vis-à-vis the arduous task he is about to undertake, to the trust in the commissioner's benevolence and understanding: '[p]erreximus ad dominum nycolaum praesulem peritissimum graecorum atque philosophum et secundum vestrum votum de graeca in latinam linguam fideliter quod induxeratis transtulimus'.⁶¹ While this prologue illuminates the

⁵⁷ Perels and Laers, ed., *Epistolae*, p. 400, lines 2–4: '[v]erum, diligenter inquirens, nichil scriptum de vita huius sancti [Basili] apud Latinos inveni, nisi duo miraculorum eius, id est de puero Christi negatore liberato, et muliere a peccatis erepta'.

⁵⁸ W. Fitzgerald, 'Notes on the Iconography of Saint Basil the Great', in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic* 2, ed. P. J. Fedwick (Toronto, 1981), 533–63, at 557; De Jerphanion, 'Histoires de Saint Basile', pp. 548–51; Rousseau, 'La rencontre', pp. 270–1.

⁵⁹ 'Here is the woman begging Saint Basil to pray to the Lord for her crime', Rousseau, 'La rencontre', p. 271, reports *pro eius crimina*.

⁶⁰ Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 171.

⁶¹ 'We presented [it] to lord Nicholas the bishop, very knowledgeable in Greek matters and a philosopher, and according to the wish which you expressed to us we translated faithfully from Greek into Latin', in Benedictines of Monte Cassino, ed., *Flor. Cas.* 3, 205.

cultural context within which Ursus' translation was executed, it does not shed any further light on the priest's knowledge of the two earlier translations.⁶² Indeed, unlike in Anastasius' work, there is no sign in Ursus' preface that he was aware of any other translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life. Ursus' translation is currently edited from one manuscript only, Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca della Badia, 139. Like *BHL* 1022 and 1023, it has gone mostly unnoticed.

In conclusion, the first known translator of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life of Basil, an elusive Euphemius, takes shape for us only as a very learned man, whose expertise was consulted on matters of theology. His translation is the earliest Latin hagiography on Saint Basil to have circulated in the West: it can now be assigned to a limited geographic area and given the precise *terminus ante quem* of 843. An analysis of the surviving manuscript evidence supports these conclusions on the transalpine origin of this translation.

The earliest Latin manuscript

The *Vita Basilii* now numbered *BHL* 1023 circulated only among the monastic centres north of the Alps, pointing to a possible Frankish origin for the Greek-to-Latin translation. The transalpine origin of the earliest manuscripts of this text further proves that it must have been translated and first circulated during the reign of Louis the Pious, or slightly later, under Charles the Bald.

The earliest manuscript containing *BHL* 1023 was previously thought to be Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 566 (872–83), a large paginated volume which binds together four different hagiographical manuscripts from different epochs.⁶³ Its earliest block, from the ninth century, is associated by Munding with the 'Hartmutschule' of ninth-century Saint Gall, on the basis of its script and contents.⁶⁴ Furthermore, two slightly later manuscripts survive, respectively from the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth

⁶² For a comparison between the three Latin versions of the *Vita Basilii*, see pp. 74–7.

⁶³ R. Nostitz-Rieneck, 'Vom Tode des Kaisers Julian: Berichte und Erzählungen. Ein Beitrag zur Legendenforschung', *XVI. Jahresbericht des Öffentlichen Privatsgymnasiums an der Stella Matutina zu Feldkirch* (Feldkirch, 1907), pp. 1–35, at p. 24. I am grateful to Virginia Brown for allowing me to see a copy of this article.

⁶⁴ For a detailed description of its contents, see E. Munding, *Das Verzeichnis der St Gallen Heiligenleben und ihrer Handschriften im Codex S. Gall. 566* (Beuron, 1915); see in addition P. J. G. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1918).

century, both from Carolingian scriptoria, now Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 528 (from St-Denis) and BAV, Pal. lat. 582 (from Mainz).⁶⁵ All three manuscripts are remarkably close in time to one another, dated variously within the second half of the ninth century or the very start of the tenth, and all come from scriptoria north of the Alps.

In addition to these three manuscripts listed in Siegmund, there is, however, an even earlier manuscript from Freising which contains the *Vita Basilii*. The earliest attested manuscript witness of this translation has survived as a 48-folio *libellus* dated to the middle of the ninth century. This manuscript, once Lambach, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstiftes, 127, was sold to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1929 and is now in the series noua collection, 4635.⁶⁶ The *libellus* contains only the text of *BHL* 1023 and part of a Lambach liturgical office added in the eleventh century, which suggests that the booklet had been transported from Freising to Lambach before that time. It contains several *probationes pennae* in the margins, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.⁶⁷ The manuscript measures 202 x 162 mm, with a written space of 144 x 120 mm. Bernhard Bischoff associated this manuscript with the school of Anno, Bishop of

⁶⁵ See A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels, 1910) and Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*, p. 259. Note that a similar scenario obtains for the textual traditions of the Seven Sleepers (*BHL* 2316), Margaret of Antioch (*BHL* 5303), Mary of Egypt (*BHL* 5415) and Theophilus (*BHL* 8121). All were translated from Greek into Latin but show no obvious connection to subalpine scriptoria. In addition, they often appear together with the *Vita Basilii* (*BHL* 1023) in the same ninth-century continental manuscripts: see H. Magennis, ed., *The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers*, Durham Medieval Texts 7 (Durham, 1994), 1–7; M. Clayton and H. Magennis, ed., *The Old English Lives of Margaret of Antioch*, CSASE 9 (Cambridge, 1994), 3–40; M. Clayton, 'Theophilus', SASLC 1, 453–5; H. Magennis, ed., *The Old English Life of Saint Mary of Egypt: An Edition of the Old English Text with Modern English Parallel-Text Translation*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter, 2002), pp. 1–14 and 30–1.

⁶⁶ See P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* 3 (London, 1983), 24, and *BBV* II, 1, 757. For a description of this manuscript, see B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken der Karolingerzeit* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 219. Note that Bischoff describes the manuscript as made of 47 folios. There is, however, a foliation error in this manuscript and its last folio is numbered both 47 and 48 (48 is the correct number). See also O. Mazal, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series Nova* 4 (Vienna, 1974), 296–7.

⁶⁷ Two among the most interesting *probationes pennae*, dated by Bischoff to the twelfth or thirteenth century, include a scribal name, 'gallus [?]autuens<is>' (f. 32v, top margin) and a rhyme: 'uina bibat in mane cerebrum reformet inane', followed by 'uinum bibat cum propriis' (f. 19v, top margin), in a later Gothic script, perhaps from the thirteenth century.

Freising, a school which was affiliated to the Cathedral of Saint Mary and better known for its lavishly decorated Gospel books. During Anno's episcopacy (854–75), the diocese at Freising flourished and was perhaps at its peak as a writing centre.⁶⁸ The text of the *Vita Basilii* is written in a large Carolingian script by a tremulous hand, with numerous ligatures and a prevalence of what Bischoff classifies as an open *a* 'with two spikes'.⁶⁹ The script also shows a slight lean towards the right, with occasional wedged and clubbed ascenders. Display script and large initials are in red rustic capitals. The high point is used for longer pauses (followed by a small rustic capital) and the low point for shorter ones. Noteworthy among the punctuation signs is the question mark, consistently resembling a rounded zig-zag with a point underneath. Bischoff associated question marks of this shape with the Palace School of Charles the Bald.⁷⁰ *Signes de renvoi* are used consistently and clearly (for instance at folios 5r and 45r).

By the second half of the ninth century, therefore, a witness of *BHL* 1023 had been copied at Freising, a writing centre that, though teeming with activity, was relatively remote from the western portion of the Frankish kingdom where the Pseudo-Amphilochian life was read. In any event, the transalpine origin of all the early manuscripts (Freising, Saint Gall, Mainz and St-Denis) supports the hypothesis that the textual tradition of *BHL* 1023 originally belonged to Continental Europe and that it only reached the regions south of the Alps at a later stage.

Such conclusions are of paramount significance for our knowledge of Carolingian intellectual history and text transmission. Further light is also shed on some of the problems in assessing Ælfric's putative source for his Life of Saint Basil. It is clear, in fact, that if the Latin text is of northern European origin, and perhaps in some way connected to the cultural circles around Hincmar of Reims, its insertion in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition hardly requires further explanation.⁷¹ The history and background

⁶⁸ Bischoff, *Schreibschulen* 1, 60–71 and 2, 219. See also R. G. Babcock, *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach* (New Haven, CT, 1983), and *DHGE* 3, col. 395.

⁶⁹ Bischoff, *Schreibschulen* 2, 219: 'mit zwei Spitzen'.

⁷⁰ See Bischoff's reproduction of a similar symbol, in B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), p. 170.

⁷¹ The remarkable similarities between the textual history of *BHL* 1023 and other hagiographies is intriguing (see also above, note 65). The lives of Basil, the Seven Sleepers, St Margaret of Antioch, Mary of Egypt and Theophilus were subsequently turned into Old English and into other European vernaculars (in excerpts or complete). See A. J.

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of the Latin *Vita Basilii* are as challenging and fascinating as many hagiographies are upon closer inspection. This patchwork of miracles and of allegorical retelling of historical facts, not unusual in hagiography, leads into the heart of a tantalising question: the knowledge of Greek north of the Alps prior to roughly the year 1100.

Basil's memory does not only survive in hagiographies, of course. His writings were translated into Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Slavonic and Latin shortly after his death. By the early fifth century, Greek manuscripts of his works had already made their way into Italy, France and northern Africa.⁷² Along with his genuine writings, however, many spurious works began to circulate, which were either mistakenly attributed to him or assigned to him to capitalise on his popularity. Somewhat later than in the rest of Europe, the arrival of *Basiliana* in England seems to coincide with the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus at Canterbury. Very little evidence of the cult of Basil, however, survives in England before the tenth century, when a fragmentary Latin life and his relics first appeared at Exeter. With Ælfric's translation of the Latin *Vita* and of the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, however, Basil gained a solid place in the Anglo-Saxon monastic world. Ælfric's main concern was to show his audience Basil's influence as a teacher and to establish a parallel between his own guide, Benedict, and the Eastern Father. In order to clarify the intellectual milieu within which Ælfric envisaged his translation of the *Vita Basilii*, it is now necessary to turn to the knowledge of this saint in Anglo-Saxon England, in terms not only of his hagiography, but also of his writings and cult.

B. Denomy, 'An Old French Version of the Julian Episode of the Life of Saint Basil', *MS* 18 (1957), 105–24; Magennis, ed., *Seven Sleepers*, pp. 1–7; Clayton and Magennis, ed., *Margaret of Antioch*, pp. 3–40; Clayton, 'Theophilus', pp. 453–5 and Magennis, ed., *Mary of Egypt*, pp. 1–14; and 30–1.

⁷² P. J. Fedwick, 'The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400', in *Basil of Caesarea* 2, ed. Fedwick, 439–512; see also *BBV* II.

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Evidence from the texts

Basil's name appears for the first time in Anglo-Saxon England in Theodore's *Penitentials*, a collection of canons compiled around the end of the seventh century. With Theodore's arrival in England (669), not only did knowledge of Basil (and of many other Greek Fathers) reach the country for the first time, but also a number of Greek books were imported and started to circulate.¹

When in 672 or 673 Theodore called a council at Hertford, he presented the congregation of bishops with a collection of statutes aimed at establishing consensus among English churches on matters of marriage, divorce and penance.² These statutes began to circulate shortly afterwards as a collection of penitentials and canons.³ The author of the *Penitentials* drew primarily on the Greek Fathers, with five direct quotations from the works of Saint Basil and twenty-six possible echoes.⁴ Two of Theodore's canonical statutes from

¹ B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994), 205–42, especially 206–8. For a study of Theodore's career and schooling, see also M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. M. Lapidge, CSASE 11 (Cambridge, 1995), 1–29.

² Bischoff and Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 134 and 150; see too D. Dumville, 'Mediterranean Manuscripts in Theodore's England', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 96–119, especially p. 100.

³ T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 141–74. The origin and history of Theodore's *Penitentials* are somewhat complicated by the reorganisation which they underwent immediately after they were written. The earliest stage is found in the *Iudicia Theodori* (or *Capitula d'Acheriana*), which were not compiled by Theodore but by one of his Irish pupils (*ibid.*, p. 151). They were subsequently organised and put together in two books by a scribe who called himself the *Discipulus Vmbrensium* and who added a prologue and an epilogue to them.

⁴ Of the Latin Fathers, only Augustine is mentioned, Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 152 and note 82; see also R. E. Reynolds, 'Basil and the Early Medieval Latin Canonical Collections', in *Basil of Caesarea 2*, ed. Fedwick, 513–32, especially at 522. For Theodore's *Penitentials* we still rely on P. Finsterwalder, ed., *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929).

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book II, 7.3 and 12.6 come from Basil's letters to Amphilochius of Iconium (*CPG* 2900) and found their way into two Old English canon law collections from the tenth century.⁵ Both injunctions are for women.

The first citation appears in the Old English translation of Theodore's *Penitentials* and forbids women to leave their husbands, unless it is to join a monastery: '[n]is þam wife na alyfed, þæt heo forlæte hire wær butan leafe, þeah heo forlegen beo, buton Basilius demde, þæt heo moste gan on mynster, gif heo wolde'.⁶ The second injunction attributed to Saint Basil appears in the *Confessional of Pseudo-Egbert* in the chapter on the celebration of the Mass (22): '[w]if motan under brunum hrægle to husle gan, swa swa Basilius demde'.⁷ Like the preceding reference, this statute can ultimately be traced back to Basil's canonical letters. It also bears particular significance for the present study because it echoes an episode found both in the Greek hagiography and in the Latin translation by Euphemius *interpres* (but not in Ælfric's translation). The episode which echoes this canon tells the story of a young deacon punished for making eye-contact with a woman during the service (c. 8), for this transgression he receives a penance of fasts and vigils. Basil's measures to prevent such an episode from happening again, however, include the relegation of women behind curtains (*uela*, Greek βήλα) during Mass. Those who do not comply with this will be banished from Communion (c. 8, lines 9–15):

Diaconem autem ieiuniis et uigiliis submitit ... Vela etiam statim iussit
appendi instructoriis, praecipiens de mulieribus quae foris uelorum

⁵ Courtonne, ed., *Lettres*, letters 188, 199, 217; for the manuscript history and early editions of these letters see especially *BBVI*, 324–8. According to Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential', p. 158, note 51, these letters 'had acquired the authority of Law in the eastern church'.

⁶ 'No woman is allowed to leave her husband without permission even though she is adulterous, but Basil decreed that she could go to a monastery if she wanted', F. J. Mone, ed., *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und Sprache* (Aachen and Leipzig, 1830), p. 107. The Latin reads: 'Mulier non licet uirum dimittere licet sit fornicator nisi forte pro monasterio. Basilius iudicauit', Finsterwalder, ed., *Die Canones* II, 12.6 (at 327).

⁷ 'As Basil decreed, women should go to Communion with a dark cape', R. Spindler, ed., *Das altenglische Bussbuch* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 189, lines 382–3. The Latin reads: 'Mulieres possunt sub nigrum uelamine accipere sacrificium ut Basilius iudicauit', Finsterwalder, ed., *Die Canones*, II, 7.3 (at 322).

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apparuerit inclinans se, diuinum ministerium peragente, foris poni mysterio et incommunicatam permanere.⁸

Ælfric omitted this passage, because, as will be shown below, it breaks in two the narrative of the death of Julian the Apostate, a particularly important episode in the overall structure of the Life of Basil.

Shortly after the Council of Hertford, Theodore and his companion, Hadrian, composed a collection of *Biblical Commentaries* drawing on a conspicuous number of Greek sources and very few Latin ones. In the *Commentaries* Basil is only mentioned once, in an explanatory gloss to Gen. 1.6 on the nature of Heaven (*firmamentum*). The phrasing of this short citation suggests that the compilers had the original of Basil's *Homiliae in Hexameron* (CPG 2835), or at least the third Homily from which it is derived. As suggested by Michael Lapidge, one possible intermediary for the transmission of this work could have been Procopius of Gaza.⁹ In addition, Theodore's direct familiarity with Basil's works is evident in his *Commentarius Primus ad Pentateuch* (in PentI 51 and 58) which, though not mentioning the Greek Father directly, may be traced back to one of his letters, written in 377 to Bishop Optimos (letter 260).¹⁰ Basil's letter to his friend is essentially a commentary on Gen. 4.1–15 and 4.23–4, on Cain's treacherous scheme against Abel, on his punishment to remain unslain by man and on Lamech's confession to his two wives that, since he had killed two men and belonged in Cain's line of descent, he had to suffer four hundred and ninety punishments (seventy times seven) before the world could be atoned. Basil illustrated this by providing a list of Cain's sins, possibly the most detailed and original exegesis of this biblical passage, which may have reached Theodore either directly or, perhaps, like the *Hexameron*, via

⁸ 'Indeed he subjected the deacon to fasting and vigils ... in addition, he immediately ordered curtains to be hung in the aisles, ordering that any woman who would show herself outside the curtains leaning forward while he was celebrating the Holy Mass should be sent away from the Mass and remain without Communion.' For a discussion of the parallel *foris* ... *foris* with genitive and ablative, see above, p. 11.

⁹ Bischoff and Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 386: '*Fiat firmamentum. Ideo dicitur firmamentum quia, ut dicit Basilius, solidior est omni lapide precioso et christallo pulchrior*'; see also *ibid.*, p. 498. This excerpt is drawn from Basil's *Homiliae in Hexameron*, Homily 3, chapter 4: E. Amand de Mendieta and S. Y. Rudberg, ed., *Basilius von Caesarea. Homilien zum Hexameron*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhundert 2 (Berlin, 1997), 44 (line 17)–45 (line 2); see also below, pp. 34–5, especially note 20.

¹⁰ Courtonne, ed., *Lettres* 2, letter 260, 105–15.

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Procopius of Gaza.¹¹ Since Basil's letters did not exist in a Latin translation until the middle of the fifteenth century, it must be assumed that Theodore adapted these excerpts specifically for the *Biblical Commentaries*, either from memory, or following one of the Greek manuscripts which he had with him.¹² As will be shown below, the same letter to Optimos might also have exerted some influence on Bede's *In principium Genesis*, and here one is left with the tantalising possibility that Bede could have been familiar with material coming from Theodore's circle.

If, as Lapidge speculates, Theodore and Hadrian brought with them to England a sizeable library of Greek texts to use for their works and as teaching tools, it is not surprising that Aldhelm of Malmesbury, one of their most distinguished pupils, showed profound knowledge of the Eastern Fathers. Certainly he knew of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, who are ranked among the host of virgin saints and are praised for both their learning and their virtue. In his *De laudibus uirginitatis (prosa)*, Aldhelm mentioned Basil and his works; specifically his monastic rule, some letters and a work called *erga ta exaameron*, which he seems to have known in a Latin translation:

Basilus ... qui regularem monasticae conuersationis normam, reciprocis scedarum sciscitationibus uicaria litterarum relatione respondens, luce clarius ad liquidum digessit necnon erga ta (ex emeron vel) exaameron id est opera sex dierum, quae in latinum translata leguntur ... edidit.¹³

¹¹ Bischoff and Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 207 and pp. 445–7: the Commentator based his glosses to PentI 51 and 58 on Basil's letter (respectively 260.3 and 260.5); see also, M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at Canterbury in the Seventh Century', in *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1996), pp. 124–39, at pp. 129–30.

¹² *BBVI*, 324–8 and 545–7. The attractive possibility of the existence of *catenae* cannot yet be proven, but should not be discarded; so Bischoff and Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 229–32.

¹³ R. Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi opera*, MGH, Auct. Antiq. 15 (Berlin, 1919), 263, lines 11–16. 'Basil ... who expounded with certainty (and) more clearly than light the regular practices of the monastic life by replying to the varying enquiries of correspondents with the answering exposition of his letters. Relying on the marvellous refinement of his eloquence he also produced the *erga ta exaameron* that is "The Works of the Six Days" which may be read in Latin translation.' The translation is from M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 86; see too S. Gwara, ed., *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis prosa de uirginitate cum glosa latina atque anglosaxonica*, CCSL 124a (Turnhout, 2001), 341–3, lines 25–32.

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Aldhelm's praise of Saint Basil's moral rectitude is therefore introduced by way of his scholarly accomplishments, and almost turned into a *conditio sine qua non* for Basil's sanctity. This is indeed the perspective adopted by Ælfric in his translation, which, as shown below, is greatly indebted to Aldhelm's perception of the Greek Father.¹⁴ In the same passage, Aldhelm continues praising Basil's moral fortitude with a somewhat incongruous statement, which he justifies as a rhetorical flourish: '[i]s, inquam, quod integritatis gratia incorruptus corporaliter floruerit, ex ipsius elogio coniecturam capesso ita prosequentis: *Et feminam non cognosco et uirgo non sum*'.¹⁵ Aldhelm himself explains this otherwise puzzling assertion by attributing to Basil the use of the rhetorical device known in the Middle Ages as *aliena persona* which, he says, was often adopted by those who preached from the pulpit. This passage from the prose *De uirginitate* seems, in turn, to be derived from Cassian's *Institutiones* and was later borrowed by Ælfric for LB, in an authorial intervention not found in the *Vita Basilii*.¹⁶

However, efforts to disseminate knowledge of the Greek Fathers throughout Anglo-Saxon England can be better understood when one turns to Bede, on whose work Basil's *Homiliae in Hexameron* exerted an influence second to no Greek Father. The *Homiliae in Hexameron* is a collection of nine homilies composed during the Holy Week of 378 (see too *Vita Basilii*, c. 9) and was known to Bede via a translation attributed to a certain Eustathius *italicus* (ca. 400), not Eustathius *affer*, as believed by Ogilvy, or Rufinus, as believed by Ehwald.¹⁷ This translation, according to its most recent editors, is at times very faithful, but on occasions inaccurate, showing the translator's difficulty with Greek technical vocabulary.¹⁸ Over

¹⁴ See below, pp. 92–3.

¹⁵ Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi opera*, pp. 263 (line 16)–264 (line 1). 'That this Basil, I say, flourished corporeally incorrupt, by virtue of his integrity, I shall understand as an interpretation of his own maxim, as follows: "I do not know a woman, and yet I am not a virgin"', Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, p. 86.

¹⁶ See E. G. Whatley, 'St Basil in Old English: Ælfric's Version of the Pseudo-Amphilochian Legend' (unpubl. paper delivered at the Thirty-Second Congress of Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997)). I am grateful to the author for giving me a copy of this essay.

¹⁷ J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), p. 98, and Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi opera*, p. 263, note 8.

¹⁸ E. Amand de Mendieta and S. Y. Rudberg, ed., *Eustathius. Ancienne version latine des neuf Homélie sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 5, Reihe 11 (Berlin, 1958), xi–xvii. See also *BBV* IV, 1, 6, and Fedwick, 'The Translations', p. 459 and note 101. For the manuscripts and editions of Eustathius' work see *BBV* II, 2, 1131–64.

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thirty witnesses to the Latin translation of Basil's *Hexameron* survive, attesting to its wide circulation, but much work remains to be done on its transmission in Anglo-Saxon England. Bede's familiarity with a complete version of this translation can hardly be disputed: many sections of his *Libri quattuor in principium Genesis* (CPL 1344) and of *De temporum ratione* (CPL 2320) are indebted to Eustathius' work and are often verbatim quotations from it. In the prefatory letter to *In Genesim* addressed to Acca, Bishop of Hexham (709–31), Bede listed the authorities for the cosmogonic sections of his commentary, in the order of their interdependence:

Praecipue, quantum nostra pusillitas ediscere potuit, Basilius Caesariensis quem Eustathius interpres de graeco fecit esse latinum, Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Augustinus Hipponensis episcopus (quorum primus libris nouem, secundus uestigia eius sequens libris sex, tertius libris duodecim, et rursum aliis duobus specialiter aduersum manichaeos descriptis), prolixa legentibus doctrinae salutaris fluentia manarunt.¹⁹

From this quotation it is clear that Bede's familiarity with Basil's work is only via Eustathius' Latin translation, on which, however, he relied heavily for his commentary and for his work on the reckoning of time (below, pp. 36–7). Accordingly, the editor of *In Genesim*, Charles Jones, found as many as fourteen passages which Bede might have drawn from Eustathius' translation. More strikingly, however, Jones identified four additional passages as indebted to the Greek text of Basil's *Hexameron* (and not Eustathius' Latin translation). While all four instances identified by Jones can be shown to derive from the Latin text without much difficulty, two of them deserve closer examination, because they shed further light on the dissemination of Basil's work in Anglo-Saxon England.

The first of the instances which, according to Jones, derive from Basil's Greek work occurs at *In Genesim* I, i.6. In explaining the firm nature of the heavens (*firmamentum*), Bede's observations are strikingly similar to Basil's. The Greek Father had used the word *στερέωμα* for firmament and *στερέον* for firm, but this etymological explanation finds no equivalent in

¹⁹ 'Most of all, insofar as our littleness could find out, Basil of Caesarea, whom the translator Eustathius turned from Greek into Latin, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, poured out for the readers copious writings on the doctrine of salvation (the first of them in nine books, the second, following in his footsteps, in six books and the third in twelve, and further in two other books, written especially against the Manicheans)', C. W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Venerabilis opera. Libri quattuor in principium Genesis*, CCSL 118a (Turnhout, 1967), 1, lines 1–12.

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Eustathius' translation.²⁰ On the other hand, Basil's name had been explicitly linked to the same interpretation in the *Biblical Commentaries* of Theodore and Hadrian, in order to illustrate Gen. 1.6: the sky is as firm and solid as a crystal stone, equally precious and more beautiful (ὁποῖα ἐστὶν τε τοῦ ἤ κρυστάλλου λίθου).²¹ Bede adopted a very similar formula:

In medio constat *firmamentum* esse aquarum ... in medio ergo aquarum *firmatum* esse constat sidereum caelum, neque aliquid prohibet ut etiam de aquis factum esse credatur; qui enim crystallini lapidis quanta *firmitas* quae sit perspicuitas ac puritas nouimus, quem de aquarum concreione certum est esse procreatum.²²

In the *apparatus fontium* of Bede's commentary on Genesis, Jones called attention to Basil's *Homiliae* (the Greek version, not Eustathius' translation), to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, to his *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and finally to Ambrose's *Homiliae in Hexameron*. In fact, there is no parallel for the analogy between the firmament and a crystal stone in any of these sources. Bede's direct source (for the analogy with the crystal stone, but not for the etymology of *firmamentum*) is Eustathius' translation of this passage. The etymology of *firmamentum*, however, only finds an equivalent in Basil's original Greek and in Theodore's *Commentaries*.

The second instance indicated by Jones as a direct borrowing from Basil's works, unmediated by a translation, comes from Bede's *In Genesim* II, iv.24. This is a lengthy passage on Lamech's punishment and the purification of mankind until the coming of Christ through the generations,

²⁰ Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, ed., *Eustathius*, p. 36, lines 17–21: 'quoniam de aquarum communium editione natiuitatem creditur habuisse, vel certe humori coagulato similem esse conuenit aestimare: aut ejusmodi alicui materiae, quae ex diffusionem liquoris sumpsit originem, *qualis est lapidis natura crystallini*, quem ferunt ex aquarum concreione generari'. My italics highlight the relevant clause, and the absence of the etymology found in the original Greek text.

²¹ 'It is like a crystal rock', Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, ed., *Basilii von Caesarea*, p. 44, line 20. It is worth citing the excerpt from Theodore's *Biblical Commentaries* again: '*Fiat firmamentum*. Ideo dicitur firmamentum quia, ut dicit Basilius, solidior est omni lapide precioso et christallo pulchrior', Bischoff and Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 386, see also above, pp. 31–2 and note 9. Here the word *solidior* is used, as opposed to *firmus* or a cognate.

²² 'The firmament is in the middle of the waters ... and so it is that the starry sky is firm in the middle of the waters and nothing prevents [us] from believing that it may also be made of water, for we know what firmness, clarity and purity is proper of the crystal rock, which is certainly generated from the condensation of the waters', Jones, ed., *Libri quattuor*, p. 10, lines 248–57.

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in multiples of seven.²³ Interestingly, for this passage Jones provides Basil's letter to Bishop Optimos as a possible source, even though there is no evidence for a Latin translation of it until 1453. It seems quite unlikely that Bede may have had a Greek copy of this particular letter from which he could have translated, and so one must postulate the presence of other possible sources. However, none of the *fontes* indicated in Jones' apparatus seem fully satisfactory for Bede's reading of Basil's exegesis,²⁴ which, in fact, is remarkably similar to that of Theodore and Hadrian for Gen. 4.8 and 4.24 (PentI 51 and 58).²⁵ It is not possible to explore this matter farther here, but whether the *Biblical Commentaries* could have provided an intermediary through which Bede might have known Basil's exegesis certainly remains an intriguing question.

The other work by Bede to show the most points of contact with Basil is his *De temporum ratione*, written in 725 (after *In Genesim*). Basil's *Hexameron* is cited twice in this work, both times verbatim from Eustathius' Latin translation.²⁶ Recognised as a commentary on Genesis,²⁷ Basil's *Hexameron* is acknowledged as the main source for the exegesis of the appearance of the dry lands on the second day of Creation (Gen. 1.9). Here, with *Basilius*, Bede meant Eustathius' translation, which he quoted verbatim:

Consentit huic Ambrosius mediolanensis antistes, in libro Hexameron secundo. Sed et Basilius Caesareae Cappadociae episcopus, qui in quarto eiusdem operis libro: '*Congregentur, inquit, aquae, et appareat arida. Velamentum subducitur, ut conspicua fieret quae interim non uidebatur.*'²⁸

²³ 'De quo [*scil.* Lamech] ultio *septuagies septies* data est, quia usque ad aduentum Christi qui in septuagesima et septima generatione in mundo apparuit, noxa prima praeuaricationis genus premebat humanum', Jones, ed., *Libri quattuor*, p. 90, lines 634–7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *apparatus fontium*. Along with Basil's letter, Bede's own commentary on Luke and Isidore's *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum sive Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* (CPL 1195) are listed. Neither of the latter contains a satisfactory source for Bede's work.

²⁵ See above, pp. 31–2.

²⁶ C. W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Venerabilis opera. De temporum ratione liber*, CCSL 123b (Turnhout, 1977), c. 3, lines 34–40 and c. 28, lines 38–59. Jones' conjecture on Bede's dependence on the Greek *Hexameron* is unsustainable; see too *BBV* IV, 1, 127.

²⁷ 'Cui paria scribit Basilius et ipse in expositione genesis', Jones, *De temporum ratione*, c. 31, line 22.

²⁸ 'And Ambrose himself, Bishop of Milan, agrees with this in the second book of the *Hexameron*. But also Basil, Bishop of Caesarea (in Cappadocia), who in the fourth book of that same work said: "*May the waters gather and may the dry land appear. The curtain is removed, so that, that which could not be seen until then, became visible*"', Jones, *De temporum ratione*, c. 5, lines 69–74. This quotation comes verbatim from Eustathius; see Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, ed., *Eustathius*, p. 47, lines 17–18.

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It seems likely that Bede had in front of him a complete version of Eustathius' translation of Basil's *Hexameron* which enabled him to compare, perhaps even side by side, this work with other commentaries on the Book of Genesis. Indeed, the second parallel between Basil's *Hexameron* and Bede's *De temporum ratione* supports this hypothesis further. The parallel comes from the central section of Bede's work (chapter 28), once again in a passage where Bede acknowledged the authority of the Greek Father by citing from the sixth book of his work. This is a long verbatim quotation from Eustathius on the nature and influence on the earth of the waxing and waning of the moon, a passage which was read by Ælfric as well.²⁹ Again, Jones suggests (with a query mark) that this section could be Bede's own version of Basil's work. In fact, the citation is drawn word-for-word from Eustathius.

To sum up, knowledge of Basil and his works seems to have reached England with the arrival of Theodore and Hadrian. Basil's name is mentioned five times in Theodore's *Penitentials* and once in the *Biblical Commentaries* from the Canterbury school. Other sections of Theodore's exegesis show intimate knowledge of Basil's corpus of writings. Intriguingly, there seems to be some overlap between Theodore's and Bede's use of Basil's works. Among these instances, it is worth recalling the affinities in their respective use of the letter to Optimos on Cain and Lamech.

Furthermore, Bede's commentary on the Book of Genesis and his work on the computus show great familiarity with a copy of the fifth-century Latin version of Basil's *Hexameron*, from which he cited lengthy passages verbatim. Doubtlessly, a complete copy of Eustathius' translation must have been at Wearmouth-Jarrow as early as 721 (the year of composition of *In Genesim*). Bede's work further contributed to the dissemination of Basil's *Hexameron* in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, Ælfric borrowed copiously from those passages in which Bede acknowledged Basil's work *nominatim*.

If, however, Basil's fame as a theologian in England had established itself quite early on through Theodore, Aldhelm and Bede, evidence for the cult of his saintly achievements is not to be found until the beginning of the tenth

²⁹ The citation is very long, and I only quote the beginning of the excerpt from Bede: 'His consentanea Basilius Caesareae Cappadociae reuerendissimus antistes in sexto *Hexameron* libro scribit, dicens: "Opinor autem quod et animalibus creandis caeterisque omnibus quae terra producit, non parua confertur ex lunae mutatione formatio; modo enim laxiora eorum corpora uidentur et uacua, cum senescit; modo integra et repleta, cum crescit..."'; Jones, ed., *De temporum ratione*, c. 28, lines 36–42: Bede's citation continues to the end of the chapter for another eighteen lines of the edited text. For Eustathius, see Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, ed., *Eustathius*, pp. 85 (line 25)–86 (line 18); for Ælfric, see below, pp. 48–50.

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century, with a glossed fragment of the Latin hagiography, the earliest surviving English witness of *BHL* 1023.

The cult of Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon England

The cult of Saint Basil was not widespread in Anglo-Saxon England and, were it not for Ælfric's special attention, his hagiography would hardly have been known before the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless, his name appears in the litanies and calendars with some frequency. Following Byzantine practice, Basil's feast-day was traditionally observed in the West on 1 January (*kalendae ianuarii*), the date of the saint's *depositio*. The tradition changed in 859–60, with Ado (ca. 800–75), whose *Martyrology* exerted unparalleled influence on Usuardus, as well as later calendars and martyrologies. In his work Ado claimed that he followed an ancient document called the *Martyrologium paruum romanum*, which (apparently) commemorated Basil on the arbitrary date of his *Natale ordinationis*, 14 June.³⁰ The feast-day of 1 January was (and still is) preserved in the Eastern Church, in some medieval local calendars and in the manuscripts containing the text of *BHL* 1023. Accordingly, Ælfric, following the order of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary and of other Carolingian legendaries, assigned Basil's *depositio* to the Kalends of January.

In the surviving Anglo-Saxon calendars dated prior to the end of the eleventh century, Basil is commemorated nine times, all on 14 June, with one later addition from the thirteenth century.³¹ Curiously, however, two of these calendars (one from Winchester, New Minster and the other from Croyland/Lincoln) commemorate him both on 1 January and 14 June. The Winchester calendar is somewhat more precise, indicating for 1 January *Depositio Sancti Basilii episcopi* and for 14 June simply *Sancti Basilii episcopi*, whilst Croyland/Lincoln reads both times *Sancti Basilii episcopi et confessoris*, thereby failing to establish a formal distinction between the

³⁰ See E. G. Whatley, 'Basilus', SASLC 1, 104–6; *ODCC*, p. 19 and 1162; and *BSS* 2, cols. 929–30. For Ado's *Martyrology*, see H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge. Étude sur la formation du Martyrologe Romain* (Paris, 1908), p. 456. In the modern calendar of the Roman Church (from 1969), Basil is commemorated with Gregory of Nazianzus on 2 January.

³¹ F. Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, HBS 72 (London, 1988); see also Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 115–29, at p. 123 and note 44. Significantly, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 391 (Wormald's number 17, from Worcester, Saint Mary Priory) also contains a litany invoking Saint Basil (see below, p. 39).

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two feasts. Of the eight calendars commemorating Basil, four are from Winchester, three from New Minster (Wormald's numbers 9, 10 and 11) and one from Hyde Abbey (number 12). It seems plausible, therefore, that Ælfric either knew these calendars directly or at least knew of other liturgical practices related to them. He may also have been aware of Basil's alternative feast-day according to Ado's *Martyrology* (14 June), but chose to follow the *BHL* 1023 manuscript tradition. As shown above (pp. 15–16 and 25), this textual tradition originated earlier than 843 (and thus of Ado's *Martyrology*) and therefore follows the Byzantine tradition for the feast of Saint Basil (1 January).

Basil is also invoked sixteen times in the litanies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, five of these entries appearing in manuscripts earlier than the mid-eleventh century.³² One of the litanies with a petition to Basil shows, according to Michael Lapidge, Breton influence.³³ This litany is especially important for the present study, because it can be associated with the court of King Athelstan (924–39), who received many Breton and Frankish refugees during the political turmoil in tenth-century northern France. It is a remarkable coincidence that this litany appears at Athelstan's court around the time when two of Basil's relics were (allegedly) found at Exeter. Indeed, as one learns from one of the Anglo-Saxon records of Saint Peter's Priory (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2. 16; *Ker* 291; *Gneuss* 530), during his reign Athelstan brought into England numerous relics of saints from his contacts with Continental Europe, especially Brittany.³⁴ The list in the Oxford manuscript also mentions a Basil reliquary with his tooth and crosier.³⁵

The connection between King Athelstan's patronage and a fragment of *BHL* 1023 from Exeter rests on much more solid evidence. Thanks to his emissaries sent to the Continent and perhaps owing to his hospitality towards Breton scholars and monks, the king was also able to purchase a

³² M. Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS 106 (London, 1991).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–3; Salisbury, Cathedral Library 180 is the Breton litany which made its way to Athelstan's court (*ibid.*, p. 84).

³⁴ See C. Rauer, *Beowulf and the Dragon* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 95–8 and P. W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 26. The Exeter record contains about two hundred entries and follows the order of the litanies, with the Apostles first, then the Martyrs, the Confessors and the women saints whose names are relatively few (I only count twenty-two). See also G. Corona, 'Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon Exeter', *NQ* 49 (2002), 316–20, where the Exeter fragment is also reconstructed; see also below, pp. 139–40.

³⁵ M. Förster, ed., *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 8 (Munich, 1943), 76, line 162.

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conspicuous number of books which he donated to Exeter, Abingdon, Glastonbury and Malmesbury.³⁶ It is possible, therefore, that manuscripts of the relevant saints' lives accompanied the relics as objects of worship. This may have been the case for the Exeter fragment of the *Vita Basilii*, Cathedral Library, FMS/3 (*Gneuss* 260), the earliest known English witness of *BHL* 1023. In this fragment cc. 2–4 of the *Vita Basilii* survive (incomplete) with a previously unrecorded, non-continuous interlinear Old English gloss in red ink. If indeed the Exeter fragment is a copy of an originally continental manuscript, bought by or given to Athelstan, one must, once more, look at the king's cultural policy with admiration, since not only had this text been circulating in Francia for slightly over fifty years, but it had also met with the approval of the most eminent scholars of Charles the Bald's kingdom.

The scanty surviving evidence on churches dedicated to Basil in England post-dates the Anglo-Saxon period. Dugdale indicates a priory dedicated to Saint Basil in Wales, now in the territory of Basselech (or Bassaleg, Newport County Borough, Gwent) which has also been noted more recently by Binns as a donation of Robert de Haya and his wife in 1116 to the abbey of Glastonbury.³⁷ The priory was returned to farmland in 1235, but a church dedicated to Saint Basil still survives in Bassaleg to this day. To a later date belongs one curious piece of evidence found in Canterbury: one of the earliest painted glass windows of the Cathedral contains a representation of the Emperor Julian the Apostate, inspired, according to Richard Pfaff, by Ælfric's First Homily for the Assumption of Mary.³⁸ In the accompanying inscription, written in leonine hexameters, Julian is described as a wealthy man (*locuples*).³⁹ In this episode (*Vita Basilii*, c. 7) the saint confronts Julian on matters of faith and the emperor, highly offended, threatens the destruction of Basil's city. The saint then incites the faithful to gather their riches in order to appease Julian, to retire to a neighbouring hillock and

³⁶ S. Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201.

³⁷ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 4 (London, 1817), 634 and, more recently, A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 162: 'this small foundation was the mother church of most of the land between the Rhymni and the Ebw'.

³⁸ R. W. Pfaff, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Sources for the "Theological Windows" at Canterbury Cathedral', *Mediaevalia* 10 (1984), 49–62, rpt. in R. W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints and Services in Medieval England*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 49–62. For the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary, see below, pp. 51–4.

³⁹ The inscription reads: 'Isti spinosi locupletes delicosi / Nil fructus referunt quoniam terrestria querunt', Pfaff, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Sources', p. 54.

invoke the Virgin's intervention. The windows were repainted between 1180 and 1200, following a damaging fire in the Cathedral, which explains, according to Pfaff, the artist's misunderstanding of the Old English episode. Indeed, the scene on the stained glass depicts Julian himself being presented with the riches accumulated by the citizens.⁴⁰ Significantly, the two decades during which the glass windows were being redecorated at Canterbury coincide with Nigel Wireker's most prolific period as a poet and with his compilation of a verse collection of Marian miracles in leonine hexameters. In his *Miracula Sancte Dei genitricis* Nigel versified this miracle from *BHL* 1023 (c. lines 457–560), drawing principally from two earlier prose collections of Marian miracles by Dominic of Evesham and William of Malmesbury.⁴¹

Thus the evidence for the knowledge and cult of Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon England is primarily textual: his name makes multiple appearances in calendars and litanies. A glossed fragment of his earliest *Vita* survives from Exeter, which might have been used in conjunction with the relics donated by King Athelstan to the Priory. Saint Basil is not named in the *Old English Martyrology*, and no hymns,⁴² iconographic or archaeological evidence survive to testify to a more widespread early cult. However, the wide range of texts in which Basil's name appears shows his deeply-rooted influence on Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice and biblical exegesis. It is not until Ælfric, however, that the role of Basil became firmly established: the abbot translated both his life and the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, creating an important connection between him and St Benedict.

Ælfric and Basil: a lifetime devotion

Ælfric's interest in Saint Basil can be seen not only in his translation of the Latin *Vita*, but also in other references to this saint made throughout his work.⁴³ Basil is also the only Eastern Father to whom Ælfric dedicated a

⁴⁰ See also M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 2 (Cambridge, 1990), 237–9.

⁴¹ J. Ziolkowski, ed., *Miracles of the Virgin Mary in Verse: Miracula Sancte Dei genitricis Virginis Marie uersificae. Nigel of Canterbury*, TMLT 17 (Toronto, 1986), 6–7, and see also below, p. 53, note 9.

⁴² See H. Gneuss, ed., *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter: Studien zur Überlieferung, Glossierung und Übersetzung lateinischer Hymnen in England*, Buchreihe der Anglia 12 (Tübingen, 1968).

⁴³ For the order of composition of Ælfric's work, see the canon established by Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 212–47.

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place in his *Sanctorale*, among those confessors and martyrs recently called by Gordon Whatley 'the idealised versions of the leaders of the English reform party'.⁴⁴ Saint Basil is mentioned for the first time in Ælfric's work in the first Homily for the Assumption of Mary (*CHI*, 30). This passage is of the highest significance, because it is one of the rare instances in which Ælfric adopts the same Latin hagiography twice as a source. The piece is Ælfric's early rendering of a passage also contained in the *Vita Basilii*, and is therefore seminal for a study of his writing style.⁴⁵

Basil's name also appears subsequently in two of Ælfric's letters as an example of chastity: in the letter to Wulfsgie and the much later one to Sigefyrð.⁴⁶ According to Clemoes, the Letter to Wulfsgie was composed after the first series of *Catholic Homilies*, but before most of the *Lives of Saints*, whilst that to Sigefyrð can be dated to Ælfric's early Eynsham days, around 1005.⁴⁷ There is doubt regarding the authenticity of the excerpt on Basil in the letter to Wulfsgie: as Clemoes suggests in his introduction to the edition, the note on this Saint might be an 'unauthorised revision'. Indeed, this letter also contains two puzzling pieces of information, for which there is no historical evidence. The note states that Basil made known a certain Anastasius the priest, and that Bede is buried in York.⁴⁸ Basil's moral

⁴⁴ E. G. Whatley, 'Pearls before Swine: Ælfric's Vernacular Hagiography and the Lay Reader', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. T. Hall with the assistance of T. D. Hill and C. D. Wright (Morgantown, WV, 2002), pp. 158–84, at p. 182.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 54–73.

⁴⁶ For the letter to Wulfsgie, see B. Fehr, ed., *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, BaP 9, rpt. with a supplement to the introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966), 1–34; for that to Sigefyrð see B. Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsischen Homilien und Heiligenleben*, BaP 3, rpt. with a supplementary introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1964), 13–23.

⁴⁷ Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 226 and 244.

⁴⁸ 'Ac þa halgan fæderas, þe beforan us wæron, swaswa wæs Sanctus Ieronimus preost and Sanctus Anastasius preost, þe Sanctus Basilius se biscop geypte, and Sanctus Beda preost ðe his ban restað on Eoferwic and ungerime oðre, þe we heora naman ne cunnan ... hæfden forhæfednesse fram wifes neaweste', Fehr, ed., *Die Hirtenbriefe*, c. 16a (Clemones' comment is at cxxxv). The identity of the Anastasius mentioned in this passage cannot be determined with certainty. It is tempting to speculate that the only witness to this section (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, from Worcester) could contain a transposition of the phrase 'Sanctus Beda se preost' with 'Sanctus Basilius se biscop' (by homoeoteleuton with *Anastasius se preost*), and that the text originally read that Bede made Anastasius the priest known (Anastasius Persa, *BHL* 408). See Whatley, 'Anastasius', in *SASLC* 1, 78–9. The comment on Bede's burial at York remains unexplained.

behaviour is further praised in the letter to Sigefyrð along with that of Martin, Gregory, Augustine and Cuthbert.⁴⁹

Ælfric's work on Saint Basil hinges, first and foremost, on two interconnected themes, for which he doubtlessly was inspired by Aldhelm's work. Firstly, Basil represented moral rectitude and scholarliness: not only did he dedicate his life to God and acted as a strong guide within his community, but he also shaped the liturgy of his Church and provided his monks with a rule of conduct. Such a portrait, which Ælfric arguably emulated, must have suited his ideal of a church leader. This highly stylised image of this eastern saint becomes evident in LB, which sets off with a close focus on Basil's achievements as a student and writer. Secondly, Basil was, in Ælfric's eyes, Benedict's great predecessor and the initiator of the monastic ideal, in which he himself believed and which he practised daily.⁵⁰

Basil is mentioned twice in conjunction with Benedict, once in LB (line 147) and the second time in the prologue to the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*.⁵¹ Along with this aspect, Ælfric's prologue to the *Admonitio* also emphasises Basil's chastity: 'on clænnesse wunigende' and 'gehealdenre clænnysse'.⁵² Shortly after the composition and publication of most of the *Lives of Saints*, Ælfric translated the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* which, following an authoritative tradition, he attributed to Saint Basil. The authorship and purpose of the Latin *Admonitio* (CPG Suppl. 2957, CPL 1155a, CPPM 3596) and its connection with Basil's works are still a matter of debate among modern scholars. It is now generally agreed to be an apocryphal composition of Western origin, composed perhaps at the turn of the fifth century at Lérins and showing common traits with Rufinus'

⁴⁹ 'We rædað on bocum, þæt ungerim bisceopa and muneca wæron, swa swa wæs Martinus, Gregorius and Augustinus, Basilius and Cuthberhtus, and manega oðre, on micelre drohtnunge Criste þeowigende on clænnysse æfre' (lines 200–4), Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsischen*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ Ælfric shows no interest in hermits, glossing over the reference to the contemplative lifestyle chosen by some martyrs and confessors (including Basil, who had spent some time in the desert). Similarly, Ælfric seems to prefer members of coenobitic or monastic communities and saints who devoted their lives to pastoral work; see M. Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 147–75.

⁵¹ L. E. Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation of St Basil's *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, an Edition' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1974), p. 27, lines 10–14; and H. W. Norman, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Hexameron of St Basil or Be Godes Six Dagas Weorcum, and the Saxon Remains of St Basil's Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* (London, 1848).

⁵² 'Living chastely' (line 4) and 'in pure chastity' (line 22).

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translation of Basil's *Asceticon Maior*.⁵³ The *Admonitio* became immensely influential on the early monastic rules and even on Benedict's, although the latter did not seem to attribute it to the Greek Father.⁵⁴ When and how the *Admonitio* became associated with Basil's name remains unclear: at the end of the seventh century Defensor of Ligugé cited this rule in his collection of patristic sayings, the *Liber Scintillarum*, and attributed it to Basil.⁵⁵ Indeed, the *Admonitio* must have been widely read among Continental monastic audiences, since Basil's sayings in the *Liber Scintillarum* are all from this text.

Thus Ælfric, in attributing the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* to Basil, was simply following an ancient and authoritative tradition. He might have become familiar with this text quite early on in his life, for it probably circulated at Winchester while the *Regularis Concordia* was being drafted.⁵⁶ There are many plausible channels through which the claim for Basil's authority on the *Admonitio* could have reached Ælfric: for example, via the circulation of the *Liber Scintillarum*, which, as Derolez has shown, was a widely read text in Anglo-Saxon monasteries.⁵⁷ Ælfric seems to have been able to consult the *Liber Scintillarum* for his homilies and saints' lives,

⁵³ A. De Vogüé, 'Entre Basile et Benoît: l'"Admonitio ad filium spiritualem" du Pseudo-Basile', in *Regulae Benedicti Studia. Annuarium Internationale* 10/11 (1981/2 [1984]), 19–34; see too *BBV* II, 2, 1244–5. For the origin and date of the *Admonitio* see Fedwick, 'The Translations', pp. 461–2.

⁵⁴ *BBV* II, 2, 1245; P. J. G. Lehmann, ed., *Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritualem*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Heft 7 (Munich, 1955); rpt. in P. J. G. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* 5 (Stuttgart, 1962), 200–45

⁵⁵ H. M. Rochais, ed., *Defensoris liber scintillarum*, CCSL 117 (Turnhout, 1957), 1–308. Ephrem the Syrian's *Admonitio ad monachos* or *Regula magistri* is also quoted extensively by Defensor, see P. Sims-Williams, 'Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 205–26, at p. 206.

⁵⁶ M. A. Locherbie-Cameron, 'From Caesarea to Eynsham: A Consideration of the Proposed Route(s) of the *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem* in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Heroic Age* 3 (2000), <http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/3/cameron.html>. According to Locherbie-Cameron, sayings from the *Admonitio* could have reached Ælfric via Theodore's *Penitentials* and the *Confessional of Pseudo-Egbert*, but, as far as I can tell, there is no explicit link in these texts between the Greek Father and the *Admonitio*; see above, pp. 29–31.

⁵⁷ R. Derolez, 'Some Notes on the *Liber Scintillarum* and its Old English Gloss (B.M., Ms. Royal 7 c.IV)', in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Literature in Honour of Robert Dean Merritt*, ed. J. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp. 142–52. The Latin prologues to the *Admonitio* are edited and discussed in H. M. Rochais, 'Les Prologues du "Liber Scintillarum"', *Revue Bénédictine* 59 (1949), 137–56.

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because he seems to have cited from it on at least one occasion in LB.⁵⁸ This anthology of sayings must have been especially appealing to Ælfric for its rhythmical style, though it is important to point out that the only surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing the *Liber Scintillarum* and its Old English gloss does not name any of the Fathers to whom the *dicta* are attributed.⁵⁹

According to its editors, Ælfric's Old English *Admonitio*, found in only one manuscript, is a very literal rendering of the Latin: the repetitiveness and conciseness of this text must have appealed to Ælfric for its educational potential. Ælfric added a preface and enhanced the regularity of style found in the original. The preface contains very explicit echoes from LB: in both texts he mentioned Basil's role as Benedict's predecessor and the stricter nature of the Greek rule. Thus Ælfric's intent becomes clear: Benedict's Rule could not have existed without Basil's and those who live according to its prescriptions should also honour the Greek saint.⁶⁰ The following citations reveal the stylistic affinity between LB and the *Admonitio*:

- 145 He awrat eac munucregol mid micelre gehaldsumnysse,
 þone þe ða easternan and eac swylce Grecas
 anmodlice healdað, þeah þe he hefigra sy
 þonne se ðe Benedictus siþþan us gebysnode
 swylce to anginne agenre gecyrrednysse.
 Ac he tihte us on ætfeawardan þæs ylcan regoles
 150 to geðungenra lareowa lifes drohtnungum,
 and tymde to þam regole þe Basilius gesette (LB)⁶¹

⁵⁸ See below, p. 106, note 28.

⁵⁹ The Old English *Liber Scintillarum* is found in E. W. Rhodes, ed., *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum with an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version Made Early in the Eleventh Century*, EETS o.s. 93 (London, 1889), and, more recently, in S. S. Getty, ed., 'An Edition with Commentary, of the Latin/Anglo-Saxon *Liber Scintillarum*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1970).

⁶⁰ The complicated relationship between the Rules of Basil and Benedict is summarised in *BBVIV*, 1, 68–9. The two have very little in common, because Basil's idea of coenobitism had not reached the West in Benedict's day. For a chapter-to-chapter comparison between the two rules, see J. T. Lienhard, 'St Basil's *Asceticon paruum* and the *Regula Benedicti*', *Studia Monastica* 22 (1980), 231–42.

⁶¹ 'He also wrote a monastic rule with great emphasis on abstinence, which the easterners and also the Greeks all follow resolutely, though it is sterner than the one that Benedict set for us as an example, as it were at the beginning of his conversion. And at the end of that very rule, he exhorted us to the way of life of the illustrious teachers and vouched for that rule which Basil had established.'

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He wæs swyðe gelæred and swyðe mihtig lareow.
And he munuc regol gesette: mid swyðlicre drohtnunge.
swa swa þa Easternan, and þa greciscean munecas.
libbað hyra lif: gode to lofe wide.

- 10 He wæs ær benedictus þe us boc awrat
on ledenre spræce leohtre be dæle
ðonne basilius ac he tymde swa ðeah
to basilies tæcinge for his trumnyse (*Admonitio*)⁶²

These two passages bear many common traits and it seems undoubtable that Ælfric went back to LB while compiling the preface to the *Admonitio*. Thus *awrat* (LB line 144) corresponds to *gesette* (*Admonitio* line 7), *micelre gehealdsumnyse* corresponds to *swyðlicre drohtnunge* (in the same lines) and *hefigra* (line 146) to *leohtre be dæle* (line 11). A further echo between the two passages consists in the repeated alternation of the word 'learning' and its cognates, both of which play a central role in the introductory section of LB.⁶³ The reference at line 6 of the *Admonitio* echoes the first line immediately after the preface, 'Basilius cwæð þa on his bocicum lare' (line 24)⁶⁴ and emphasises the central role of teaching and learning. In both cases, Ælfric captivated the audience's sympathy by using the first person plural pronoun, thus including them (and himself) among the followers of the Benedictine Rule (*us*: LB, lines 147, 149, and *Admonitio*, line 10). Further down in the preface, Ælfric defined his audience specifically ('to munecum. and eac to mynecenum þe regollice libbað', lines 19–20)⁶⁵ and provided the additional detail, not present in LB, that Benedict's Rule is written in Latin (line 11).⁶⁶

The *Admonitio* must have appealed to Ælfric's taste, not only for its educational themes but also for the rhythm of its prose. From a syntactical viewpoint, for example, this monastic text contains a considerable number of hortatory subjunctives, second person singular indicatives and second person singular imperatives (often mono- or disyllabic in Latin). These verb

⁶² 'He was very learned and a very powerful teacher and he set a monastic rule with great discipline in accordance to which the Eastern and Greek monks live their lives, especially in praise of God. He was before Benedict who wrote a book for us in Latin, somewhat lighter than Basil's, but at the same time he followed Basil's teachings because of his strength'; the Old English text is from Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation', lines 6–13.

⁶³ See below, pp. 99–107.

⁶⁴ 'Then Basil said in his book-like teaching.'

⁶⁵ 'To the monks and to the nuns who live according to the Rule', Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation'.

⁶⁶ For an appreciation of Ælfric's style in the preface to the *Admonitio* see J. Wilcox, ed., *Ælfric's Prefaces*, pp. 59–60.

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forms contribute to the very regular pace of the *Admonitio*, adding to its mnemonic qualities. One example will illustrate how Ælfric's choice of style appropriated the patterns of the Latin text:

Ille in proelio galeam ferream gestat in capite, sed tua galea Christus sit qui est caput tuum. Ille lorica ne vulneretur indutus est sed pro lorica fidei sis fide Christi circumdatus. Ille contra adversarium emittit lanceam et sagittas, tu contra hostem tuum divina eloquia iaculare et percutiens eum verbis propheticis dicito.⁶⁷

This passage at the start of the Latin *Admonitio* is translated by Ælfric as follows:

He byrð isenne helm and isene byrnan
þæt he ne beo gewundod fram his wiðerwinnan
70 ac beo Crist sylf þin helm se þe is þin heafod
and beo cristes geleafa for byrnan þe sylfum.
He sceotað his flan and his scearpe spere
ongean his wiðerwinnan ac þu witodlice scealt
mid halgum godes wordum þinne feond sceotian
75 and cweðan on þinum mode.⁶⁸

The Latin passage is based on a parallel contrast between the earthly soldier (*ille*) and God's soldier (*tu*). Though keeping the same structure and repeating the dichotomy between the addressee and the soldier, Ælfric elegantly transformed this section into a sequence of contrasting lines. The *tu* and the *ille* are each assigned separate domains, the boundaries of which are delimited by the repetition of the word *wiðerwinnan* (lines 69 and 73). The disjunctive *ac* (lines 70 and 73) plays the important role of keeping the two figures of the monk and the soldier separate, as though they were symbolically engaging in an allegorical fight. The first four lines of the Old English excerpt can be divided into two pairs, each dedicated to only one of

⁶⁷ 'He carries in battle the iron helmet on his head, but may Christ, who is your head, be your helmet. He wears a breast-plate, lest he be wounded, but you should be surrounded by faith in Christ, as [your] breast-plate of faith. He throws a spear and arrows against the enemy, you ought to throw divine speeches to your enemy and hitting him, you will speak with prophetic words', Lehmann, ed., *Admonitio*, lines 22–7.

⁶⁸ 'He bears an iron helmet, and an iron coat of mail, so that he may not be wounded by his adversary, but may Christ himself, who is your head, be your helmet and may the belief in Christ [be] as a coat of mail for you. He shoots his arrow and his sharp spear against his adversary, but with God's holy words you will indeed shoot your enemy and speak out your mind', Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation'.

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the two opposing figures. Thus lines 68–9 address the soldier and are governed by the presence of *he*, with continued alliteration on *b* and paronomasia between *byrð* and *byrnan*.⁶⁹ In the second pair of lines, where the focus is turned to God's servant (as recipient of the translation), Ælfric introduced repetition, 'ac beo Crist sylf' (line 70) and 'and beo cristes geleafa ... sylfum' (line 71), thus adding in each case emphasis to the hortatory value of the subjunctive *beo*. The second half of the above citation contains a remarkable number of words alliterating on *sc / s*: *sceotað*, *scearpe*, *spere* (72), *scealt* (line 73) *sceotian* (line 74). Even though the key point here is that the *miles Christi* should not use weapons but words, the only item in this lexical domain is *wordum*, with which the monk is supposed to shoot the enemy. Ælfric's translation is literal, but at the same time ornate, and generally more compact.

Finally, I will address briefly an issue pertaining to Ælfric's sources, which, however, cannot be expounded in full in this context. After reading Ælfric's introduction to the *Admonitio*, an obvious question arises: did Ælfric believe this work to be the Rule of Saint Basil, presumably the very one that Aldhelm mentioned in his *De uirginitate*? The question is not a purely academic one, since the *Admonitio* had been credited in the Latin West with the status of *Regula* and it is listed as such in many medieval manuscript catalogues, as can be seen for instance in a Glastonbury book-list of 1247–8.⁷⁰ However, while in the preface to his translation of the *Admonitio* Ælfric had listed a Rule among the works of Basil, he had also drawn a distinction between that Rule and the work which he was about to translate ('and he awrat þa lare þe we nu willað on englisceum gereorde secgean', lines 17–18).⁷¹ Thus Ælfric, perhaps under Aldhelm's influence (above, pp. 32–3), did not believe the Rule of Basil to be one and the same with the *Admonitio*, even though he clearly attributed the latter to Saint Basil and addressed it to a community of monks and nuns, recognising its prescriptive nature.

Basil's influence on Ælfric's work is subtle and deep-rooted. The saint's exegetical work, for example, finds echoes in Ælfric's reading of the Book

⁶⁹ Ælfric's use of paronomasia, alliteration and other puns will be discussed in detail below, pp. 95–126. For paronomasia, see R. Frank, 'Some Uses of Paronomasia in Old English Scriptural Verse', *Speculum* 47 (1972), 207–26; for alliteration, see A. Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story', *Anglia* 113 (1995), 429–63.

⁷⁰ R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson, and A. G. Watson, ed., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London, 1996), 226; see too *BBV* II, 2, 1244–6 and III, 777.

⁷¹ 'And he wrote that teaching which we now wish to translate in the English language', Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation'.

of Genesis throughout his corpus of writings. The *Exameron Anglice*, a long homily on the Creation of the world, was thought by its first editor, Henry Norman, to be Ælfric's translation of Basil's *Homiliae*, but its subsequent editor, Samuel Crawford, proved that the translation is not based on Basil's homilies.⁷² According to Crawford, Ælfric knew that he was not translating the work of the Greek Father when he compiled the *Exameron Anglice*. Indeed, the five hundred and forty lines of the Old English work do not name Basil once, they never cite directly his nine lengthy homilies, and they do not reflect the complexity and minutiae of their exegesis. Norman's misattribution may have derived from Junius' inscription on one of the surviving manuscript witnesses attributing this text to Saint Basil.⁷³ In the introduction and notes to his edition Crawford suggested that Ælfric had used Basil's *Hexameron* via Eustathius' translation: this conjecture requires further refinement, however, and can indeed be discussed in light of the findings in this chapter.⁷⁴

In the *Exameron Anglice* the abbot of Eynsham, perhaps somewhat uncustomarily, did not acknowledge Basil as a source, nor indeed any of his other numerous authorities, but no one would deny that Ambrose, Augustine or Bede exerted a considerable influence on this Old English homily. Basil's *Hexameron*, the founding work of eastern and western cosmogonic literature, should not be excluded from Ælfric's sources. In his section on the authorities for the *Exameron*, Crawford identified four instances in which Ælfric's sole source is Eustathius' translation of Basil's *Homiliae*.⁷⁵ Further, the passages from Bede that mention Basil *nominatim* (such as c. 28 of the *De temporum ratione*) were used by Ælfric extensively in his *Exameron*.

While the *Exameron Anglice* can be said to provide a summa of Ælfric's knowledge of the exegesis on Genesis, instances in which Ælfric used Eustathius' work via Bede can be found throughout his work. For example, in the second half of his Homily on Circumcision Ælfric tackles the question of the dating of New Year's Day and what type of *prognostica* are

⁷² Norman, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version*, and S. J. Crawford, ed., *Exameron Anglice, or the Old English Exameron*, BaP 10 (Hamburg, 1921).

⁷³ Crawford, ed., *Exameron Anglice*, p. 27: 'a Latin note in a seventeenth century hand (probably by Junius), on the fly-leaf of Hatton MS 115'. The picture is further complicated by the fact that in his translation of the *Admonitio*, Ælfric himself mentioned a work called *Exameron*, but did not mention his plan to translate it (Mueller, ed., 'Ælfric's Translation', lines 14–16).

⁷⁴ Crawford's *Quellenforschung* at the back of his edition is in need of an update, but remains an important starting point for the study of the sources of the *Exameron Anglice*.

⁷⁵ Lines 162, 167, 250–65 and 279. Ælfric's sources are cited in the commentary to Crawford, ed., *Exameron Anglice*, pp. 75–85.

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acceptable for the Church, a section which is heavily indebted to the passage on the phases of the moon drawn from Bede's *De temporum ratione* (c. 28): 'Ic wene þæt ... ælc lichamlic gesceaft þe eorðe acenð fulre and mægenfæstre on fullum monan þonne on gewanedum'.⁷⁶ In Bede's corresponding chapter of the *De temporum ratione* from which this Ælfrician passage derives, Basil was fully acknowledged and a considerable proportion of Eustathius' translation quoted verbatim.⁷⁷ Whether and from where Ælfric read Eustathius translation of the *Hexameron* in parts or in full cannot be determined here, but it seems evident that if he extracted excerpts where Bede explicitly mentioned Basil as his source, then he must have known that Basil, whose life he had translated, was among Bede's prominent authorities. It does not seem altogether unlikely that, in the early stages of his career, Ælfric knew of Basil's *Hexameron* through Bede, but that he might have had access to a copy of Eustathius' translation later on, when he set out to compile his *Exameron Anglice*, which quotes directly from it.

Ælfric's strong and multi-fold interest in Saint Basil is an important turning point for the cult and knowledge of the Greek Father in England. Basil was a model of chastity and rigour, someone Ælfric and his brethren could safely emulate but also consult for advice. In LB Ælfric combined his pedagogical intent with his rhetorically sophisticated style in order to honour one of the most central figures of eastern and western monasticism. The first appearance of Saint Basil in Ælfric's corpus is in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary (*CH I*, 30). The same passage translated from the Latin *Vita Basilii* for this homily Ælfric translated again in the longer LB. A comparison between the two Old English passages reveals important aspects of Ælfric's style and translation techniques.

⁷⁶ 'I believe ... that each material creature which the earth begets is fuller and stronger with the full moon, than at [its] waning'; *CH I*, 6, lines 189–93; see also M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s.s. 18 (2000), 52–3. For the section from the *De temporum ratione*, see above, pp. 36–7.

⁷⁷ Another notable instance is Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* which borrows directly from those passages in Bede's work which mention Basil or Eustathius by name (for example, *De temporum ratione*, c. 28); see H. Henel, ed., *Ælfric's De temporibus anni: Edited from all the Known Manuscripts and Fragments, with an Introduction, Sources, Parallels, and Notes*, EETS o.s. 213 (Oxford, 1942), see especially 65–7.

The contents of the Homily

Basil's appearance in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary (*CH I*, 30) is in an episode involving the Emperor Julian the Apostate and his death resulting from the Virgin Mary's intercession (cc. 7 and 8 of the *Vita Basilii*).¹ In the Homily, this episode is the second of two miracles attributed to the Virgin to prove her strength over the dark forces of the devil and over apostasy. The first miracle relates the legend of Theophilus who, after stipulating a pact with the devil, is redeemed through Mary's intercession (*BHL* 8121). The episode is summarised by Ælfric in a very short paragraph (lines 190–8). The Homily then continues with an account of the death of Julian the Apostate, told in full and translated from the *Vita Basilii* (*BHL* 1023). In the first miracle she appears to the straying saint and redeems him, while in the second, she responds to Basil's prayers by acting as an intermediary and sending a Saint Mercurius to kill Julian the Apostate.² The episode of Julian's death as told by Ælfric deserves a detailed analysis, and needs to be defined in terms of its textuality.

The First Homily for the Assumption of Mary combines the explication of a theological tract with two hagiographic *exempla*. Ælfric introduced the Homily by stating that he is about to comment on a complex letter by Jerome (now ascribed to Paschasius Radbertus), and then related how Mary was

¹ *CHI*, 30, lines 199–273, *LB* lines 204–90 and *Vita Basilii* cc. 7 (all) and 8 (lines 15–36).

² For the identity of Saint Mercurius, see below, pp. 63 and 204. Ælfric's association of this joint miracle by Basil and Mary with the day of the Assumption of the Virgin does not seem to have a parallel in earlier or contemporary Latin writings. The miracle itself became a very popular account of the otherwise unclear circumstances of the death of Julian the Apostate and was also frequently versified; see N. H. Baynes, 'The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend', *Journal of Roman Studies* 27 (1937), 22–9, at 26. It also appears in later collections of Marian miracles (see below, note 9) and was translated into various European vernaculars: for Old Norse, see L. Loomis, 'The Saint Mercurius Legend in Medieval England and in Norse Saga', in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Study*, ed. T. A. Kirby and H. B. Woolf (Baltimore, MD, 1949), pp. 132–42; for Old French, German, Spanish and Italian, see Denomy, 'An Old French Version', pp. 105–24, and R. Southern, 'The English Origin of the Miracles of the Virgin', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 176–216, at 201–3.

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called to Heaven and was received by her Son.³ The verity of Mary's Assumption had never been questioned, not even in the midst of the heated Carolingian debates on the matter. What was at stake, particularly in the decades following the Council of Mainz (813), was whether her ascent to Heaven had been corporal, like that of the Apostle John, or solely spiritual.⁴ With its agnostic position, Paschasius' work, circulating under the name of Jerome, was welcomed as the decisive word on the impossibility of proving Mary's corporal assumption. The letter became immensely influential not only on dormition and homiletic literature but also on the liturgy (especially the martyrologies). Both Ado and Usuardus followed it and Abbo of Fleury made copious use of its doctrine in his florilegium of sermons.⁵ Therefore, once again, Ælfric is following an established tradition and, despite his customary synthesising efforts, he translated almost verbatim Paschasius' pivotal caveat, at the core of the whole debate:

Ne wiðcweþe we be þære eadigan marian þa ecan æriste þeah for wærscipe
gehealdenum geleafan us gedafenað þæt we hit wenon swiþor þonne we
unrædlice hit geseþan. þæt ðe is uncuð buton ælcere fræcednysse.⁶

Ælfric could not have taken Paschasius' *cautela* more literally: after abbreviating the treatise greatly, he decided that the topic was too difficult

³ This text has now been identified as Paschasius Radbertus' deliberate Jeromian forgery, a letter to Paula and Eustochium; see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 235–7 and Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography', p. 464. For a comparison between Ælfric's Homily and its sources, see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 248–56. Paschasius' treatise is edited in A. Ripberger, ed., *Pascasii Radberti de Assumptione Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, CCCM 56c (Turnhout, 1985). It is important to note that the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition contains Paschasius' treatise on the Assumption for 15 August (BL, Cotton Nero E. i, part 2, folios 79r–86v); see Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents', p. 139. This is one of the very few items in the Legendary which is neither a *uita* nor a *passio*.

⁴ G. Quadrio, *Il trattato "De assumptione Beatae Virginis Mariae" dello Pseudo-Agostino e il suo influsso nella teologia assunzionistica latina*, Analecta Gregoriana. Series facultatis theologiae 52 (Rome, 1951), 116–22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 174–83.

⁶ 'We do not deny the eternal resurrection of the Holy Mary, though for caution in keeping our faith, it is fitting that we believe in it, rather than we unwisely assert that which is unknown without any danger', *CH* I, 30, lines 80–4. Ælfric's comment translates here Paschasius' caveat: '[N]ec nos de Beata Maria Virgine facto abnuimus, quamquam propter cautelam pio magis desiderio opinari oporteat quam inconsulte definire quod sine periculo nescimus', Ripberger, ed., *Pascasii Radberti*, c. 12, lines 95–8. For a discussion of Paschasius' concerns on the matter and on Ælfric's restructuring of his work, see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 235–40.

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for his listeners ('ðes pistol is swiðe menigfeald us to gereccenne and eow swiðe deop to gehyrenne')⁷ and moved on to more edifying matters, exemplifying Mary's intercession with God on behalf of those who believe in her.

Despite the seemingly abrupt transition between the exegetical and the hagiographical portion of the Homily, there is no fault in its textual history. The earliest manuscript of the *Catholic Homilies*, London, BL, Royal 7. C. XII (manuscript A in Clemons' sigla, dated to the beginning of the 990s) can be associated closely with the author himself, but presents no sign of juxtaposition or authorial recension.⁸ In any event, the placement of these miracles appears to the modern reader as a striking change of subject from the over-cautious tones of Paschasius' treatise. It also remains unclear why Ælfric grouped the two miracles together and added them to a homily on the Assumption of the Virgin. It is tempting to suggest Ælfric's influence on the great twelfth-century English cycles of Marian miracles. These are introduced by four miracles known as the Element Series and symbolise the Virgin's victory over the four elements: the legend of Theophilus represents her victory over the air element and that of Julian the Apostate her victory over the earth element.⁹

In Ælfric's Homily, Theophilus' redemption is narrated very briefly, with just the essential details and no trace of the dramatic pre-Faustian atmosphere that made it popular in the later Middle Ages.¹⁰ Basil's miracle,

⁷ 'This letter is too diverse for us to tell and too complicated for you to hear.'

⁸ *CHI*, 'Introduction', p. 135.

⁹ For a Latin version which is nearly contemporary with Ælfric (though later), one must look at Fulbert of Chartres' homiletic and devotional programme, see J. M. Canal, 'Texto critico de algunos sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres o a él atribuidos', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30 (1963), 55–87, at 60, note 25. In his homily for the Nativity of Mary, Fulbert combined these two miracles, but Basil's miracle comes before Theophilus' and is greatly shortened, *ibid.*, pp. 56–61. Later English collections of Marian miracles include those by Dominic of Evesham, William of Malmesbury, Nigel Wireker and the victorine stanzas of John of Garland; see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), respectively pp. 21, 34–5, 104 and 172–3; see also Southern, 'The English Origin', pp. 176–216. Philip Shaw has recently brought to scholarly attention the important implications of a diachronic analysis of these texts, see P. Shaw, 'A Dead Killer? Saint Mercurius, Killer of Julian the Apostate, in the Works of William of Malmesbury', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 35 (2004), 1–22.

¹⁰ This legend of Theophilus *oeconomus* or *uicedominus* has long been regarded as the ancestor of the Faust myth. It originated as a Greek legend attributed to Eutychianus (*BHG* 1320) and was translated into Latin in the ninth century, by Paul, a deacon of Naples. Slightly earlier than Ælfric's time, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (fl. 935–75) had versified the

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on the other hand, occupies almost a quarter of the entire Homily. The episode of Julian's death, following the intervention of the Holy Virgin through Saint Basil's intercession, is especially important for a study of Ælfric's hagiography, because it was translated twice from the same Latin source (*Vita Basilii*, cc. 7 and 8), a practice normally avoided by the monk at Cerne.¹¹ Even though there can be no doubt that Ælfric used the same source twice, once for the First Homily on the Assumption of Mary and then for LB, there are some significant differences between his two renditions of the Latin text. These two texts exemplify the stylistic development of Ælfric's prose: the Homily for the Assumption can be said to be experimental because it shows a mixture of styles, LB, on the other hand, represents a full-blown specimen of rhythmical style with an unfaltering sequence of alliterative patterns and end-stopped lines. Furthermore, Ælfric's techniques as a translator show important developments towards a more compact style, with omission of unnecessary details.¹² Ælfric's preference for *breuitas* is especially evident when the two pieces are placed side by side: LB appears more economical and less literal overall. Ælfric's translation of the death of Julian the Apostate from the textual tradition of *BHL* 1023 intriguingly points to a gradual development of the alliterative style and translation techniques.

*Ælfric rewrites:
the death of Julian the Apostate in the Homily and the Life*

In the Homily, the transition from the brief account of Theophilus' redemption and Basil's miracle is introduced with a characteristic 'we willað eac eow gereccan', after which Ælfric provided an explanatory section with

legend of Theophilus. Much more securely (ca. 962), we can date Hrotsvit's versification of *Vita Basilii*, c. 11 (concerning the youth who went to the devil for love of a girl). This is a much closer analogue to the Faust legend than the Theophilus episode. For Hrotsvit, see Berschin, ed., *Hrotsvit*, pp. viii–ix and 78–93 (Theophilus, *BHL* 8123) and pp. 95–103 (Basilius, *BHL* 1026). As shown above (pp. 19–20), Hincmar of Reims had used this legend as an *exemplum* in his *De divortio*.

¹¹ Exceptions include: the Life of Saint Martin (*CH* II, 34 and *LS* 31), based on *BHL* 5610 and 5625 (among other sources); partial overlap of sources also occurs between the Life of Saint Clement (*CH* I, 37) and that of Saint Denis (*LS* 29), both using Hilduin's *Passio Dionysii*, *BHL* 2175; see Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography', pp. 461–72.

¹² For a discussion of Ælfric's readaptation of a non-hagiographical source, see M. Clayton, 'Ælfric's *De Virginitate*, Lines 35–54', *NQ* 32 (1985), 8–10.

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the necessary background information on the saint and his acquaintance with Julian (*CH I*, 30, lines 199–206):

Sum halig biscop wæs basilius gehaten se leornode on anre scole 7 se ylca iulianus samod, ða gelamp hit swa þ(æt) basilius wearð to biscope gecoren. to anre byrig þe is gehaten cappadocia, 7 iulianus to casere, þeah ðe he æror to preoste bescoren wære. Iulianus ða ongan to lufienne hæþengyld 7 his cristendome wiðsoc and mid eallum mode hæþenscipe beeode 7 his leode to þam ylcan genydde.¹³

The first line of this introductory section is a rearrangement of the first line of LB ('Basilius wæs gehaten sum halig biscop'), but in LB the inversion shifts the focus onto Basil. At the start of the Basil episode in *CH I*, 30, one is apparently told all the basic facts about Basil's and Julian's background. However, upon closer inspection, this passage provides two pieces of information which appear in very different form in LB.

The first difference with LB concerns the uncertainty as to the geographical location and administrative role of Basil's hometown (Caesarea in Cappadocia). In the lines quoted above, Ælfric defined Cappadocia as a *burh* ('city'), just as he had done once in LB (line 9). At the end of LB, however, Ælfric provided more specific information: Basil was bishop of the city of Caesarea in the region (or diocese) of Cappadocia ('his lic wearð bebyrged on Cessarean byrig Cappadoniscre scire. þær þær he sylf bisceop wæs', lines 663–4).¹⁴ Outside LB, Ælfric mentioned Cappadocia in the Life of Stephen (*CH II*, 2, line 101), where it is called a *burh* and in the Life of George (*LS* 14, line 7), where it is a *scir*. Further, in the opening lines of the Old English *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, Basil is called bishop of Caesarea, but this time the identification of the region and city is correct: 'Basilius se eadiga be ðam we ær awriton wæs swiðe halig bisceop on Cessarean byrig' (lines 1–2).¹⁵ According to Peter Clemoes, the *Admonitio* was translated after most of the *Lives*,¹⁶ and it seems plausible, therefore,

¹³ 'There was a certain holy bishop called Basil who studied at a school together with the same Julian. Then it happened that Basil was chosen as bishop of a city called Cappadocia and Julian as emperor, even though he had previously been tonsured as a priest. Julian then began to sympathize with paganism and forsook his Christian faith, followed heathenism with all his heart and bent his people to the very same.'

¹⁴ 'His body was buried in the city of Caesarea in the region of Cappadocia, where he himself had been bishop.'

¹⁵ 'Basil, the blessed one, about whom we have previously written, was a very holy bishop in the city of Caesarea.'

¹⁶ See above, pp. 45–6.

that, in the intervening time, Ælfric could have obtained (or revised) his knowledge on the administrative politics of Caesarea and Cappadocia.

Two of the manuscripts with the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* contain a passage on Basil (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 146: *Ker* 320 and *Gneuss* 613; and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1650: *Ker* 8 and *Gneuss* 806). In his survey of male virgins, Aldhelm called Basil *cappadox*, a word which in the Latin glosses to the *De uirginitate* appears as *.i. episcopus cappadocie*.¹⁷ The Old English translations of the Latin gloss vary morphologically between the two manuscripts: Oxford translates *episcopus cappadocie* as *cappadoniscre scire*, and Brussels *câpadonisce scir* with a further marginal note, *Cappadoniscre scire*. In both cases the Old English gloss appears as an annotation to the Latin gloss (*episcopus cappadocie*) and not to Aldhelm's main text (*cappadox*).¹⁸ This evidence suggests, at the very least, that Ælfric is not alone in defining Cappadocia as a *scir*. More pointedly, a glossed text of Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* would seem to provide a plausible source for Ælfric's phrasing of Basil's title and perhaps for his later definition of Cappadocia as a diocese (*scir*), rather than a city.¹⁹

One further point of interest in the excerpt from *CH* I, 30 cited above concerns the comment on Julian's tonsure. This detail does not appear in the *Vita Basilii*, while in *LB* we are only informed that Julian 'nolde gehealdan his preosthad onriht' (line 289).²⁰ Syntactical and lexical parallels to the Homily's phrasing are however found in the Life of Agnes (*LS* 7, lines 394–5): '[e]ft ða þa Iulianus, se arleasa wiðersæce, wearð to casere gecoren, þeah þe he wære to preoste bescoren',²¹ and in the Homily for the Fifth

¹⁷ For Aldhelm, see Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi opera*, p. 263, line 11; for the edition of glosses in the Oxford manuscript, see A. S. Napier, ed., *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished, Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1900), gloss 2302; for the edition of the Brussels manuscript see L. Goossens, ed., *The Old English Glosses of MS Brussels, Royal Library 1650 ('De laudibus uirginitatis')* Edited with an Introduction, Notes and Glosses (Brussels, 1974), gloss 2260. For a discussion of the manuscripts, see also Gwara, ed., *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis*, pp. 94–101 and 147–56.

¹⁸ The Old English glossator did not misinterpret Aldhelm, as Goossens conjectured, noting in his commentary that *cappadox* stands for 'bishop of Cappadocia, not "diocese of Cappadocia" as the OE [glosses] translate it', Goossens, ed., *Old English Glosses*, p. 294.

¹⁹ For the connection between the glosses to Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* and the Benedictine Reform, see the extensive discussion in M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 332–83.

²⁰ 'He would not hold his priesthood properly.'

²¹ 'And afterwards Julian, the cruel Apostate, was chosen as emperor, even though he had been tonsured as a priest.'

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Sunday after Easter (*ÆHom* 8, lines 132–4): ‘Iulianus se wiðersaca, þe wæs ærest Cristen, and to preoste besceoren for ðæs caseres ege, awearp his geleafan and gelyfde on deofolgyld’.²² According to Malcolm Godden, information on Julian’s persecution despite his tonsure could be derived from Haymo of Auxerre’s *Historiae sacrae epitomae*.²³ Julian’s sin must have sounded unforgivable to an Anglo-Saxon audience, who presumably could not reconcile the figure of a monk in armour. Unsurprisingly, prohibition to clergy from engaging in physical violence is a recurrent motif in Ælfric’s works. For example, the first chapter of the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* hinges on the *topos* of the contrast between the different, yet parallel duties of the earthly soldier and God’s soldier.²⁴ Simply by mentioning the fact that Julian received the monastic tonsure, Ælfric implicitly placed him in the category of those *oratores* who chose material weapons despite Christ’s command to Peter to put down his sword. Such an introduction places Julian among the damned from the very beginning of the Homily. In fact, the Homily places overall more emphasis than the Life on Julian’s rejection of the Christian faith and on his leading astray an entire nation.

At the start of his account on the death of Julian the Apostate, Ælfric condensed the *Vita Basilii* simply to provide sufficient background. The Homily appears progressively as a more slavish rendering of the Latin:²⁵

DE MISTICA SATIS REVELATIONE ET MORTE APOSTATAE
IVLIANI. In illo tempore Iulianus impius imperator pergens aduersus

²² ‘Julian the traitor, who was at first a Christian and tonsured as a priest, out of imperial arrogance rejected his belief and believed in idolatry.’ On the significance of tonsure in the West, see E. James, ‘Bede and the Tonsure Question’, *Peritia* 3 (1984), 85–98. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) it was made clear that ‘those who have become clerics or have entered a monastery, should neither enter the army or take secular honours’, *ibid.*, p. 89.

²³ Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, p. 254.

²⁴ Mueller, ed., ‘Ælfric’s Translation’, pp. 29–32; see above, pp. 46–8. Within the Ælfrician corpus, such concepts are reiterated in different contexts; see for example the *item alia* appended to the Life of the Maccabees, which goes under the (editorial) title *Qui sunt oratores, laboratores, bellatores* (*LS item alia* 25, lines 851–6): ‘[n]u se munuc þe bihð to benedictes regole. and forlæt ealle woruldðingc. hwi wile he eft gecyrran to woruldlicum wæpnum. and awurpan his gewinn. wið þa ungesewenlican fynd his scyppende to teonan? Se Godes þeowa ne mæg mid woruldmannum feohtan. gif he on þam gastlican gefeohte forðgang habban sceall’.

²⁵ The texts will be quoted in the following order: the Latin, the Homily, LB. For the discussion in this chapter and in chapters 4 and 5, I have used the Old English Electronic Corpus, <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca>, and the database on CD-Rom: *Dictionary of Old English: Fascicle F and Fascicles A–E (with Revisions)*, CD-Rom (Toronto, 2003).

ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF SAINT BASIL

Persas uenit in partes caesariensium ciuitatis. Basilius autem simul cum coessentibus sibi obuiauuit ei et uidens eum imperator dixit. (c. 7, lines 1–4)²⁶

ða æt sumon cyrre tengde he to fyrde ongean perscissum leodscipe. 7 gemette þone biscop; 7 cwæð him to. (lines 206–7)²⁷

205 On sumum dæge ferde se foresæda biscoep,
þa rad Iulianus se arleasa casere
mid micelre fyrdinge, swiðe fus to wige,
and gecneow Basilium, and cwæð him sona to.²⁸

The Latin passage is uncharacteristically introduced by an ornate piece of alliterative prose, hinging primarily on the assonance and consonance of the group *impius, imperator, pergens, persas* and (possibly) *partes*. It would be hard to imagine that Ælfric failed to recognise these patterns, but his translation of the passage in the Homily is succinct and devoid of rhetorical ornament.

Ælfric's intent in this part of the miracle seems especially to stress Julian's apostasy in order to show how bad leadership can draw a nation to perdition. In LB this agenda takes a more broad-ranging shape and extends to at least two episodes, while Julian's apostasy is only briefly mentioned in the introduction: 'cristen fram cildhade, se wearð casere siððan and awarep his geleafan, and gewende to deofle' (lines 17–18).²⁹ Indeed, in the Homily Ælfric also stressed the fact that Julian forced his people to paganism, a piece of information which does not appear in the Latin or LB. Interestingly, in the Latin as well as in the Homily,

Julian starts off the new episode by heading towards Persia, whereas in LB, Basil is mentioned first (line 204), and is the one who crosses paths with the emperor. Even though there is no indication in the Latin of the size of Julian's army, nor that he was eager for battle, in LB Ælfric added 'mid

²⁶ 'On the mystical revelation and on the death of Julian the Apostate. At that time, Julian the faithless emperor, moving towards Persia, arrived at the city of the Caesareans. Basil then, together with those who were with him, met him and, having seen him, the emperor said.'

²⁷ 'Then at a certain time he [Julian] intended to wage war against the nation of the Persians and he met the bishop and he said to him.'

²⁸ 'On a certain day the aforesaid bishop went out. Then Julian rode forth, the impious emperor with a great troop, very eager for battle. He recognised Basil and immediately said to him thus.'

²⁹ '[Julian], a Christian from childhood, was emperor afterwards, threw aside his faith and turned to the devil.'

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micelre fyrdinge. swiðe fus to wige' (line 206), thus making Julian an irascible warmonger. In both translations Ælfric eliminated the present participle *uidens* (= seeing), merging it with the meaning of *obuiauit* (= ran into). Thus in the Homily the verb *gemette* (= met) is more effective than *uidens* because it anticipates the encounter between the two rivals, but in LB, with the use of *gecneow* (= recognised), Ælfric also captured the notion that Julian had known Basil and voluntarily approached him. Julian's recognition of Basil also avoids the implication of a simply fortuitous encounter: in LB one can almost see Julian with his troop heading straight for the unarmed bishop. Ælfric's omission of Latin *cum coessentibus* plays up Julian's cowardly act.³⁰ Finally, the introduction of *gecneow* allows Ælfric to create two alliterating anaphoric half lines ('and gecneow ... and cwæð', line 208), a pattern which is absent from the Homily.

The episode continues with a verbal exchange between Basil and Julian, during which the emperor provokes the bishop by challenging his learning, and Basil responds by offering him some barley bread.³¹ The emperor takes this act as an insult, threatening to lay Basil's city waste after his military campaign in Persia. The saint then returns to Caesarea (according to the Latin text) and announces Julian's intentions to his people, enjoining them to collect their riches for the irate emperor:

Regrediens autem ciuitatem Basilius et aduocans omnem multitudinem narrauit ei imperatoris uerba, atque consiliator illi fit optimus dicens: 'Pecuniam fratres ad nihil reputantes, salutis uestrae prouidentiam facite, ut et si datum fuerit tempus tyranno imperatori muneribus eum placemus.' (c. 7, lines 18–22)³²

Hwæt þa basilius cydde his ceastergewarum þæs reþan caseres þeowrace. and him selost rædbora wearð þus cwepende. Mine gebroðra bringað eowre sceattas. and uton cunnian gif we magon þone reþan wiðersacan on his geancyrre gegladian. (lines 222–5)³³

³⁰ For the peculiar form of the Latin present participle and its Greek origin, see above, p. 10.

³¹ From a rhetorical point of view, this is a sophisticated passage; see below, pp. 116–18.

³² 'Basil, then, returning to the city and, calling all the crowd, reported the emperor's words. He became their excellent advisor, saying: "Brothers, think nothing of your money, but make it the means of your salvation, so that, if time is given by the tyrant, we may placate him with gifts."'

³³ 'Then Basil told his citizens about the threat of the cruel emperor and became their best advisor, saying this: "My brothers, bring your treasures and let us find out whether we may placate the cruel adversary on his return."'

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and Basilius cydde his burhwarum þis,
and nam him to ræde þæt hi þone reðan casere
230 mid sceattum gegladodon þonne he of þam siðe come.³⁴

Ælfric introduced indirect speech in LB, thus improving on the convoluted style of the wordy Latin sentence. The excerpt from the Homily is written in a simpler style in comparison, and is more faithful to the Latin. The first time he translated this passage, Ælfric maintained the direct speech with Basil's appeal *mine gebroðra* (Latin *fratres*), whereas in LB he turned the appeal into indirect speech and considerably shortened the entire passage. Ælfric must have wondered at the logical shift in Basil's exhortation from the present participle *reputantes*, to the imperative *facite*, to the subjunctive *placemus*. The Homily presents equal variation of verbal mood with the imperative *bringað*, the exhortatory *uton cunnian* and finally the hypothetic clause introduced by *gif*, but in LB Ælfric resolved this problem by introducing indirect speech and thus avoiding the use of the imperative mood. Notably, Ælfric turned the Latin *omnem multitudinem* in the *Vita Basilii* into the more personal *his ceastergewarum* in the Homily, and *his burhwarum* in LB. Thus while in the Homily this word alliterates with the verb (*cydde*), in LB it alliterates with the name of the saint, making the connection between the people and their spiritual leader more poignant.

One of Ælfric's most effective techniques as a translator is to anticipate the contents of the original text by flashing forward and providing information which can only be found later in the Latin. He usually achieved this effect by varying slightly the connotation of words or by adding small vocabulary items such as adjectives or adverbs. In this case, the neutral connotation of the Latin phrase *imperatoris uerba* (line 20) is rendered in the Homily as 'þæs reþan caseres þeowrace': the emperor, called *tyrannus* (line 22) at a later stage in the Latin, in the Old English is characterised from the start as bloodthirsty, and his words become a menace (*þeowrace*) even before Basil reports them to his citizens.³⁵ The introduction of indirect speech in LB abbreviates the narrative, with the demonstrative pronoun *þis* used as an anaphoric referent for the indirect statement.

This passage is especially interesting from a rhetorical viewpoint as well, because it shows Ælfric's characteristic style at two important stages of its development, placing it along the spectrum of a continuous experimentation.

³⁴ '[A]nd Basil told this story to his citizens, and advised them that they placate the cruel emperor with treasures when he came back from the journey.'

³⁵ In the *Grammar* *tyrannus* is glossed as follows: 'tyrannus þæt is reðe oððe wælhreow', J. Zupitza, ed., *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 1 (Berlin, 1880), rpt. with introduction by H. Gneuss (Berlin, 1966), 294, lines 2–3.

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Ælfric started experimenting with alliterative prose very early in his writings, so the Homily already contains alliteration and wordplay, which were revisited and expanded the second time he translated this passage for LB. The alliteration on *r* of LB (*ræde* and *reðan*, line 229), for example, echoes the paronomasia already exploited in the Homily (*reþan* and *rædbora*). This wordplay on *r*-alliteration is developed again with paronomasia at LB line 239 ('and hi ahredde wiþ ðone reðan casere'), with the verb *ahredde* mirroring *ræde* and the parallel accusative phrase at line 229 (*þone reðan casere*).³⁶ In the Homily Ælfric had kept the hortatory function of the imperative *facite* and the subjunctive *placemus* (respectively *bringað* and *magon gegladian*), but in LB the preterite *gegladodon* fulfils this function, while at the same time echoing the Homily's lexical choice.

Following Basil's advice, the citizens gather their riches and follow the saint to pray at the Virgin's church. During the night of prayer, Basil has a vision, reported variously as follows:

[V]idit Basilius in uisu multitudinem militiae caelestis hinc et inde in monte et in medio eorum super thronum gloriosum sedentem quandam in muliebri habitu et dicentem ad proxime sibi stantes magnificos uiros: 'Vocate mihi Mercurium et abibit interficere Iulianum, in filium meum et Deum tumide blasphemantem.' (c. 7, lines 33–7)³⁷

þa on þære ðriðdan nihte ðæs fæstenes geseah se biscop micel heofonlic werod on ælcere healfe þæs temples and on middan ðam werode sæt seo heofonlice cwen maria and cwæð to hyre ætstandenum; Gelangiað me þone martyr mercurium þæt he gewende wið ðæs arleasan wiþersacan iulianes and hine acwelle. se ðe mid toþundenum mode god minne sunu forsihð. (lines 231–7)³⁸

240 Þa geseah se biscoep, þa þa hi swiðost bædon,
on sumere nihte Sancta Marian cuman
mid heofonlicum werode to þære halgan stowe,

³⁶ At line 239 Basil and the citizens invoke the Saviour's intercession against Julian: 'and hi ahredde wiþ ðone reðan casere'.

³⁷ 'Basil saw in front of him the multitude of the heavenly army, here and there on the hill; and in the midst of them on a glorious throne [he saw] a certain one sitting in a feminine garment saying to the wondrous men standing by her: "Summon to me Mercurius and he will go to kill Julian, the one that swore angrily against my Son and God."'

³⁸ 'Then on the third night of fasting the bishop saw a great heavenly crowd on each side of the temple and in the midst of the crowd the heavenly queen, Mary, sat and said to those standing by her: "Summon Mercurius the martyr to me, that he may go against the wicked traitor Julian and kill him, for he forsook with proud heart God my Son."'

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and cwæð to ðam halgum þe hire gehendost stodon:
 'Clypiað þone martyr Mercurium to me
 245 þæt he ardllice fare to þam arleasan Iuliane,
 and hine acwelle, forþanþe he Criste wiðsoc,
 and be minum suna þam soðan Gode
 tallice spræcþ, mid toþundenum mode.'³⁹

The *Vita Basilii* does not specify how long the fast lasted before Basil's vision, nor that the vision occurred at night. In the Homily, Basil's vision occurs on the third night, a detail not found in LB which simply reads 'on sumere nihte' (line 241). It is possible that, for the Homily, Ælfric felt it necessary to remind his audience that fasts of three days might result in a vision.⁴⁰ The recipients of LB were no doubt more familiar with the three-day fasting period which conventionally preceded important visions in hagiographic literature. In the Homily, following the Latin, Basil saw the heavenly crowd before he saw Mary, whereas in LB he saw Mary first and then the heavenly crowd. Such an inversion clearly puts Mary in a prominent position, a strategy which in addition allows Ælfric to rearrange and manipulate the syntax: in the Homily *cwen maria* is the subject of a coordinate clause in which *sæt* renders the Latin present participle *sedentem*. In LB, on the other hand, Mary becomes the subject of *cuman* in an objective clause dependent on the verb *geseah* and the heavenly crowd becomes part of a prepositional phrase as a dative of company. The selection from the Homily also shows experimental traces of Ælfric's alliterative prose with the pair *cwen* and *cwæð*.

In both the Homily and LB, Ælfric anticipated the missing information on the identity of the 'quandam in muliebri habitu', as *cwen maria* in the former and *Sancta Marian* in the latter. The Latin is not clear on the identity of the woman until she states that Julian has insulted her Son and God. A similar technique of anticipating the Latin source occurs when the Holy Virgin summons Saint Mercurius; the Latin simply has 'uocate mihi

³⁹ 'Then, on a certain night, when they were praying the most, the bishop saw the Holy Mary come to the holy place with a heavenly crowd, and she said to the saints who stood nearest to her: "Summon to me Mercurius the martyr, that he may go quickly to the wicked Julian and kill him, because he denied Christ, and speaks ill of my Son, the true God, with proud heart."'

⁴⁰ Exact parallels of this phrase can also be found in the Homily for the Dedication of a Church to Saint Michael (*CHI*, 34, lines 23–5): 'ða on þære þriddan nihte þæs fæstenes. æteowde se heahengel michael hine sylfne þam biscope on gastlicere gesihðe. þus cweþende', and lines 84–5: '[s]e heahengel ða michael on þære þriddan nihte þæs fæstenes cwæð to þam biscope on swefene'.

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Mercurium’, but both in the Homily and in LB Ælfric calls him a martyr, a piece of information which can only be gathered at a later stage from the *Vita Basilii* (c. 8, line 47). Mary’s speech and definition of her Son merits a brief comment. In the *Vita Basilii* the command to kill Julian is justified by his blasphemous words ‘in filium meum et Deum tumide blasphemantem’, which seems to reinforce Mary’s role as the Mother of God. The Homily translated this phrase almost verbatim, ‘se ðe mid toþundenum mode god minne sunu forsihð’, but the minor inversion (Latin: *filium, Deum*; Homily: *god, sunu*) and omission of the conjunction (*et Deum*) turn *minne sunu* into an appositive. In LB Ælfric expanded partially on this line, adding Christ’s name, but returning to the asyndetic construction of the Latin, with *God* in apposition to *minum suna*. Julian’s sins are also mentioned in greater detail in LB, thus providing further justification for his death at the hands of a messenger: Julian should be punished because he denied God and spoke blasphemously, with a contemptuous heart. The identity of Saint Mercurius is briefly explained in the Homily (lines 258–64, not quoted here) but not in the *Vita Basilii* or LB. Mercurius was a layman martyred for his Christian faith and buried with his weapons. His soul was summoned by the Virgin Mary to kill Julian. None of this information appears in the *Vita Basilii* or in LB. Ælfric’s specification at the end of the Homily that it was Mercurius’ *gast* using material weapons certainly reflects his anxieties on the larger issues of Mary’s Assumption (bodily or spiritual) on which his source (Paschasius Radbertus) had taken an agnostic position.⁴¹

After his vision, Basil rushes to the sanctuary of Saint Mercurius and, not finding his weapons, understands that the premonition was true. He also returns to the sanctuary the next morning to find the martyr’s lance stained with what he knows to be Julian’s blood. The chapter that follows in the Latin on a certain deacon who was reprimanded for staring at a woman during the service was omitted by Ælfric in both translations.⁴² Not only did this eliminate the allusion to clerical misbehaviour in church, but it also favoured the internal continuity of Ælfric’s accounts. In fact, Ælfric continues the narrative with the account of Julian’s death:⁴³

⁴¹ ‘[P]a ferde his gast swyftlice. and mid lichamlicum wæpne þone godes feond ofstang.’ For Saint Mercurius see further, Loomis, ‘Saint Mercurius’, and Orlandi, ‘La leggenda’. Shaw has shown in addition that the coda to this Homily may have been intended as a deterrent against ‘re-animation of the dead’; Shaw, ‘A Dead Killer?’, p. 7.

⁴² This omission is also discussed by Whatley, ‘Basil in Old English’; see below, pp. 84 and 206.

⁴³ For the identification of *Libanius quaestor* with *Libanius sophista*, Basil’s school companion and the one heathen that he had not managed to convert (*Vita Basilii*, c. 1), see Orlandi, ‘La leggenda’.

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Populi autem omni plebe festiuitatem agente usque in finem septem dierum omnibus in ecclesia congregatis, ecce Libanius Iuliani quaestor fuga usus. Venit in ciuitatem et discens populi congregationem in ecclesia, eo aduenit annuntians impiam mortem Iuliani tyranni et dicens quia cum secus Eufraten fluuium esset et relicta nocte septimae excubiae militum custodirent eum, uenit quidam ignotus miles cum armorum uasis et lancea ualide et terribile impetu perfodit eum, et nusquam comparuit, subito abscondens. Ipse uero miserrimus diram atque horribilem emittens uociferationem cum blasphemiae clamore exspirauit. Narrauit etiam et per ordinem uisionem quam ipse iamdicta uiderat nocte. (c. 8, lines 15–24)⁴⁴

Ða æfter þrim dagum com an þæs caseres þegna. libanius hatte. and gesohte þæs biscopes fet fulluhtes biddende. and cydde him and ealre þære burhware þæs arleasan iulianes deað; Cwæð ðæt seo fyrd wicode wið ðære ea. eufraten. and seofon weardsetl wacedon ofer þam casere. ða com þær stæppende sum uncuð cempa and hine hetelice þurhþyde. and þærrihthe of heora gesihþum fordwan. and iulianus þa mid anþræcum hreame forsweolt. (lines 245–51)⁴⁵

Efne þæs ymbe seofan niht, com to þære ylcan ceastre
an þæs caseres þegna, and cydde þære burhware þis:
'Iulianus wicode wið þa ea Eufraten,
270 and him oferwacedon seofonfealde weardas.
Þa com sum cempa uncuð us eallum
swiþe gewæpnod and hine sona þurhþyde.
mid egeslicum onræse and ne æteowde siððan.

⁴⁴ 'Indeed while all the crowd of people celebrated until the end of seven days, gathered together in church, there came Libanius, Julian's quaestor, accustomed to fleeing. He arrived in the city, he approached the one who was teaching the congregation of people in the church, and announced the pitiless death of Julian the tyrant, saying that while he [Julian] was by the River Euphrates and the seventh watch of soldiers was protecting him for the rest of the night, a certain unknown soldier came with a supply of weapons and a spear, bravely, and with frightful assault he stabbed him, suddenly disappearing, never to appear again. Indeed, the very unfortunate one, giving out a grim and terrible bellow, died among cries of blasphemy. As well he [Libanius] told in order the vision, which he had also seen on that very night.'

⁴⁵ 'Then after three days came one of the emperor's thanes, called Libanius. He sought the bishop's feet, begging for baptism and told him and all the citizens about the death of the impious Julian. He said that the army was dwelling by the River Euphrates and that seven guards watched over the emperor. Then came stepping forth an unknown warrior and violently killed him [Julian] and disappeared from their sight immediately. Then Julian died with a dreadful outcry.'

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275 Þa hrymde Iulianus mid hospe,
 and earmlice gewat on ure gewitnysse.⁷
 Ðus cydde se cempa, and gecneowode to þam bisceope
 fulluhtes biddende, and se bisceop him þæs getiðode.⁴⁶

In both the *Vita Basilii* and LB the messenger Libanius came to Caesarea after seven days (or nights), whereas in the Homily he arrived there after three days, clearly the result of scribal confusion of the roman numeral .vii. with the minims of .iii.. Ælfric usually rendered the direct speech of the Latin literally in the Homily but adopted indirect speech in LB. In this instance, however, the messenger's words are turned from indirect to direct speech, perhaps for greater dramatic effect.⁴⁷ Thus, Ælfric translated literally the Latin *dicens quia* in the Homily *cwæð ðæt*, but in LB he substituted indirect with direct speech 'and cydde þære burhware þis' (line 268). The narrator resumes at the end of Libanius' speech with the rising tones of '[ð]us cydde se cempa' (line 276) which echo lexically the coming of Mercurius ('[þ]a com sum cempa', line 271), and carry the same alliteration on *c*. Significantly, both Mercurius and the messenger are called *cempa*. It is likely that Ælfric, looking back at his Homily, decided to exploit the twofold connotation of the word *cempa*, both as *miles Christi* and as a secular military recruit.

The *Vita Basilii* does not make it clear whether the messenger was himself campaigning on the Euphrates, or whether he had seen Julian's death in a vision. In the Homily, Ælfric maintained this ambiguity, but in LB the difficulty is resolved by including the messenger among Julian's army by using first persona plural pronouns (*us* line 271, and *ure* line 275). The beginning of Libanius' speech is introduced both in the Homily and in LB with the same construction (*wicode wið*), but the subject differs (respectively *seo fyrd* and *Iulianus*). This shifts the audience's attention towards the army in the Homily (just as in the Latin, 'dicens quia, cum secus ... esset') and towards Julian in LB, making him the only protagonist of his own undoing. Substitution of the Homily's *fyrd* with *Iulianus* in LB also generates the alliterative group *iu / eu* (line 269), and clarifies the syntactically awkward

⁴⁶ 'After this, seven nights later, one of the emperor's thanes came to the same city and said this to the citizens: "Julian camped on the River Euphrates and a sevenfold guard watched over him. Then came a certain warrior, unknown to us all, heavily armed, and killed him quickly, with a terrible thrust and did not appear thereafter. Then Julian shouted with hatred and died pitifully in front of us as witnesses." Thus said the warrior and kneeled in front of the bishop begging for baptism and the bishop granted him that.'

⁴⁷ Ælfric's choice between direct and indirect speech responds to a careful rhetorical plan; see below, pp. 115–26.

Latin clause. The accusative prepositional phrase *secus Eufratem fluuium* is turned into a dative *wið ðære ea eufraten* in the Homily. The preposition *wið* + dative is, however, not very well attested in the manuscript tradition: according to Clemoes' *apparatus criticus* the accusative *pa ea* (as in LB, line 269) appears in the majority of the witnesses (six out of ten including the base manuscript, BL, Royal 7. C. XII).⁴⁸

The phrase *septimae excubiae* also deserves a brief comment. Zettel, building on Ott's work,⁴⁹ cites this passage as an example of how misleading Surius' edition could be for reconstructing the source of LB.⁵⁰ Surius' edition turns *septimae* into *septima*, so that it is made to agree with *nocte*, rather than with *excubiae*. Comparison with the text of the Homily, where *septimae excubiae* is rendered literally (*seofon weardsetl*), also confirms Zettel's findings. LB, on the other hand, renders this more freely with *seofanfealde weardas* (line 270). The Homily's critical apparatus proves helpful in this instance as well: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (manuscript T in Clemoes' sigla) reads *seofonfealde weardsetl*, possibly showing an intermediary stage between the Homily and LB, or perhaps a level of textual contamination between Julius E. vii and Hatton 114.

Towards the end of Libanius' account, LB translates the Latin *cum terribile impetu* more literally than the Homily's *hetelice* with *mid egeslicum onhræse*. In the *Vita Basilii* the messenger's account of Julian's death ends with the emperor's use of blasphemy even in death (*cum blasphemiae clamore*).⁵¹ In both his translations, Ælfric preferred his audience not to hear that anyone could die in such a recalcitrant manner: in the Homily he translated this prepositional phrase simply as *mid anpræcum hream* but in LB he turned the noun *clamore* into the verb *hrymde* followed by the phrase *mid hospe* (line 274). This same formula had also been used earlier in the episode during the verbal altercation between Basil and the emperor (line 215), and seems therefore to accentuate the anger in Julian's outcry, while downplaying its blasphemous nature.

⁴⁸ CH I, at 437. Wilcox, ed., *Ælfric's Prefaces*, p. 32, comments on Ælfric's meticulous correction of noun phrases after the preposition *purh*.

⁴⁹ Ott, 'Über die Quellen', pp. 10–14, and Zettel, 'Ælfric Hagiographical Sources', pp. 198–200.

⁵⁰ L. Surius, ed., *De probatis Sanctorum historiis partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani doctissimi episcopi, partim etiam ex egregis manuscriptis codicibus, quarum permultae ante hac nunquam in lucem prodire, optime fide collectis, et nunc recens recognitis atque aliquot vitarum accessione auctis per F. Laurentium Surium Carthusianum* 1 (Cologne, 1570–5), 4–19; I am grateful to Mr. Andrea Perrone of the Biblioteca Calasanziana, Campi Salentina (Lecce) for providing me with a copy of this text. See also below, pp. 142–8.

⁵¹ The reading *clamorem* attested in N is homoeoteleuton with *uociferationem*.

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After Libanius' conversion and baptism, Basil redistributes the treasures among his people who, in turn, donate part of them to the church. The Homily then continues by filling in some details drawn from the *Vita Mercurii* (BHL 5933–4), or possibly from the *Miracula* (BHL 5938d), and adding at the end an explanatory passage on the significance of the entire piece. LB, on the other hand, simply provides some brief information on Julian: 'Twa gear rixode þes reða Iulianus and nolde gehealdan his preosthad on riht ac truwoode on þone hæðenscype. þe hine to helle gebrohte' (lines 288–90).⁵² This observation does not appear in the Latin text, but Ælfric's knowledge of Julian's reign could have come from a number of sources. According to the Old English *Orosius*, for example, Julian governed for a year and eight months: '7 Iulianus feng to þæm onwalde, 7 hiene hæfde an gear 7 eahta monað',⁵³ a piece of information which Ælfric might have decided to approximate in order to accommodate the rhythm.

A similar collocation is also found in Ælfric's translation of the Book of Kings (*LS* 18, lines 456–7), when he mentioned Amon's misgovernment: '[t]wa gear he rixode unrædfæstlice ða gewearð his þegnum þæt hi hine acwealdon'.⁵⁴ Here, as in LB, the positioning of the numeral *twa gear* as anacrusis precludes to an alliterative pattern in *r* (simple alliteration), based on a word suggesting poor government (*unrædfæstlice*).⁵⁵ The parallels between the misgovernment (owing to poor advice) of Amon and Julian are unquestionable in Ælfric's words: both reigned for two years and both were killed by a warrior (*cempa* in LB, *þegn* in Kings). Historically, Julian himself had been killed by his own men because of his poor leadership, a fact which Ælfric must have known from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius.

The verbal and syntactical parallels between the Homily and LB suggest that Ælfric had in front of him both the Latin text and the Homily when he

⁵² 'The evil Julian reigned for two years; he did not wish to observe his priesthood rightly and believed in paganism, which led him to hell'; for Julian's ordination as priest, see above, pp. 54–5.

⁵³ J. M. Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius*, EETS s.s. 6 (London, 1980), book VI xxxi, lines 13–14.

⁵⁴ '[H]e reigned for two years without any counsel and then it happened that his thanes killed him.'

⁵⁵ Paronomasia between *reð* (and related form) and *ræd* (and related forms) is frequent in poetic texts: 'þa Noe ongan nergende lac rædfæst reðran' (*Genesis A*, line 1497); 'reðe and rædleas riht' (*Daniel*, line 177); 'reðe mid ræde rihte' (*Paris Psalter* 118.137). This scheme is also exploited by Ælfric in LB (line 229) 'and nam him to ræde þæt hi þone reðan casere'; in Ælfric's life of Alban (*LS* 19, lines 209–10): 'þe his ræd ne moste þam reðan gelician, for ðæs oðres ræde', and in that of Cecilia (*LS* 34, line 216): 'sum rædbora þa to þam reðan þus cwæð'.

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started his translation of the Julian episode in LB. This episode lends itself particularly well to a comparative approach because it was translated at two very different stages: initially when he had not yet developed his rhythmical style and later, when he seems to be exploiting fully the potential of alliterative lines. Table 1 illustrates the important relationship between these two texts:⁵⁶

Table 1: *The death of Julian the Apostate*

Homily (CHI, 30, lines 200–64)	Life of Basil (lines 1, 16–18, 204–90)
<p><u>Sum halig biscop wæs basilius gehaten</u></p> <p>se leornode on anre <u>scole</u>. 7 se ylca iulianus samod; ða <u>gelamp</u> hit swa þæt basilius wearð to biscope gecoren. to anre byrig þe is gehaten cappadocia: 7 iulianus to <u>casere</u>: þeah ðe he æror to preoste bescoren wære. Iulianus ða ongan to lufienne hæþengyld. 7 his cristendome wiðsoc 7 mid eallum mode hæþenscipe beeode. 7 his leode to þam ylcan genydde;</p> <p>ða æt <i>sumon cyrre</i> tengde he to <i>fyrde</i> ongean perscissum leodscipe.</p> <p><i>7 gemette þone biscop: 7 cwæð him to</i>; Eala ðu basili. nu <u>ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on uðwitegunge</u>; <u>Se byscop him andwyrde: god forgeafe þæt ðu</u></p>	<p><u>Basilius wæs gehaten sum halig bisceop</u> (lines 16–18) On þære ylcan <u>scole</u> wæs se wælhreowa Iulianus Cristen fram cildhade, se wearð <u>casere</u> siððan and awarep his geleafan, and gewende to deofle.</p> <p>(lines 204–90) On <i>sumum dæge</i> ferde se foresæda bisceop. Ða rad Iulianus se arleasa casere mid micelre fyrdinge, swiðe fus to <i>wige</i>, <i>and gecneow Basilium, and cwæð him sona to</i>: '<u>ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on gebungenre lare</u> and on uðwitegunge.' <u>Him andwyrde se bisceop</u>: '<u>Forgeafe God ælmihtig þæt ðu</u></p>

⁵⁶ Exact verbal equivalents between the two texts are underlined, italics indicate syntactical parallels with minor lexical variants. I base my methodology partially on L. Benson's discussion of *The Metres of Boethius* in 'The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry', *Publications of the Modern Language Academy* 81 (1966), 334–41.

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<p><i>uðwitegunge beeodest.</i> <u>7 he þa mid þam worde him bead</u> <u>swilce lac swa he sylf breac. þæt</u> <u>wæron þry berene hlafas. for</u> <u>bletsunge;</u> <u>ða het se wiðersaca onfon þæra</u> <u>hlafa 7 agifan þam biscope togeanes</u> <u>gærs.</u> <u>7 cwæð; He bead us nytena fodan.</u></p> <p><u>underfo he gærs to leanes;</u> <i>Basilius underfeng þæt gærs þus</i> <i>cwepende;</i> <u>Eala þu casere: soðlice we budon ðe</u> <u>þæs þe we sylfe brucað.</u> <u>7 þu us sealdest to edleane</u> <u>ungesceadwisra nytena andlyfene:</u> <u>na us to fodan. ac to hospe;</u></p> <p><u>Se godes wiþersaca hine ða</u> <u>gehathyrte 7 cwæð;</u> <u>ðonne ic fram fyrde gecyrre. ic</u> <u>towurpe þas burh. 7 hi gesmepie. 7</u> <u>to yrðlande awende: swa þæt heo bið</u> <u>cornbære swiþor ðonne manbære.</u> <u>Nis me uncuð þin dyrstinyss. 7</u> <u>þyssere burhware. þe þurh ðine</u> <u>tihtinge þa anlicnyss þe ic arærde.</u> <u>7 me to gebæd tobræcon. 7</u> <u>towurpon;</u></p> <p><u>7 he mid þysum wordum ferde. to</u> <u>persciscum earde; Hwæt þa basilius</u> <u>cydde his ceastergewarum</u> <u>þæs reþan caseres þeowrace. 7 him</u> <u>selost rædbora wearð þus cwepende;</u> <u>Mine gebroðra bringað eowre</u> <u>sceattas. 7 uton cunnian gif we</u> <u>magon þone reþan wiðersacan on</u> <u>his geancyrre gegladian; Hi þa mid</u> <u>glædum mode him to brohton goldes</u> <u>7 seolfres. 7 deorwurþra gymma</u> <u>ungerime hypan; Se biscop þa</u> <u>underfeng þa maðmas. 7 bebead his</u></p>	<p><i>fyligdest wisdomes.</i> <u>And bead him mid þam worde þry</u> <u>berene hlafas,</u> <u>swylce for bletsunge þæs þe he sylf</u> <u>breac.</u> <u>Ða het se arleasa onfon þæra hlafa</u> <u>and syllan þam Godes men gærs</u> <u>togeanes,</u> <u>and cwæð mid hospe: ‘Horse mete is</u> <u>bere</u> <u>þæt he us forgeaf, underfo he gærs.’</u> <u>Þa underfeng se halga þa handfulle</u> <u>and cwæð:</u> <u>‘We budon þe, casere, þæs þe we</u> <u>sylfe brucað</u> <u>and þu sealdest us togeanes þæt þæt</u> <u>ungesceadwise</u> <u>nytena habbað him to bigleofan,</u> <u>gebysmriende us.’</u> <u>Þa gebealh hine se casere and cwæð</u> <u>mid gebeote:</u> <u>‘Ponne ic eft gecyrre sigefæst fram</u> <u>fyrde,</u> <u>ic aweste þine buruh and gewyrce hi</u> <u>to yrðlande.</u> <u> Ic wat þine dyrstignysse, and þinre</u> <u>burhware,</u> <u>þe tobræcon þa anlicnyss þe ic sylf</u> <u>arærde</u> <u>and me to þære gebæd gebigdum</u> <u>cneowum.’</u> <u>Æfter þysum worde he gewende to</u> <u>Persum</u> <u>and Basilius cydde his burhwarum</u> <u>þis,</u> <u>and nam him to ræde þæt hi þone</u> <u>reðan casere</u> <u>mid sceattum gegladodon þonne he of</u> <u>þam siðe come.</u> <u>Hwæt, þa seo burhware bliðelice</u> <u>gegaderode</u> <u>ungerim feos ætforan þam biscope.</u></p> <p><u>Þa bead he þam folce þreora daga</u></p>
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<p>preostum 7 eallum þam folce þæt hi heora lac geoffrodon binnon þam</p> <p><u>temple</u> þe wæs to <u>wurðmynte þære eadigan marian gehalgod</u>. 7 het hi þærbinnon andbidian mid <u>ðreora daga fæstene</u>. þæt se ælmihtiga wealdend þurh his moder þingrædene <u>towurpe þæs unrihtwisan caseres andgit</u>;</p> <p>þa on þære ðriddan nihte ðæs fæstenes geseah se biscop micel <u>heofonlic werod</u> on ælcere healfe þæs temples 7 on middan ðam werode sæt <u>seo heofonlice cwen maria 7 cwæð to hyre ætstandenum</u>;</p> <p><u>Gelangiad me þone martyr mercurium</u> þæt he <u>gewende</u> wið <u>ðæs arleasan wipersacan iulianes 7 hine acwelle</u>. se ðe <u>mid toþundenum mode god minne sunu forsihð</u>;</p> <p>Se halga cybere <u>mercurius gewæpnod</u> hrædlice <u>com</u>. 7 be hyre hæse ferde;</p> <p>ða eode se biscop into <u>þære opere cyrcan</u> þær se martyr inne <u>læig</u>;</p> <p>7 befran <u>þone cyrcward hwær þæs halgan wæpnu</u> wæron;</p>	<p><u>fæsten</u> and het hi astigan up to anre sticolre dune on þære wæs gefyrn foremære <u>templ</u>, <u>Sancte Marian gehalgod</u> mid healicum <u>wurðmynte</u>; and hi æt þære halgan stowe þone Hælend bædon þæt he hraðe <u>towurpe þæs wælhreowan andgit</u> and hi ahredde wiþ ðone reðan casere. Þa geseah se bisceop, þa þa hi swiðost bædon, on sumere nihte <u>Sancta Marian cuman</u> mid <u>heofonlicum werode</u> to þære halgan stowe, <u>and cwæð</u> to ðam halgum <u>þe hire gehendost stodon</u>: '<u>Clypiað þone martyr Mercurium to me</u> <u>þæt he ardlice fare</u> to <u>þam arleasan Iuliane</u>, <u>and hine acwelle</u>, forþanþe he <u>Criste wiðsoc</u>, and be <u>minum suna</u> þam soðan <u>Gode</u> tallice spræcþ, <u>mid toþundenum mode</u>.' Þa <u>com Mercurius</u> to ðære mæran cwene <u>mid his gewæpnunge</u>, and wearð sona asend fram Cristes meder to þæs caseres slege. Ða wearð Basilius swiðe afyrht, and eode mid Eubole eft to ðære byrig and siþþan to ðam sancte, þe on <u>ðære cyrcan læg</u> <u>Mercurius</u>, se martyr mid micclum wurðmynte and sohte his wæpnu, ac he ne geseah hi nahwar. Þa <u>axode he þone cyrcward be þæs sanctes wæpnum</u>,</p>
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<p><u>He swor þæt he on æfnunge</u> æt his heafde witodlice hi gesawe; 7 he þærrihte <i>wende</i> to sancta marian temple</p> <p>7 <u>þam folce gecydde</u> his gesihþe. 7 þæs <i>wælhreowan</i> forwyrd;</p> <p>ða <u>eode he eft ongean to þæs halgan martyres byrgene.</u></p> <p>7 funde his <i>sper</i> <u>standan mid blode begleddod;</u></p> <p>ða æfter þrim dagum <u>com an þæs caseres þegna.</u> libanius hatte. 7 gesohte þæs bisceopes fet fulluhtes biddende. 7 <u>cydde</u> him 7 ealre þære burhware þæs arleasan iulianes deað; Cwæð ðæt seo fyrd <u>wicode wið ðære ea. eufraten.</u> 7 seofon <u>weardsetl wacedon ofer þam casere;</u> ða <u>com þær stæppende sum uncuð cempa</u> 7 hine hetelice <u>þurhþyde.</u> 7 þærrihte of heora gesihþum fordwan. 7 iulianus</p> <p>þa mid anþræcum hream <i>forsweolt;</i></p> <p>Swa wearð seo burhwaru ahred: þurh Sancta marian wið ðone godes wipersacan;</p> <p>ða bead <i>se biscop þam ceastergewarum</i> <u>heora sceattas.</u> <u>ac hi cwædon</u> þæt hi uþon þæra <u>laca þam undealdlican cyninge</u> [<i>scil.</i> God] þe hi swa mihtiglice generede. <i>miccle bet þonne ðam deadlican cwellere;</i></p>	<p>and <u>he swor þæt</u> hi wæron gewislice þær <u>on æfen.</u></p> <p>Þa oncneow se bisceop cuðlice his gesihðe, and <i>eode</i> eft to ðam munte mid micelre blysse.</p> <p><u>Kydde þam folce</u> þæt se <i>casere</i> wæs ofslegen on þære ylcan nihte swa swa him æteowod wæs.</p> <p><u>He eode eft ongean to ðam arwurðan sancte:</u></p> <p>wolde gewitan gif his wæpnu comon. Ða <u>stod his franca</u> þær fule <u>begleddod mid Iulianes blode</u> binnan þam gesceote.</p> <p>Efne þæs ymbe seofan niht, <u>com</u> to þære ylcan ceastre <u>an þæs caseres þegna,</u> and <u>cydde</u> þære burhware þis:</p> <p>‘Iulianus <u>wicode wið</u> þa ea Eufraten, and him <u>oferwacedon seofonfealde weardas.</u></p> <p><u>Þa com sum cempa uncuð</u> us eallum swiþe gewæpnod <u>and hine</u> sona <u>þurhþyde.</u></p> <p>mid egeslicum onræse and ne æteowde siððan.</p> <p>Þa hrymde Iulianus mid hospe, and earmlice <i>gewat</i> on ure gewitnysse.’</p> <p>Ðus cydde se cempa, and gecneowode to þam bisceope fulluhtes biddende, and se bisceop him þæs getiðode.</p> <p>Þa bead <i>Basilus ðære burhware</i> <u>heora feoh,</u> <u>ac hi ealle cwædon</u> mid anre stemne: ‘Gif we <i>þam deadlicum</i> þas cyste geuðan, þæt he ne towurpe ure wynsuman burh,</p> <p><i>miccle swiðor</i> we sceolan <i>þam</i></p>
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<p><u>Se biscop þeah nydde þæt folc þæt hi þone ðriddan dæl þæs feos underfengon. 7 he mid þam twam dælum þæt mynster gegodode;</u></p> <p>Gif hwa smeagie hu þis gewurde. þonne secge we þæt þes martyr his lif adreah on læwedum hade. þa wearþ he þurh hæþenra manna ehtnyse for cristes geleafan gemartyrod. 7 cristene men syððan his halgan lichaman binnon þam temple wurðfullice gelogedon. 7 his wæpna samod; Eft ða ða seo halige cwen hine asende swa swa we nu hwene ær sædon. þa ferde his gast swyftlice. 7 mid lichamlicum wæpne þone godes feond ofstang his weardsetlum onlociendum;</p>	<p><i>soðfæstan Gode</i> þas <u>lac</u> geoffrian þe us alyside fram deaðe. Þu hæfst þæt feoh mid þe, gefada ymbe loca hu þu wille. <u>Ða nydde se bisceop þæt hi namon þone þriddan dæl,</u> <u>and þa twegen dælas</u> he dyde to þære cyrcan, and to <u>þæs mynstres</u> neode mid menigfealdum cræftum. Twa gear rixode þes ræða Iulianus and nolde gehealdan his preosthad on riht, ac truwode on þone hæðenscype þe hine to helle gebrohte.</p>
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The marked stylistic differences between the Homily and LB also rest on the fact that the Homily is generally more faithful to the Latin source, following its syntactical constructions and translating it, at points, almost word for word. LB, on the other hand, although still relatively faithful to the *Vita Basilii*, introduces several variations, mostly motivated by Ælfric's growing tendency to render the Latin sources more concisely and by his use of rhythm and alliteration to embellish the sentence.⁵⁷ It is extraordinarily unusual to

⁵⁷ Ælfric's preference for a short and compact style is also seen in his Latin writings, for he stands in contrast with contemporary hermeneutic trends. See M. Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67–111, and M. Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints*, TMLT 1 (Toronto, 1972), 2–3. Christopher Jones' appreciation of Ælfric's Latinity has cast important light on the stylistic differences between the Old English and Latin works: 'Meatim sed et Rustica: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (1998), 1–57,

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be able to observe the development of Ælfric's translation techniques with the advantage of a common source: this analysis has shown that Ælfric consciously adjusted his early prose in order to obtain the level of sophistication of his rhythmical style.

A comparison between the *Vita Basilii* and LB is now necessary in order to determine the extent of Ælfric's textual adjustments when translating his putative source.

especially 21–8.

THE *VITA BASILII* AND ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF SAINT BASIL*BHL 1023 as Ælfric's source*

The complete text of the *Vita Basilii* has never been printed before the present edition, but can be found in Surius' collection of saints' lives in a heavily modified form.¹ The similarity between *BHL* 1023 (as printed in Surius) and LB was first noted by Heinrich Ott, who identified many of Ælfric's sources without the aid of the *BHL*.² The structure and internal organisation of Surius' text are identical to those of Ælfric's work, but, as Ott observed, its phrasing suggested that Ælfric had used a different manuscript tradition.³ In addition to Surius' adaptation, Ott also identified two further printed versions of the *Vita*: one in the pre-Rosweydean *Vitae Patrum* (by Georg Maior), and one by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, which can now be ascribed to a completely different strand (*BHL* 1022).⁴ These three versions were translated from the Greek Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of Saint Basil, but, according to Patrick Zettel, none of them is a plausible source for Ælfric's Old English translation.⁵

As shown above (chapter 1), there is another translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, now identifiable as *BHL* 1024 (by Ursus), not mentioned by Zettel. Furthermore, since the translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius awaits re-editing, it seems necessary to compare LB and the three surviving (complete) translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, before accepting the identification of *BHL* 1023 as Ælfric's source. Lexical and syntactical

¹ Surius, ed., *De probatis Sanctorum*, pp. 4–19.

² Ott, 'Über die Quellen', pp. 10–14.

³ Surius heavily reworked the Latin of the *Vita Basilii*, on the grounds that it was barbaric and 'unclassical' (below, pp. 143–8).

⁴ See G. Maior, ed., *Vitae patrum in usum ministrorum verbi quoad eius fieri potuit repurgatae* (Wittenberg, 1544), ff. 206v–22v, and see below, p. 143; note that Ott does not mention Witzel's edition, for which see below, p. 142. Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation (*BHL* 1022) if found in PL cols. 293–320; see above, pp. 23–4; this version is in need of a new edition.

⁵ Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographical Sources', pp. 198–201. See too Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography', p. 468; Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 123; and Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents', p. 135.

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parallels rather than structural ones will better illustrate the case.⁶ Because all three Latin translations are relatively faithful to the Greek text, and because of Ælfric's originality as a translator, it is often difficult to find a definite indication of his dependence on *BHL* 1023, and not, say, on *BHL* 1022.

One example will justify this caution. When Ephrem the Syrian goes to meet Basil, he asks a favour of him: 'ic wat þæt þu bist tiða swa hwæs swa þu bytst æt Gode. Bide nu. æt Gode þæt ic Grecisc cunne' (lines 512–13).⁷ This is a very close translation of *Vita Basilii*: '[s]cio pater sancte, quia quantacumque postulaueris a Deo tribuet tibi et uolo ut depreceris Deum quatenus loquar graece' (c. 13, lines 46–8).⁸ Ælfric's rendering here mirrors the Latin with the introductory verb *scio* / *ic wat*, and the indirect interrogative 'quantacumque postulaueris a Deo' translated as 'swa hwæs swa þu bytst æt Gode'. Furthermore, the result clause *quatenus* / *þæt* seems to confirm the dependence of Ælfric's translation on this version of the *Vita*. However, this passage is strikingly similar to both Anastasius Bibliothecarius' and Ursus' texts:⁹

Anastasius (*BHL* 1022)

Scio Pater sancte quia, quaecumque petis a Deo, concedet tibi, uolo ut depreceris Deum ut loquar Grece. (PL 73 col. 310)¹⁰

Ursus (*BHL* 1024)

Scio pater sanctissime quia omnia quaecumque poposceris a domino dabit tibi. uolo ergo ut depreceris deum ut faciet me loqui attice. (*Flor. Cas.* 3, 215)¹¹

There is very little grammatical and syntactical variation between the three renderings of this excerpt: in all cases there is an indirect interrogative

⁶ Since the textual tradition of *BHL* 1022 awaits further investigation, it is not possible to establish which passages were included in the PL edition and which ones were part of Anastasius' translation.

⁷ 'I know that you are a receiver of whatever you ask of God. Pray God now that I may know Greek.'

⁸ 'I know, O holy father, that however many things you ask of God, he will grant them to you, and I want you to pray God that I may speak Greek.'

⁹ I follow the editorial practices of PL 73 and *Flor. Cas.*; see above, pp. 23–5.

¹⁰ 'I know, O holy father, that whatever you ask of God, he will allow it to you. I want you to pray God that I may speak Greek.'

¹¹ 'I know, O very holy father, that all those things that you may ask of the Lord, he will give them to you. I want, therefore, you to pray God that he may make me speak in the Attic manner.'

dependent on *scio* and a result clause dependent on *depreceris*. In instances like this, therefore, the precise relationship between Ælfric's text and the three Latin translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life of Basil becomes less clear-cut.

There can be no doubt, however, that in a number of lexical and syntactical instances Ælfric's translation and *BHL* 1023 agree against the other two. The following examples will show the dependence of the Old English on the 1023 tradition. For instance, the Old English translation states that Julian the Apostate had been raised as a Christian, a piece of information that can only be found in *BHL* 1023: 'Iulianus etiam a paruo christianus' (c. 1, line 15), translated as 'se wælhreowa Iulianus Cristen fram cildhade', lines 16–17.¹² In contrast, *BHL* 1022 omits that Julian was a Christian since childhood: 'Iulianus qui ad breve tempus Christianus fuit', emphasising rather that he is no longer one.¹³ *BHL* 1024 omits the information altogether. Another verbal and syntactical parallel between Ælfric's and Euphemius' translation is found in the passage describing Basil's baptism, where the phrase 'ecce fulgor ignis uenit super eos' (c. 2, lines 11–12) is turned into '[e]fne þa færlice com fyr of heofonum' (line 71), with the same personification of the fire (*uenit / com*).¹⁴ In the other two Latin translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, the fire of the Holy Spirit is said to have appeared to the crowd gathered by the River Jordan: 'ecce fulgor ignis praeulsit eis', and 'et ecce fulgur instar ignis emicuit in illis'.¹⁵ Further, the text of *BHL* 1023 coincides with LB against the other two Latin translations in the episode of the youth who turned to the devil to gain a girl's love (c. 11). The devil, in dictating the conditions of his pledge, says to the youth: '[p]erfidi estis uos christiani' (c. 11, lines 34), which is rendered literally in Old English with a partial morphological calque for *perfidit*: '[g]e synd swiðe ungetreowe' (line 374),¹⁶ whilst *tergiversatores* ('traitors') is the word used by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (PL 73, col. 302), and *deceptores* ('cheaters'), by Ursus (*Flor. Cas.* 3, 212). One final example comes from c. 15, at the point when the repentant woman, coming back from the desert after meeting with Ephrem the Syrian, encounters Basil's funeral

¹² Respectively, 'and also Julian, a Christian from when he was a little boy', and '[t]he bloodthirsty Julian, a Christian from childhood'.

¹³ 'Julian who was a Christian for a little while', PL 73 col. 296.

¹⁴ Respectively, 'and thereupon the brightness of fire came upon them', and 'indeed the fire came suddenly from the heavens'.

¹⁵ Respectively, 'thereupon the brightness of fire shone in front of them' (PL 73, col. 299), and 'thereupon a brightness like that of a fire shone forth on them' (*Flor. Cas.* 3, 207). Note that Anastasius Bibliothecarius plays with the etymology of *fulgor* and *praeulsit*.

¹⁶ Respectively, 'you Christians are untrustworthy', and 'you are very untrustworthy'.

train. Ælfric's translation shows exact verbal correspondence with the text of *BHL* 1023, where the woman is said to 'causabatur cum sancto' (c. 15, lines 62–3).¹⁷ Here the Old English introduces a native word for *causabatur*, which renders the Latin very effectively: 'flitende wið þone halgan' (line 651).¹⁸ The other translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life have a periphrasis: *BHL* 1022 reads 'coepit clamare adversus sanctum Dei' and *BHL* 1024: 'et hoc videns caepit clamare'.¹⁹

Thus despite the existence of a third *Vita Basilii* unknown to Zettel (*BHL* 1024), his identification of Ælfric's source as *BHL* 1023 is still valid, just as his caveat that its current complete edition by Surius does not do justice to the text as it appears in the manuscripts. Ælfric's translation of the Life of Basil, as it survives today, is about half the length of the Latin text to which it remains closely related for contents, form and lexical parallels. Even though it is not possible to determine with certainty what manuscript Ælfric used for his translation, an analysis of the Continental manuscript witnesses discussed above shows a consistent textual tradition. There is no doubt, therefore, that Ælfric's translation was modelled on this version of the *Vita Basilii*.

When translating from Latin Ælfric usually paraphrased the original text, by eliminating repetition and redundant words, and generally by rendering the Old English more concisely. The text of LB is particularly promising for an analysis of Ælfric's approach to Latin sources for two important reasons. Firstly, it is clear that Ælfric only used the one Latin original, in contrast with the multiplicity of sources characteristic of, say, the Life of Martin, or that of Swithun. Since LB can be said to be entirely dependent on one source only, Ælfric demonstrated here, once again, his ability to remain faithful to the Latin, while experimenting with style and structure. Indeed, Ælfric's straightforward translation of the capricious Latin style of the *Vita Basilii* aptly exemplifies his confidence as translator. Secondly, Ælfric's major interventions in the source involve some very significant structural rearrangements of the Latin, which enhance the logical sequence of miracles performed by the saint.²⁰ Many of Ælfric's abridgements of the Latin text are intended to conserve space, but the elimination of certain passages also reveals his censure of potentially unorthodox material. In his well-known Latin preface to the *Lives*, Ælfric concealed this practice behind his quest for

¹⁷ 'She argued with the saint.'

¹⁸ 'Reproaching with the saint.'

¹⁹ Respectively, 'she began to complain against God's saint' (PL 73, col. 309), and 'and seeing this she began to complain' (*Flor. Cas.* 3, 218).

²⁰ See below, pp. 85–9, and 206–11.

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breuitas.²¹ In addition to his tendency towards concise speech, clearly Ælfric intended to eliminate from his translation those passages which he thought unfit for his lay dedicatees, and for those who were unable to read from the 'Latin books in which it stood written long ago'.²²

For convenience the comparison below will highlight the similarities and differences between the *Vita Basilii* and Ælfric's work. It is important to reiterate at this point the relative compactness of the *BHL* 1023 textual tradition, in which lexical variants are rare and which consistently features the same miracles in the same order.²³ However, given the obvious peril generated by the use of a text which was never in Ælfric's hands, I have avoided a close reading of syntactical and lexical parallels, but have primarily focussed on the structure of the *Vita* and LB.

Textual parallels

In LB Ælfric never followed the structure of the Latin slavishly; on the contrary, he often removed or rearranged words in such a way that the text became a more coherent unit, better suited to his own style, with the alliterative requirements imposing some restrictions on lexical and syntactical choices. A comparative approach reveals Ælfric's tendency to light textual intervention, with added rhetorical embellishment, or a subtle change in meaning. While Ælfric's translations often appear literal, they also present numerous original details upon closer inspection. Indeed, on the whole, direct parallels with the *Vita Basilii* are comparatively rare in LB.

²¹ 'Nec potuimus in ista translatione semper uerbum ex uerbo transferre, sed tamen sensu ex sensu, sicut inuenimus in sancta scriptura, diligenter curauimus uertere simplici et aperta locutione quatinus proficiat audientibus. Hoc sciendum etiam quod prolixiores passiones breuiamus uerbis, non adeo sensu, ne fastidiosis ingeratur tedium si tanta prolixitate erit in propria lingua quanta est in latina; et non semper breuitas sermonem deturpat, sed multotiens honestiorem reddit', *LS* Preface, lines 22–9.

²² '[F]orþan ðe hit stod gefyrn awriten / on ledenbocum þeah þe þa læwedan men þæt nyston', lines 47–8. It is debatable whether the laymen to whom the *Lives* were dedicated, Æthelweard and Æthelmær, could read Latin; see C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24 (Cambridge, 1998), 6–16 and 48–9.

²³ All manuscripts consulted are consistent: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, series noua 4635 (from Freising); Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 528 (St-Denis); BAV, Pal. lat. 582 (Mainz); Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 566 (St Gall); N and S (edited in Appendix I; see below, pp. 140–2 for their origin); London, Lambeth Palace 94; and Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 22 (both of unknown origin).

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A passage which shows very close parallels with the BHL 1023 version of the *Vita Basilii* comes from c. 6, about a poor woman who seeks Basil's intercession with a powerful aristocrat and money-lender. Basil writes to the nobleman, hoping to appeal to his leniency, but receives a curt, yet rhetorically elaborate response, to which he replies, still in writing, with the ominous prediction that the aristocrat could one day be in need of mercy himself. The beginning of this chapter in the Latin displays a string of words alliterating on *p* (*providentiam, postulans, potentem, principem*), which Ælfric probably noticed, and which he turned into paronomasia alliterating on *þ* (*þingunge, gebungenum*, line 170).²⁴

DE SCRIPTVRA QVAM MVLIERCVLAE FECIT. Et exeunti sancto accessit ad eum muliercula providentiam sibi postulans fieri tamquam potentem alius regionis principem. Qui accipiens cartam, scripsit principi. (c. 6, lines 1–4)²⁵

He eode æfter mæssan ut of þam temple,
and efne þa sona hine gesohte an wif
170 biddende his þingunge to anum gebungenum ealdormen.
Basilius þa awrat þam earman wife an gewrit
to þæm ealdormenn on þisum andgite.²⁶

The beginning line of the *Vita Basilii* cited above exhibits a chiasmic alliterating pattern *pr / p*, a rhetorical device which is rare in this text. Ælfric's rendition of this passage is on the whole faithful to the Latin, but it also displays his characteristic use of paronomasia, alliterating on *þ* (*þingunge* and *gebungenum*, line 170), further echoed by *geþingian* a few lines down (line 174).²⁷ Ælfric's phrase *of þam temple* (line 168, not in the *Vita Basilii*), functions as a connector to the previous section, in which he had related a miracle performed by Basil inside the church.²⁸ The verb

²⁴ The rhetorical embellishments of this passage are further analysed below, pp. 107–10.

²⁵ 'On the writing which he compiled for a woman. And when the saint went out, there came to him a poor woman asking him that a powerful aristocrat of another region might show mercy to her. He, taking a letter, wrote to the prince.'

²⁶ 'After Mass he went out of the church, and indeed immediately a woman sought him, begging for his intercession with a prosperous nobleman. Basil then wrote a letter on behalf of the poor woman to the nobleman with these contents.'

²⁷ A similar rhetorical embellishment exploiting the effects of *geþungen* and its paronomasia also appears in the episode of Julian the Apostate's encounter with Basil, line 210: 'Ic hæbbe þe oferþogen. on gebungenre lare' (see below, pp. 116–18).

²⁸ The episode of the Jew who intended to learn about the Christian mysteries and participated in the Eucharist (c. 5); see also below, p. 201.

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gesohte (line 169) rendering Latin *accessit*, is echoed in the saint's note to the aristocrat (line 173). Line 169 translates the Latin almost verbatim, retaining the inversion verb subject (*accessit muliercula* and *gesohte an wif*).

Basil's note of intercession to the aristocrat is short and poignant. When the saint is denied his request, he replies with an ominous prediction:

Sanctus uero rescripsit ei: 'Siquidem uolens non potuisti, bene utcumque se habet. Si autem potens, non uoluisti, ducet te Christus ad indigentium chorum, ut quando uoueris non possis.' Et factae sunt ei res. (c. 6, lines 8–11)²⁹

Pa asende se bisceop to þam foresædan ealdormenn
eft oðer gewrit, mid þysum andgite:
'Gif þu woldest miltsian, and swaþeah ne mihtest,
þær is sum beladung on þære segene.
185 Gif þu þonne mihtest miltsian, and noldest,
gebringe þe se Hælend to hire hafenleaste,
þæt þu ne mæge miltsian þeah þu wille.'
Pa æfter sumum fyrste him wearð swiðe gram.³⁰

The most obvious traits of Ælfric's translation of this section are the faithful rendering of the Latin anaphora *si ... si*, and the almost intact translation of the chiasmic wordplay between *uolo* and *possum* of the Latin, even though the use of the present participle is carefully avoided. Thus *uolens* is translated as *woldest*, *non potuisti* as *ne mihtest*, *potens* as *mihtest*, and finally *non uoluisti* as *noldest*. This pattern is followed up in the Latin with a chiasmus between the same verbs ('ut quando uoueris non possis'). Ælfric, however, while maintaining an apparently literal rendering, clarified the sense of the Latin by eliminating the sequence of chiasmus. The result is that Basil's entire note is turned into an envelope-pattern, which begins and ends with two different forms of the modal verb *willan* (lines 183 and 187).³¹

²⁹ 'Then the saint wrote back to him: "If indeed, you had been unable [to help], though wishing for it, be that as it may. If however, being able to, you did not wish for it, may Christ lead you to the crowd of the needy, so that when you wish to, you may not." And those things happened to him.' For the odd Latinity of this last sentence, see above, p. 11.

³⁰ Then the bishop sent back to the aforesaid nobleman another letter with these contents: "If you wish to pardon, and nevertheless you cannot, an apology is in your words. If you can pardon but do not wish to do so, may the Saviour bring you to her poverty, that you may not be pardoned though you may wish it." Then after some time [the haughty emperor] became very hostile to him.'

³¹ I refer here to the envelope-pattern as defined in A. C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon-Poetry* (New York, NY, 1966).

Chiasmus between the very first and the very last verb of the note (*woldest* and *wille*) is more effective than the near-predictability of the Latin construction. Such effect is achieved simply by extrapolating the Latin temporal clause (*quando uolueris*, bracketed within the consecutive *ut*-clause), and turning it into a concessive clause (introduced by *peah*). The infinitive *miltsian*, added by Ælfric, serves the double purpose of complementing the modal verb *magan* and emphasising the alliterative pattern in *m*. Thus Ælfric translated all three alternate key-lines of Basil's note in such a way that they alliterate on *m*, between *miltsian* and forms of *magan* (lines 183, 185 and 187). The rhyming effects of the Latin are retained: *potuisti* and *uoluisti* are turned to *woldest* (line 183) and *noldest* (line 185), with the word *hafenleaste* adding a further echo (line 186). Therefore, even where Ælfric translated the Latin very literally, he still modified it enough to improve overall textual coherence.

Another interesting example is provided by the passage on the recovery of the church at Nicea.³² Basil finds out that the Emperor Valens had given a church to the Arians, taking it away from the orthodox Christian community. The saint goes to the emperor in Constantinople and obtains permission to award the church to those who would manage to shut the others out of it. Basil then goes to Nicea, proposing to the Arians a contest of prayer. The church will be locked, and the Arians will pray in front of it for three days and nights: if the church is opened, then it will belong to them. If its doors are not unlocked, then the orthodox Christians will pray in front of it, for just one day. If its doors are unlocked, then it will be theirs, but if not, it will remain with the Arians forever. Satisfied with Basil's conditions, the Arians begin to pray in front of the locked church, but, despite their singing and praying, the church doors remain shut. When the orthodox Christians start praying and singing their hymns, a forceful gale bursts the bolts open and thus they are able to enter the church triumphantly, praising the Lord. Ælfric's translation of the first part of this episode, where Basil meets Valens, is highly condensed. However, the conditions dictated by the saint in bargaining with the Arians mirror the Latin closely:

Dicit ergo sanctus: 'Venite uos et orthodoxi et claudentes ecclesiam utrique signate eam, et primum uos orate tribus diebus et tribus noctibus et post haec ite ad ecclesiam, et si per orationem uestram aperitur uobis ecclesia, habete eam in saecula. Sin autem uigiliam agemus unius noctis et psallentes cum letania ibimus ad ecclesiam et si aperta nobis fuerit

³² This section is moved forward by Ælfric, so that it becomes LB 10 (c. 14 in the Latin). See below, pp. 84–5 and 87–8 (Table 2).

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habeamus eam in aeternum. Si uero non fuerit nobis aperta sic, iterum uestra sit, et apprehendite eam.' (c. 14, lines 32–9)³³

Ða cwæþ Basilius: 'Uton belucan þas cyrcan
and þæt loc geinseglan, and ge ealle siðþan
waciað þreo niht wunigende on gebedum,
330 and, gif seo cyrce bið geopenod þurh eowre gebena,
habbað hi eow æfre siððan and ne sæcgað us nenne þanc.
Gif þonne se ælmihtiga God nelle hi eow geopenian,
þonne wacie we ane niht þone ælmihtigan biddende
þæt he us geopenige þa geinseglodan cyrcan,
335 and gif heo bið swa geopenod, heo bið siðþan ure,
and, gif heo þonne ne biþ, ne bidde we hire næfre.'³⁴

As in the passage cited above, Ælfric must have noticed the anaphora *si ... si* of the Latin text and its echoes between *si / sic / sit*, but again the embellishments he introduced seem to improve on the style and clarity of the Latin. The anaphora is expanded, and paronomasia is introduced in Basil's emphatic final words (*biþ* and *bidde*, line 336). The second person plural imperatives in *Vita Basilii* (*uenite* and *signate*) are incorporated in the exhortative *uton* (line 327), so that in LB Basil includes himself among those who should lock the church and watch in prayer. Line 329 is particularly interesting, because, even though Ælfric generally avoided translating present participles literally (see, for example, *claudentes* turned into the finite form, *uton belucan*), in this instance he added one (*wunigende*), apparently in order to introduce *w*-alliteration. In so doing he positioned three semantically related words positioned as an epiphora (*gededum*, *gebena*, *biddende*), and he also made recourse to one of his formulae (*wunigende on gebedum*). The passive aspect of the Latin verb *aperitur* is preserved in LB with the passive *bið geopenod* (line 330), but, unlike his

³³ 'Therefore the saint said: "Come, you and the orthodox, and, closing the church, both of you bless it. And you pray first, for three days and nights, and afterwards go to the church and if it is opened through your prayer, keep it forever. If not, indeed, we will keep watch for one night and singing psalms with a litany we will proceed towards the church, and were it to be opened to us, we may have it forever. If indeed it is not open to us this way, then it may be yours again, and you take it.'"

³⁴ 'Then Basil said: "Let us lock this church, and seal the lock, and afterwards you all keep watch, spending three nights in prayer. And if the church is opened through your prayers, you will have it ever after, and need not thank us. If however the Almighty God does not wish to open it for you, then we will lie awake for one night, praying to the Lord, that he may open the locked church for us, and if it opens this way for us, it will be ours afterwards, and if it is not opened, then we will never ask for it again.'"

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source, Ælfric switched to the active forms of the verb immediately afterwards. He also introduced God (not in the Latin) as the performer of this miracle (line 332), rather than an undefined supernatural cause. At this point Ælfric added a half line which does not translate the Latin ('and ne sæcgað us nenne þanc', line 331), but which implements both the interlinear alliterative pattern in *s* and the wordplay between *nenne* and *nelle*. Owing to Ælfric's slight modification of the Latin, Basil's speech appears overall more incisive and rhetorically more persuasive in LB than in the Latin. Small and apparently pleonastic additions contribute to this effect: for instance, the chiasmic position of the word *ælmihiga* functions as a cohesive element between lines 332–3. Towards the end of this section, the church doors burst open for the orthodox Christians:

et ceciderunt claves cum pessulis, et apertae sunt portae cum uento uehementi et cum impetu appulerunt portae parietibus. (c. 14, lines 60–2)³⁵

þa com færlíce micel wind, and wearp þa duru upp,
þæt ða scittelsas toburston and hie slohon on þone weall. (lines 346–7)³⁶

The Latin here displays a string of alliterating words and paronomasia with *per-*, *par-* and *por-* (*aperte*, *portae*, and *parietibus*). Ælfric's personification of the wind, however, renders this short passage more dramatic, by extrapolating it out of the prepositional phrase *cum uento uehementi* and turning it into the grammatical subject of the main verbs on that line (*com* and *wearp*).

Ælfric tried to maintain some of the stylistic embellishments introduced in the Latin, though he added figures of speech, such as envelope-patterns and chiasmus, improving on the internal cohesion of the text. While many lexical and syntactical similarities can be identified between *BHL* 1023 and Ælfric's work, the textual differences are by far more numerous. The Old English text is considerably shorter and more compact, and overall impression which is granted by Ælfric's structural rearrangements of the Latin.

³⁵ 'And the keys with the latches fell, the doors were opened by a strong wind, and hit against the walls with strength.'

³⁶ 'Then suddenly came a great wind, and tore away the door, so that the bolts burst and hit against the wall.'

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Textual differences

In contrast with the passages which are translated literally, the majority of LB is a paraphrase of the Latin text. Ælfric transformed the text of the *Vita Basilii* considerably, while maintaining its dominant features. Many of his interventions are subtle and unquantifiable, though a number of patterns emerge upon close analysis. Ælfric's interventions usually involve verbal and syntactical rearrangements: he avoided translating present participles literally;³⁷ long prepositional phrases in the Latin are turned into compounds or adverbs; and finite clauses replace non-finite ones. On a broader level, however, Ælfric's adjustments fall into three main categories: structural rearrangements, omissions and additions.

Structural rearrangements

The narrative structure of the Life is altered by Ælfric at certain key points, in order to create a more fluent and coherent text than the *Vita Basilii*, which appears to be a pastiche of disconnected episodes. Most of Ælfric's rearrangements are intended to clarify the sequence of events and especially to smooth some of the abrupt transitions in the Latin. The latter shows such discontinuity that some scholars hypothesise that the Greek original must have been written in different layers, from material that once circulated independently.³⁸ Ælfric presumably realised this irregularity and adjusted the narrative structure, introducing two important structural changes.³⁹

The first major rearrangement of LB's structure involves the shifting of c. 14, on the Arian abduction of the church at Nicea with the support of the Emperor Valens. In LB it follows section 10, on the death of the emperor's son. In his second major structural rearrangement Ælfric divided c. 15 in two parts, placing c. 16 in the middle. Ælfric's structural interventions can be summarised as follows: he abridged c. 8, omitted c. 9, shifted c. 14 immediately after c. 10, and split in half c. 15.⁴⁰ LB appears as a logically unified continuum, without the 'patchwork' effect characteristic of the *Vita Basilii*. In addition, by moving c. 14 after c. 10, he allowed the two previously separate passages on the Emperor Valens and those on Ephrem the Syrian to appear consecutively (respectively, 10, 14 and 13, 15). In addition, the rearrangement of the sections involving both emperors, Julian

³⁷ For the use of present and past participles in the Latin text, see above p. 12.

³⁸ See above, pp. 7–8, and below, pp. 87 note 45 and 215–16.

³⁹ The present discussion owes greatly to Gordon Whatley's generous sharing of his unpublished work with me ('Basil in Old English').

⁴⁰ See pp. 87–9 (Table 2).

and Valens, may reflect Ælfric's anxieties about contemporary politics and ill-advised kingship.⁴¹

Whereas the first major structural intervention is easily explained by looking at the logical sequence of events of the narrative, a more problematic instance is represented by Ælfric's second rearrangement, which divides c. 15 of the *Vita Basilii* into two parts. This rearrangement had the advantage of bringing together the two episodes concerning Saint Ephrem the Syrian, but required the introduction of a new narrative interruption. The story is that of the repentant woman, who, after writing all her sins down, brought the sealed envelope to Basil, seeking atonement. The saint, with his prayers and intercession, absolved her of all sins but not the most serious one, casting the woman into despair. Basil directed her to Ephrem the Syrian, a hermit of the desert (to whom Basil had already miraculously taught Greek, c. 13). It is at this point that Ælfric chose to interrupt the story with an unceremonious change of subject: Basil had fallen ill. The episode of Joseph the Jewish doctor and Basil's death is introduced here:

‘and he [Effrem] mid gebedum gegladiað God ælmihtigne.’
 Þæt wif gewende þa to ðam westene swiðe,
 and Basilius wearð gebroht on legere
 to his forðsiðe, forewittig swaþeah.
 15 [*Vita* c. 16]

565 An æpele læce wæs wunigende on þære byrig
 Iosep gehaten hæðen and Iudeisc.⁴²

Even though there is no interruption in the manuscript, line 563 (‘and Basilius wearð gebroht on legere’) constitutes an uncharacteristically abrupt transition. It should be noted, in addition, that Ælfric normally avoided asyndetic coordination when introducing a new subject or section, but here the break is not marked by the start of a new sentence (line 563).

⁴¹ See S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Aethelred ‘the Unready’, 978–1016: A Study in the Use of Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, 13 (Cambridge, 1980), 176–86. For Ælfric's views on the reign of Æthelred, see also M. Clayton, ‘Ælfric and Æthelred’, in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. J. Roberts and J. L. Nelson, King's College London Medieval Studies 17 (London, 2000), 65–88, especially at 68–9; see too below, pp. 209–11.

⁴² “[A]nd with his prayers he [Effrem] will appease God Almighty.” That woman went to the desert eagerly, and Basil was taken by an illness to his death, though he knew it already. [15 *Vita* c. 16] A noble physician called Joseph, lived in the city, a heathen and a Jew.’

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The manuscript in which all *Lives of Saints* have survived (BL, Cotton Julius E. vii) shows that, when starting a new section, adverbs (*þa*, *nu*, *efne*, *after*), proper names, pronouns and *hwæt* were consistently used, all capitalised.⁴³ In this case Basil's sickness and death are introduced in the manuscript with the tironian note 7 (at folio 24v). It is, in addition, most uncharacteristic of the scribe of Julius E. vii to start a sentence after a speech with a minuscule letter as he did here (in the manuscript *þæt*, line 562, is abbreviated and lower case). The problem of paragraph-transition can be partially, but not wholly, resolved by modern capitalisation of *þ* in the demonstrative, a minor change which finds support in the three-space blank left in the manuscript between *ælmihtigne* and the rhythmical point printed here as a full stop (line 561). Scribal hesitation, therefore, seems to confirm that something might have gone amiss, either erased, or perhaps left out at this point. Thus while it is clear that the division of LB 15 is authorial because it responds to organisational requirements, the evidence from the manuscript suggests that this was a troublesome point for the scribe. One cannot say whether he was copying from a flawed exemplar, but something (perhaps as little as a single rhythmical line) seems to have been lost in the chain of transmission of this text. Neither of the burnt fragments (BL, Cotton Otho B. x and Cotton Vitellius D. xvii) have survived at this point.

In contrast, the transition between the account of Basil's death and LB 16 (the second half of *Vita Basilii* c. 15) is considerably smoother:

630 and oðre fela bisceopas, and gebrohton þæt lic
mid gastlicum sangum into Godes cyrcan.
16 [*Vita* c. 15]
We willað nu ful sæcgan be ðam synfullan wife
þe Basilius sende mid þære anre synne to Effremme
þam abbude, þæt he ða ane adylegode.⁴⁴

The narrator's intervention is introduced with the pronoun *we*, written in majuscule letters, and the weak-linked pattern in *s* between lines 631–2. Ælfric must have orchestrated this textual rearrangement because he could not justify the logical progression between *Vita Basilii* cc. 15–16. The sinner returned from the desert to find Basil dead (c. 15), and immediately afterwards there follows a chapter in the Latin which portrays Basil as still alive (c. 16). Ælfric's editorial intervention avoids ambiguity and once again

⁴³ See below, pp. 127 and 200.

⁴⁴ '[A]nd many more bishops, and they brought the body with spiritual songs into God's church. [16 *Vita* c. 15] We now want to speak in full about the sinful woman whom Basil had sent with the one sin to Ephrem the abbot so that he may erase that one [sin].'

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adjusts the patchy appearance of the *Vita*.⁴⁵ A less likely, though fascinating hypothesis to explain Ælfric's rearrangement of the Latin at this point, is that he somehow knew that Ephrem's death (in 373) had occurred six years before Basil's, and he thought it might be confusing that the woman would speak to the hermit and then come back to find Basil recently dead all in the same chapter.⁴⁶

The comments above are summarised in Table 2:⁴⁷

Table 2: *The structure of Ælfric's Life of Basil and the Vita Basilii*

LIFE OF BASIL	<i>VITA BASILII</i>
no parallel	Prologus
1.1–57 (omission of Basil's translation of Homeric lines)	1. De tempore quo doctrinae uacauit et de conuersione magistri sui Euboli
2.58–83	2. Quomodo baptizatus est in Iordane
3.84–97	3. Quomodo diaconi gradum Antiochiaie suscepit et apud Caesaream diuina reuelationem innotuit
4.98–151 (insertion of the detail of the golden dove, lines 129–31, found in Latin c. 8; lines 141–51, addition on Basil's composition of the eastern liturgy and of the Rule)	4. Quomodo Basilius episcopus factus missam composuit et saluatorem nostrum cum apostolis uidit
5.152–67	5. De Hebraeo qui uidit infantem partiri in manibus Basilii tempore sancti sacrificii
6.168–203 (addition on Basil's chastity)	6. De scriptura quam mulierculae fecit

⁴⁵ *Vita Basilii* c. 16 is drawn from the *Vita Ephrem* and appears as the last miracle in the Pseudo-Amphilochian Greek life as well. This might suggest that the miracle was added at a later stage to an existing Greek tradition (see also the Commentary to lines 505–8 and 603–7).

⁴⁶ For knowledge of Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England see P. Sims-Williams, 'Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 205–26.

⁴⁷ This table is adapted from Whatley's unpublished comparison between the Latin and the Old English texts, 'Basil in Old English'.

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7.204–66	7. De mistica satis reuelatione
8.267–90 (omission of the deacon episode)	8. Quomodo sancti spiritus aduentum uidit et de quodam diacone et de Libanio sophista
no parallel	9. De quibusdam gentibus et de interpretatione Exaimeri
9.291–316	10. Quomodo ductus est Antiochiam et de filio Valentis
10.317–56	14. De Valente Deo odibili
11.357–460	11. De negante Christo scripto
12.461–91	12. De Anastasio presbytero
13.492–525	13. De beato patre nostro Effrem
14.526–64 (small addition on Basil foreknowing his death, lines 564–5)	15. [lines 1–48] De muliere cuius peccata per oratione deluit
15.565–631	16. De Ioseph Hebraeo
16.632–62	15. [lines 48–74]
17.663–69	no parallel

Omissions

Furthermore, Ælfric's rearrangements the *Vita's* structure provided a text which he must have seen as more suitable for an audience relatively unschooled in theological matters.⁴⁸ Many of the passages omitted from the translation contain disputable points of Christian dogma that Ælfric did not wish his audience to hear. For example, the long passage in c. 1, leading up to Eubolus' conversion, is entirely omitted, because it contains some sophisticated philosophical disputation between Basil and his teacher, in convoluted language. Ælfric simply mentioned the fact that Eubolus, inspired by his own pupil, converted to Christianity, and decided to become Basil's disciple. In LB 1 Ælfric also omitted an episode in which Basil fails to

⁴⁸ See Whatley, 'Basil in Old English': 'Ælfric restructures his sources not merely to create a smoother narrative, but also to emphasize the legend's dramatization of certain issues that were of immediate relevance to himself and his lay audience. At the same time, there were evidently plenty of things in the Pseudo-Amphilochian life that Ælfric thought it better to omit entirely, not wishing them to be known outside the cloister, or even inside it, except by those who knew Latin'.

convert a pagan scholar, Libanius the Sophist, to Christianity. Evidently, Ælfric was not prepared to admit that one so filled with sanctity and divine support as Basil would fail to conquer a pagan soul.⁴⁹

As Whatley points out, a brief, yet significant omission is represented by the section on the nature of Arianism and the homousian controversy (c. 10). When confronted with the specifics of the Arian controversy, Ælfric simply commented: ‘se [Valens] was on Criste gefullod. ac he ne cuþe his geleafan ac folgode gedwylde þurh gedwolmanna tihtinge’ (lines 294–5).⁵⁰ Thus Valens is turned into an enemy of the Church, rather than the harbinger of an ancient theological dispute. This characterisation draws him closer to Julian the Apostate, and is therefore less case-specific but resonates with the meaningful allegorisation of the bad ruler.⁵¹

Similar preoccupations with lay perception of the Church may have prompted the removal of a section on an unruly deacon (c. 8). During the service, Basil notices that the golden dove with the Eucharist, which he keeps above the altar, shows no signs of movement as it usually would at the time of elevation.⁵² Looking around, the saint sees that one of the *diaconi uentilantes* (‘deacons with fans’) is making eye-contact with a woman (c. 8, lines 5–7): ‘[e]t cogitante eo quod hoc esset uidit unum uentilantium diaconem innuentem mulieri inclinatae deorsum’.⁵³ Basil, following the counsel of the Holy Spirit, remains in prayer for seven days, isolates the young man, and prescribes fasting and prayer to the congregation. In addition, from then on all women have to attend the service from behind curtains. Ælfric’s omission of this section might indicate his eagerness to conceal any sign that members of the Church might have been corrupt. Furthermore, the omission enhances the narrative continuity between the death of Julian and Libanius’ account of it.⁵⁴

Immediately after Libanius’ account, the *Vita Basilii* introduces a very short section (c. 9) on a group of people who had fallen into pagan error and sought Basil’s guidance for understanding the true God, inspiring him to

⁴⁹ This episode is also omitted in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 528, but see below, p. 192.

⁵⁰ ‘Valens was baptised in Christ but he did not recognise his faith and followed heresy through the incitement of heretics.’ At the start of c. 10, the Latin reads: ‘[c]eterum quidam de derelictis gentilibus sed et ex arrianis accusauerunt eum ad Valentem imperatorem, quia omousii fidem glorificans abominabatur et respuebat arrianorum heresim’ (c. 10, lines 2–4). The excerpt is abridged by Ælfric without mention of the heresy.

⁵¹ See below, pp. 209–11.

⁵² ‘Hoc autem facto et sancta exaltante eo signum non fuit factum sicut erat solitum mouere uidelicet columbam que cum sacramento pendeat super altare dominico semper ad exaltationem sancti sacrificii ter moueri solens’ (c. 8, lines 2–5).

⁵³ ‘And wondering how this could happen, he saw one of the deacons with fans nodding to a woman while bending backwards.’ For possible echoes between this passage in the *Penitentials*, see pp. 29–31; for its language, see p. 149.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 63–4 and below, pp. 206–7.

compose the *Homiliae in Hexameron*. Ælfric omitted this short passage, perhaps because it does not feature an entertaining miracle and breaks the sequence of miracles on Basil's campaign against misgovernment. Ælfric knew, or at least knew of, Basil's *Homiliae in Hexameron* as he indicated in his prologue to his Old English *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, and drew upon their Latin translation in his *Exameron Anglice* without mentioning neither Basil nor Eustathius *italicus* directly.⁵⁵ The omission can therefore be explained on two levels. On the one hand are the structural adjustments which bring together a sequence of episodes related to misguided rule. On the other hand is Ælfric's habitual caution when discussing theologically sophisticated material (such as books on the interpretation of Genesis), which he thought inappropriate for his audience of the *Lives* to hear.

The dramatic abridgement of *Vita Basilii* c. 7 can be explained in similar terms. During Mary's apparition, Basil is given a book with two inscriptions, *dic* and *parce*:

Et aduocans quae erat in muliebri habitu magnum Basilium dedit ei librum habentem in historia omnem mundi facturam, dextrorsum uero hominem plasmatum a Deo. In principio autem libri superscriptio erat: 'Dic.' In fine autem eius ubi plasmatur homo: 'Parce.' (c. 7, lines 38–42)⁵⁶

This brief interlude of divinely inspired knowledge is one of the most cryptic passages in the Latin text. The *Vita Basilii* translates the Pseudo-Amphilochian Greek life very closely at this point, and the latter provides no help in clarifying what exactly was meant by the inscribed *liber*. If the book mentioned in the *Vita* was Basil's *Homiliae in Hexameron* (understood as the history of Creation), then this passage carried for Ælfric a twofold conundrum. Firstly, he might have seen in this episode a dangerous cue for his audience to investigate further. Secondly, the *Vita Basilii* makes it clear that the book was given to Basil by the Virgin Mary, and that he did not in fact write it himself. Ælfric must have recognised the incongruity with c. 9 (where Basil is said to have written the *Homiliae* inspired by his community), and thus decided to omit the cryptic passage altogether.

The omissions and structural rearrangements of the Old English translation create a tightly-knit text which reads more smoothly than the Latin *Vita*, while also bringing closer together thematically-related episodes (for example on bad government).

⁵⁵ Above, pp. 48–50.

⁵⁶ 'And the one in the feminine garment, calling Basil the Great, gave him a book containing all the creation of the world in a history, until the creation of man by God. At the beginning of the book there was an inscription: "Tell" (and) at its end, where man is created: "Stop."'

Additions

In contrast, Ælfric's additions to the original text are remarkably fewer including, for the most part, individual lexical items added either to enhance the alliteration or to explain obscure passages. The longest addition is an eleven-line passage on the nature of Basil's monastic rule and on how it compares to that of Benedict, a figure more familiar to the dedicatees of the work. Ælfric's intervention no doubt derives from the fact that he intended to demonstrate the pertinence of his work within a Benedictine context: translating the life of such a distant eastern saint was not simply an academic exercise, but had immediate relevance for the western world. This is why Ælfric provided a short preamble on the achievements which, in his eyes, made of Basil Benedict's predecessor:

- Witodlice Basilius, gebyld þurh his Drihten,
 be endebyrdnysse awrat ealle ða þenunga
 þære halgan mæssan swa swa hit healdað Grecas.
 145 He awrat eac munucregol mid micelre gehealdsumnysse,
 þone þe ða easternan and eac swylce Grecas
 anmodlice healdað, þeah þe he hefigra sy
 þonne se ðe Benedictus siþþan us gebysnode
 swylce to anginne agenre gecyrrednysse.
 150 Ac he tihte us on æftewardan þæs ylcan regoles
 to geðungenra lareowa lifes drohtnungum,
 and tymde to þam regole þe Basilius gesette.⁵⁷

This addition occurs at the end of c. 4 which was on the blessing of the Eucharist, and which may be read allegorically as Basil's official ordination. Indeed, after the Lord has shown himself to Basil, the saint is ready to celebrate Mass.⁵⁸ In the *Vita Basilii*, one of Basil's miracles follows immediately afterwards (of the Jew who participates in the Christian mysteries and is converted, c. 5). This episode starts off the sequence of miracles attributed to Basil and so occupies a strategic position in the narrative structure of LB. Positioning the intervention between Basil's ordination and his life at the service of his community suggests an important

⁵⁷ 'Certainly Basil, inspired by his Lord, wrote all the service of the Holy Mass in order, as it is held by the Greeks. He also wrote a monastic rule with great emphasis on abstinence, which the easterners and also the Greeks all follow resolutely, though it may be sterner than the one that Benedict set for us as an example, as it were at the beginning of his conversion. And at the end of that very rule he exhorted us to the habits of life of the illustrious teachers and vouched for that rule which Basil had established.'

⁵⁸ This section of LB is transformed into a very tightly-knit structure with a remarkably complex alliterative pattern and is bracketed within an envelope-pattern. Such stylistic devices are amply used by Ælfric to highlight the importance of key passages; see below, pp. 97–114.

link between Basil's activity as an author and his pastoral work. The intervention appears after Basil officially enters the Christian world following his baptism in the River Jordan, after he is ordained a bishop, and after the first appearance of the Lord to him, but before the eleven main miracles which manifest Basil's pastoral work.⁵⁹ After a short ascetic prelude, Basil is transformed into Ælfric's Gregorian ideal, learned and intellectually productive, yet dedicated to the safety and growth of his flock. From the point of view of structure, therefore, the passage connects two separate phases in Basil's life, but it also provides a justification as to why this text should be translated and read with particular devotion.

A further addition concerns Basil's moral conduct, which Ælfric cited as exemplary in his other writings. Again, as above, this intervention occupies a strategic position in the text. It appears after the episode of the poor woman asking for Basil's help against a powerful aristocrat (c. 6). In LB Ælfric mentioned the saint's impeccable conduct twice. The first instance occurs at the very beginning, in a rhetorically ornate passage, where Basil is described as *gehealdsum* (line 2). The second one occurs in an addition at the end of c. 6.⁶⁰ In Ælfric's short intervention, Basil himself declared his moral rectitude:

200 Þes ylca bisceop, þe we ymbe sprecað,
 sæde he him sylfum on sumne timan
 þæt he næfre on his life ne come neah wife
 þurh hæmedþing ac heold his clænnysse.⁶¹

Even though the Latin text comments repeatedly on Basil's chastity, the closest equivalent to Ælfric's addition is found in c. 1 of the *Vita Basilii*, when Basil, upon instructing Libanius' pupils on the righteous way of life, incites them to a chaste life: 'iuuenes docebat ... uerecundia ornari, cum

⁵⁹ Basil's eleven miracles (as they appear in Ælfric) are: the conversion of the Jew who wanted to participate in the Christian mysteries; the relieving of the poor woman from debt; Julian's death; Libanius' conversion; the death of Valens' son; the opening of the church for the Christians; the conversion of the youth who denied Christ; Anastasius the deacon and the healing of the leper; Ephrem's learning of Greek; the atonement of the very sinful woman (in two parts); the conversion of Joseph the Jew.

⁶⁰ According to Whatley ('Basil in Old English'), Ælfric's observations on Basil's chastity at this point are aimed at fending off any potentially harmful criticism for having had such close dealings with a woman: '[c]hapter 6 is the first of three episodes in the Pseudo-Amphilochian life in which Basil has intimate dealings with a female suppliant, and Ælfric's somewhat abrupt intervention here seems intended to forestall any suspicions his readers might entertain over this or the later episodes'.

⁶¹ 'The same bishop of whom we speak said himself at some point that he had never come near a woman in his life with sexual intercourse, but he kept his chastity.'

mulieribus inreuerentibus non disputare' (c. 1, lines 122–9).⁶² However, Ælfric's closest source for this intervention is found in Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate*, whose lines Ælfric echoes both stylistically and in terms of content. As in Ælfric Basil's speech on his own chastity is reported with indirect speech: '[e]t feminam non cognosco et uirgo non sum'.⁶³

Other expansions and additions are shorter and mostly involve explanatory remarks on material that Ælfric considered obscure for his audience, or that he might have seen as questionable if left unexplained. Thus, for instance, he adds:

forþan þe on þam timan ne teah nan æðelborennysse
 nænne man to wurðscype, butan he wisdom
 ær ðam lange leornode æt gelæredum uðwitum. (lines 6–8)⁶⁴

Such schooling must have sounded somewhat out of the ordinary to those trained in the Psalms from a very young age, who would only later on in the school curriculum proceed to selected classical learning. The explanation that in ancient days everyone had to undergo pagan training in order to achieve social status is reminiscent of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* and has echoes in the Life of Benedict, the Life of Eugenia, and in that of Chrysanthus and Daria.⁶⁵

Ælfric's adaptations of the text contribute to the unity of form and structure of his translation. Such changes can often be explained on stylistic grounds, given the prolixity and length of the *Vita Basilii*. The near word-for-word rendition of certain passages suggests that Ælfric read the text very carefully before making important editorial decisions. Indeed, there is no doubt that he had read both the prologue and cc. 7 and 8 by 992 at the latest, for he rendered these passages in his First Homily for the Assumption of Mary (see above, chapter 3). Furthermore, Ælfric, recognising the discontinuity of the Latin text, rearranged the structure of its translation in order to create a fluent sequence of miracles, grouping thematically-related episodes enhancing the pedagogical force of the hagiography. Ælfric's omissions were intended to simplify the prolix nature of the Latin text, but often also eliminated potentially unedifying information. His additions, the smallest

⁶² 'He taught the youths ... to be adorned by modesty, and not to argue with disrespectful women.'

⁶³ 'And I do not know woman, and I am not a virgin', Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi opera*, pp. 263–4. For a discussion of this controversial passage see Whatley, 'Basil in Old English', and above, pp. 32–3.

⁶⁴ 'For at that time nobility of birth did not bring honour to any man unless he studied philosophy for a long time among the learned philosophers', see also below, p. 107, note 31.

⁶⁵ See below for a full analysis of these parallels, pp. 102–5.

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category by far, include brief explanatory interventions for his audience, and most notably, a short passage on the importance of Saint Basil as the father of monasticism. In sum, Ælfric's translation of LB, even though clearly based on the textual tradition of *BHL* 1023, is highly original, because it is adapted to respond to his educational intent. It is precisely because of such originality that Ælfric's work appears both faithful to the original and stylistically independent.

A stylistic analysis of LB will now clarify further how Ælfric's translation techniques are connected to his use of rhetorical embellishments.

5
RHETORIC AND STYLE

Preliminary points

Ælfric's rhythmical style has occasioned a vast bibliography, primarily centred on its inspiration and its place within Old English literature. In the last century and a half, scholars have debated whether Ælfric was a prose writer, or whether he was an innovator in poetic trends, whether his style developed in imitation of the Latin rhythmical prose, or whether its independence can be proved. They have also posed the vexed question of the role of his writing style within the larger context of Old English and ultimately of other vernacular literatures.¹ As Nichols observed, the problem at the root of such difficulties is that Ælfric never provided a definition of his own style in the *Lives of Saints*, whereas he described his style in the *Catholic Homilies* as simple prose.² What seems to be universally accepted, however, is the fact that Ælfric's style developed gradually. The turning-point of his style is conventionally placed at *CH* II, 10, the Life of Cuthbert, allegedly inspired by Bede's metrical *Vita*. Even though Bede's work abounds with arcane vocabulary, it seems increasingly possible that Ælfric used it at least as extensively as the prose *Vita* or indeed the anonymous text. That Ælfric found inspiration in Bede is more than likely, but it is evident

¹ The observations of Haruko Momma on the similarity between Ælfric's prose and the *Paris Psalter* pertinently summarise the debate: H. Momma, *The Composition of Old English Poetry*, CSASE 20 (Cambridge, 1997), 12–14. Important stages defining current approaches to Ælfric's style are found in *LS*, 'Introduction', pp. 1–lii; G. H. Gerould, 'Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose', *Modern Philology* 22 (1924–5), 353–66; D. Bethurum, 'The Form of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', *SP* 29 (1932), 515–33; and S. M. Kuhn, 'Was Ælfric a Poet?', *Philological Quarterly* 52 (1973), 643–62. See also the comments in E. G. Stanley, *In the Foreground: Beowulf* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 119–20: '[a] prose writer as syntactically complex as Ælfric is likely to have been conscious of the clarity that could be achieved ... in long and complicated Old English syntactical verse units of sentence length and longer, because of the regularity of metrical phrasing, in each phrase ... Yet a man of his grammatical bent, and centrally placed in the movement of Benedictine Reform, is unlikely to have developed his kind of *Kunstprosa* if nothing at all like it had existed in Christian Latin writings'. Recently the debate has taken further developments in T. A. Bredehoft, *Early English Metre* (Toronto, 2005), especially pp. 81–91 and 95–9.

² A. E. Nichols, 'Ælfric and the Brief Style', *JEGPhilology* 70 (1971), 1–12.

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from the style of his early homilies that he had already been experimenting with alliterative prose from the beginning of his writing career.

The present study is greatly indebted to previous scholarship and will rely on Pope's widely-cited definition of Ælfric's style, which still remains valid today:

The term rhythmical prose as applied to Ælfric's compositions must be understood to refer to a loosely metrical form resembling in basic structural principles the alliterative verse of the Old English poets, but differing markedly in the character and range of its rhythms as in strictness of alliterative practice, and altogether distinct in diction, rhetoric and tone. It is better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry.³

Like the majority of the *Lives of Saints*, LB is written in Ælfric's characteristic rhythmical style, and shows all the peculiarities discussed in Pope's work. These may usefully be examined with a methodological approach normally reserved for Old English poetic compositions, including the analysis of alliterative devices, paronomasia and other figures of speech. Such an approach reveals that Ælfric's use of these embellishments also served a structural function: it was not simply ornamental.⁴ LB, like most of Ælfric's rhythmical works, appears as a carefully thought-out structure made up of clauses of approximately equal length. The sense of regularity conveyed by Ælfric's style is enhanced by its alliterative nature and by the use of linking elements at the phrasal, verbal and subverbal level. Such patterns, undoubtedly inspired by those of Old English poetry, also function as structural partitions between different thematic units.⁵ Contextualisation of Ælfric's writing techniques within the Old English corpus shows the

³ *ÆHom*, p. 105.

⁴ For paronomasia, see Frank, 'Some Uses of Paronomasia'. This chapter is indebted to the methodology outlined in Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration', especially pp. 458–63. Professor Orchard has also adopted this approach in his recent work on Wulfstan's prose; see especially 'Re-editing Wulfstan: Where is the Point?', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. M. Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout, 2004), 63–91.

⁵ Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration', p. 458. For a discussion of how Ælfric's rhythmical prose is designed to govern the structure of his translations, see B. R. McGrath, 'Diverse Homiletic Modes and Style in Ælfric', unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois (1971), and C. McCloskey-McCrea, 'Ælfric: His Sources and Style in the Lives of Æthelthryth, Oswald, and Edmund', unpubl. PhD dissertation, Fordham University (1976).

originality of his often formulaic language, and sheds light on its connection with the texts associated with Benedictine Reform.

Ælfric adapted a very wide range of rhetorical figures in LB, but above all he used primary (intra-linear) and secondary (inter-linear) alliterative schemes.⁶ The use of terms such as intra-linear and inter-linear is of course dependent on modern editorial practices, which have often laid out Ælfric's rhythmical texts according to the convention of Old English verse. The present discussion requires such ornamental devices to be as readily visible as possible, and so the text has been laid out as if it were verse.⁷ Regardless of any editorial practices, it seems indubitable that these patterns form the characteristic texture of Ælfric's work, even though they may not be as conspicuous as those of the poetry. In Ælfric's innovative style, alliteration, word and phrase repetition, paronomasia, anaphora and chiasmus all contribute to that impression of regularity so intimately connected to the internal structure of his writings.⁸

Recurrent patterns

Alliterative patterns governing passages of extended length are bolstered by the concurrent use of other figures of speech, providing unity and coherence to the text. Whereas the attempt to classify each line according to the strict rules of Old English verse would be futile for an Ælfrician text, an analysis of the very wide range of aural effects found in LB reveals some interesting

⁶ My choice of terminology follows Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration'. Primary alliteration, divided into the four classes of simple, double, cross and transverse, occurs within the line (intra-linear), and secondary alliteration, divided into the five classes of continued, strong-linked, weak-linked, back-linked and end-linked, occurs across two or more lines (inter-linear).

⁷ Michael Lapidge has argued for a prose layout of Ælfrician texts: Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, pp. 578–9. See too the layout chosen in G. I. Needham, ed., *Ælfric. Three Lives of English Saints*, Methuen Old English Library (London, 1966). For a fuller discussion of my editorial practice, see below, pp. 137–9.

⁸ Aside from Orchard's 'Artful Alliteration', I am not aware of any other published study which looks at Ælfric's style from this perspective (see, however, note 5 above for two unpublished dissertations). See too D. Scragg, 'The Nature of Old English Verse', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 55–70, at p. 69, where attention is called to the myriad patterns hidden in Old English poetry.

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features of the author's style and translation techniques.⁹ Most of Ælfric's (and indeed of many authors') rhetorical experimentation occurs on three distinct levels: the subverbal, the verbal and the phrasal. By means of primary and secondary alliteration on stressed and unstressed syllables, the piece gains interlinear cohesion, whereas word and phrase repetition, paronomasia, anaphora and chiasmus give a structural cohesion on the verbal and phrasal levels. Such devices, along with the rhythm, contribute to that impression of regularity which is so characteristic of Ælfric's usus, and ultimately create a unified structure made up of self-contained passages.

The opening section of LB is perhaps one of the most strikingly crafted sections of the entire composition. While many sections of Ælfric's translation can be said to be literal renderings of the *Vita Basilii*, Ælfric here drew very scantily from the Latin. In less than thirty lines he condensed the information found in the prologue and in c. 1 of the *Vita*. Such independence from the Latin original allows for a very elegant experiment, hinged rhetorically on one of Ælfric's favoured combinations: sanctity and learning. The very first line of LB is marked by transverse alliteration on *b* and *h* and linked to the second line by continued alliteration on *h*, which also exhibits cross-alliteration on *s* and *h*:

Basilius wæs gehaten sum halig **b**isceop,
se wæs fram cildhade swiðe gehealdsum¹⁰

Ælfric's formula, name + verb to be + (*ge*)*h*aten is employed here (as in his other hagiographies) to great dramatic effect. The rhythmical pattern of these opening lines is further marked by the parallel repetition of the verb 'to be' in the first half of both lines and *sum* / *-sum* in the second half. A hidden but nonetheless very effective paronomasia on the holy bishop's moral standards (*hal-*, *geheald-*) contributes to the aural embellishment of this passage. From a subverbal and a verbal point of view, the section that follows this introduction is rhetorically independent, and yet these two lines form an integral unit with it, by virtue of the numerous interlinear connectives.

⁹ In *ÆHom*, p. 131 Pope comments: '[m]ore important than the infrequent and therefore debatable oddities of alliteration are several other linking devices that reinforce alliteration or take its place. These include the repetition of whole words or significant parts of words, the partial repetition involved in wordplay and end-rhyme, both of stems and of mere inflexional terminations'.

¹⁰ 'A certain holy bishop who was very frugal from childhood was called Basil.' Throughout this discussion bold type indicates primary alliteration, underlining indicates secondary alliteration, italics indicate paronomasia and dotted underlining indicates repetition.

This section exemplifies Ælfric's copious use of rhetorical patterns which reinforce the connection between context and structure. Ælfric's recasting of the Latin hagiography appears as a continuous story because he introduced further internal subdivisions within each existing section. The opening passage of LB is held together by the presence of two etymological groups: *lar*, *leornode*, *gelæredum*, *lareowas*, *læran*, and *wisdom*, *upwita*. Basil's education, pagan and Christian, is described as extending over two consecutive phases, the second prompted by his dissatisfaction with heathen teachings, a detail that Ælfric emphasised more than the *Vita* does. Both stages of Basil's education Ælfric designated as *lar*, but he then introduced an internal subdivision between them, marked primarily by the variation in the choice of alliterative patterns and of rhetorical devices. It is appropriate to begin with an analysis of the pagan phase of Basil's learning, as introduced by the first twenty-eight lines of the text:

- B**asilius wæs gehaten sum halig **b**isceop,
se wæs fram cildhade swiðe gehealdsum,
 þeah þe he to langum fyrste ungefullod wære.
 His fæder and his frynd hine befæstan to *lare*,
 5 to woruldwisdome ða þa he seofon wintre wæs,
 forþan þe on þam timan ne teah nan ædelborennysse
nænne man to wurðscype, butan he wisdom
ær ðam lange leornode æt gelæredum uðwitan.
 Þa wunode se cnæpling on Cappadoniscre byrig
 10 fif gear on lare, and ferde to Græcum,
 to Atheniscre byrig seo wæs þa bremeste on lare,
 and Eubolus se uðwita, þe þær yldest wæs on wisdome,
 underfeng þone cnapan, swa swa he frymdig wæs,
 to larlicre scole and he leornode þa,
 15 swa þæt ða uðwitan his andgites wundrodon.
On þære ylcan scole wæs seo wælhreowa Iulianus
 Cristen fram cildhade, se wearð casere siððan
 and awearp his geleafan, and gewende to deofle.
 Eac þær leornode on þære ylcan scole
 20 se æðela Gregorius, se ðe eft wearð bisceop
 and fela wundra worhte swa swa wyrdwriteras secgað.
 Basilius þa wunode mid þam upwitan on lare
ealles fiftyne gear and ealne þone wisdom wundorlice asmeade,
 þe Grecisce lareowas him læran cuðon.
 25 Ac seo lar ne mihte þe butan geleafan wæs
 þam cneordlæcendum cnihte cyðan

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be his Scyppende þone þe he sohte
þeah þe heo him secgan ne *cude*.¹¹

As is apparent from the plethora of diacritical marks, this passage is a heavily interlaced structure, its internal cohesion highlighted by significant alliterative patterns, rhyme, paronomasia, polyptoton and repetition of both words and phrases. At the subverbal level, intralinear and interlinear alliteration conveys the necessary aural effects for internal continuity. After the introductory pun on Basil's sanctity, lines 3 and 4 are linked by continued alliteration on *f*, and (at the verbal level) by the end-rhyme *wære / lare*. Therefore, the word *lar*, which dominates this passage together with its cognates, is introduced here in emphatic position as the very first rhyme of LB. Verbal interlace marks the initial stages of Basil's pagan education as a noble man of his times (*lare* line 4; *leornode* and *gelæredum* line 8, *on lare* lines 10, 11 and 22; *leornode* lines 8, 14 and 19; *lareowas* and *læran* line 24, and *lar* line 25). If on the verbal level the term *lar* and its cognates create a seemingly homogeneous fabric, on the subverbal level they are employed as structural dividers. In fact, alliteration on *l*, which, incidentally, always involves words from the *lar*-family (lines 8, 14, 24 and 25), and is regularly employed to create three internal subdivisions within the passage, and to mark the transition to a new phase or a change of subject.

Furthermore, the passage above may conveniently be divided into four thematically connected subsections: lines 1–8, 9–15, 16–24, and 25–8. At line 8 the alliterating elements *lange*, *leornode*, *gelæredum* indicate the end of the explanatory passage on the necessity of worldly learning, and function

¹¹ 'A certain holy bishop who was very frugal from childhood, though he remained unbaptised for a long time, was called Basil. His father and his friends committed him to learning and secular knowledge when he was seven years old, for at that time nobility of birth did not bring honour to any man unless he had studied philosophy for a long time among the learned philosophers. Then the young boy lived in the Cappadocian city studying for five years and travelled to the Greek city of Athens, which was most distinguished for its learning. The philosopher Eubolus, who was the most eminent for wisdom, accepted the youth, for he was inquisitive, at his school of learning, and there he studied, so that the philosophers wondered at his intellect. There was in that same school the cruel Julian, a Christian from childhood, who afterwards became emperor, and, turning to the devil, cast off his faith. Also, the noble Gregory studied in that same school, who afterwards became bishop and performed many miracles, just as the historians say. Basil then lived with the philosophers, studying all of fifteen years, and wonderfully comprehended all wisdom which the Greek teachers could teach him. But this learning, which was without faith, could not tell the studious youth about his Creator whom he sought, even though it [the learning] was unable to teach him.'

as a prelude to Basil's learning phase in Caesarea and then Athens.¹² Alliteration on *l* at line 14 (*larlicre, leornode*) anticipates another short excursus on the part of the author, on Basil's intellectual capacity. Line 15 connects this section to the following one, in which the saint's illustrious schoolmates (Gregory and Julian) are also named. The final section introduces Basil's dissatisfaction with pagan schooling and his quest for higher learning. Thus at lines 24–5 continued alliteration on *l* (*lareowas, læran, lar* and *geleafan*) indicates the end of Basil's pagan education and the beginning of his search for more spiritual knowledge, with the keyword *lar* intimately connected to the object of the saint's quest: *geleafan* ('faith', line 25). Lines 25–8 echo the previous section not only with continued alliteration on *l* (lines 25–6), but also with an etymological wordplay on *cuðon / cyðan / cuðe*,¹³ each placed at the end of three alternate rhythmical lines (lines 24, 26 and 28).

Ælfric's play on the numerous and often overlapping shades of meaning of the verbs *cyðan* and *cunnan* is clearly deliberate, and defines the transitional nature of this passage, from Basil's heathen schooling to his Christian one. In apposition to the phrase *to lare* there appears at line 5 the phrase *to woruldwisdome*, which further defines the type of education which Basil's father and friends had chosen for the youth. The double alliteration on *w* at line 5 (*woruldwisdome, wintre*) introduces the second set of paronomasia governing this passage, based on the etymological pun *wisdom / uðwita*. Lines alliterating on *w* throughout the opening passage of LB are repeated at regular intervals, both intralinear and interlinear, simple and end-linked (*wisdom* and *uðwitung*, lines 7–8),¹⁴ continued (*uðwitan* and *wundrodon* line 15),¹⁵ continued and strong-linked (*wæs, wælhreowa* line 16, *wearð*, line 17, *awearp* and *gewende*, line 18), double and continued (*wundra, worhte, wyrdwriteras* line 21, *wunode uþwitan*, line 22, and

¹² Interestingly, the name of Basil's native city is not mentioned until after the saint's death (line 664), see above, p. 55–6.

¹³ Line 28 only exhibits back-linked alliteration on *s*, unless we consider *þ / s* an alliterating pair; see *ÆHom*, p. 130: '[t]here is really some plausibility in the notion that Ælfric sometimes matched *þ* and *s* (as if to avail himself of a lispng pronunciation of *s*) since it can rescue several lines from alliterative poverty ... I am disposed to agree with Brandeis in reserving judgement'.

¹⁴ The word *uðwita* and inflected forms are well suited to alliterate both with vowels and with *w*. The rounded spelling *uðwyt-* (or *uþwyt-*, and inflected forms) is a scribal characteristic of Cotton Julius E. vii, occurring only in *LS* 1, 2 and here. In this edition it has been emended regularly to its unrounded form; see below, p. 128, and Appendix II, line 9.

¹⁵ Note also the internal echoes (*-it-*) between *uðwitan* and *andgites* at line 15.

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wisdom, *wundorlice*, line 23). The internal cohesion of the entire passage is emphasised by the paronomasia and repetition of the pair *wisdom* / *uðwita* (lines 5, 7–8, 12, 15, 22–3).

On the phrasal level, this passage is further characterised by the presence of parallel constructions, respectively lines 2 and 17 (*fram cildhade*) and lines 16 and 19 ('on þære ylcan scole'). These parallel constructions introduce the two opposing figures of Basil and Julian the Apostate, who will meet again later on in the hagiography, but whose dealings were already known to those familiar with Ælfric's First Homily for the Assumption of Mary.¹⁶ By means of repetition Ælfric highlighted the important structural connection between the two figures. Their respective starting-points as children are carefully introduced by the parallel phrase *fram cildhade* (lines 2 and 17) and the contrast between the two historical figures is made clear. Ælfric ominously anticipates a grim prospect for the Apostate: Basil is from childhood very virtuous even though he remained unbaptised for a long time, whereas though Julian is a Christian from childhood, he will throw aside his belief and turn to the devil. Afterwards, in the famous encounter between Basil and the emperor, Julian will simply be described as *se arleasa casere* (line 205).¹⁷ There follows a parallel construction (line 19), which, introducing the noble Gregory (of Nazianzus), mirrors line 16 (on Julian) by means of verbal echoes, with *on þære ylcan scole* placed in chiasmic position.¹⁸ The three parallel structures of the opening of LB are made prominent and linked by the repetition of two prepositional phrases: *fram cildhade* (lines 2 and 17) establishing a connection between Basil and Julian, and *on þære ylcan scole*, linking Julian and Gregory (lines 16 and 19).

This section, taken as a whole, contains a juxtaposition of the words *lar* and *wisdom*, and it is perhaps the single section in Ælfric's writings in which the pun is most heavily exploited. This extended alternation (and paronomasia) of the two lexemes deserves further attention, however, because it exemplifies Ælfric's originality of style and his versatile reworking of the sources. The puns in the opening section of LB are primarily centred on the words *lar* and *wisdom*, but other etymologically connected words contribute to the aural effect (see especially line 8, 'ær ðam

¹⁶ The detail of the two having received the same schooling is also provided in the Homily for the Assumption, see Table 1.

¹⁷ In the Life of St Denis and Companions (LS 29), Ælfric refers to Domitian using the same appellative: 'Eac to iohanne þam arwurðan godspellere he sende gewritu þa þa he on wræcsiðe wæs on pathmo þam iglande. þa þa se arleasa casere domicianus. hine fordemde þyder', lines 93–6.

¹⁸ Line 19 is further echoed at the end of LB (line 629), where Gregory of Nazianzus is mentioned again: 'Gregorius bisceop þe mid Basilie leornode'.

lange leornode æt gelæredum uðwitung’). Close parallels and similar wordplay can be found in other Ælfrician hagiographies in which the saint protagonist is entrusted to pagan schooling by his or her parents. So, for example, at the start of the Homily on St Benedict (*CH* II, 11, lines 1–5), Ælfric comments:

BENEDICTUS. Se halga abbud. on ðisum andwerdum dæge gewat of ðisum deadlicum life. to ðam ecan ðe he ær deoplice mid haligre drohtunge geearnode. He wæs of eawfæstum magum æðellice geboren. and hi hine on cildhade to **lare** befæston on romebyrig. **gelæredum uðwitung.**¹⁹

The passage displays the experimental vein of Ælfric’s alliteration, playing on words which he intended to emphasise. Alliteration on *d* predominates in this passage, starting off with two parallel prepositional phrases in the dative: *on ðisum andwerdum dæge, of ðisum dædlicum life.*²⁰ Ælfric slowly builds on puns: the paronomasia between Benedict’s noble kin and his being entrusted to learning appears in adjacent clauses (*eawfæstum magum, hi befæston*), so that, like in LB, it appears connected on the subverbal and verbal level. The dative phrase *gelæredum uðwitung* merges together both learning and wisdom; Ælfric must have thought the whole combination of words particularly effective, for he repeats it in LB (line 8, *gelæredum uðwitung*). It is, however, only when we turn to the composite wordplay between *lar* and *wisdom* that we finally understand the precise scope and nature of Ælfric’s puns in the opening of LB. Nowhere else is the pun so elaborate and extended as in this translation.

The term *woruldwisdom*, as may be expected, is always associated with the notion of non-Christian knowledge (i.e. secular learning). A very similar contrast between *lar* and *woruldwisdom* is also found in the Life of Chrysanthus Daria (*LS* 35), in a context of formulae which are reminiscent of LB:

Þa **befæste** he his sunu sona to **lare**
to woruldwisdome þæt he **uðwita** wurde.
 10 forðampe on þam dagum ne mihte nan man beon gepogen

¹⁹ ‘Benedict the holy abbot on this very day departed from this mortal life to the eternal one, which he had certainly earned with holy conduct. He was born nobly of devout kin, and they entrusted him for instruction to the learned wise men in Rome while he was a child.’

²⁰ Note also the internal echoes *andweardum* and *geearnode* and the alliteration with *deoplice* and *drohtunge*.

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buton he hæþene bec hæfde **geleornod**.
and þa cræftas cuþe þe kaseres þa lufodon.²¹

The idea of 'fastening' the child to learning seems to echo the initial passage from the Homily on St Benedict, but here Ælfric adds that Chrysanthus was destined to become an *uðwita* himself (line 9). The wordplay between *lar* and *wisdom* in the Life of Chrysanthus only occupies a small portion of the text, but its components are placed in a mirroring pattern, so that words belonging in the semantic field of *lar* (*lare*, line 8 and *geleornod*, line 11) envelop words in the semantic field of *wisdom* (*woruldwisdom* and *uðwita*, line 9). As in LB, Ælfric here felt compelled to specify that future saints had to undergo pagan schooling in those days, owing to their noble birth.

A similar pattern where *lar* and *woruldwisdom* are ambiguously interchangeable can also be found in the Life of Eugenia (*LS* 2), which immediately precedes that of Basil in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*:

- Ða befæste se fæder Philippus to **lare**.
20 þæt heo on **woruldwysdome** wære getogen.
æfter grecisce **uðwytegunge**. and lædenre getingnyse.
Eugenia þa. þæt æðele mæden.
wel þeah on **wisdome**. and on **uðwytegunge**.
þa becom hyre on hand þæs halgan apostoles **lar**
25 paules þæs mæran ealles manncynnes **lareowes**.
Ða wearð hyre mod mycclum onbryrd
þuruh þa halgen **lare**. þeah ðe heo þa gyt hæðen wære.²²

The echoes between this passage and the beginning of LB are striking: like Basil, Eugenia is dedicated by her father *to lare*, and *woruldwisdom*. Ælfric

²¹ 'Then immediately he entrusted his son to learning, to worldly-wisdom, so that he would be a philosopher, because in those days no-one could be esteemed unless he had studied the heathen books and knew the skills which the emperors loved.' With some minor difference, a striking parallel for this section is found in the *Old English Martyrology*, in the entry for St Chrysanthus (274): 'þone hys ylðran **befæston** on his cnythade to Alexandria ceastre sumum **woruldwysan** men þæt he æt þam **leornode** þa seofon cræftas on þam beoð gemeted ealle **weoruldwysdomas**'. This is also the only occurrence outside the Ælfrician corpus of the compound *woruldwisdom* (including inflected forms and variant spellings).

²² 'Then the father Philippus dedicated her to learning, that she should be skilled in worldly-wisdom, following Greek philosophy and Latin eloquence. Then Eugenia, the noble girl, [was] well prepared in wisdom and in philosophy. Then came into her hands the teaching of the holy Apostle Paul, that famous teacher of mankind; her soul was greatly inspired by that holy teaching, though she was still a pagan.'

adopted, here too, the same etymological paronomasia between *wisdom* and *uðwitegung* (line 23). However, Eugenia's transitional stage from pagan to Christian learning is recounted by Ælfric much more succinctly than Basil's, occupying only two lines (26–7), and is followed by a brief comment on the fact that there was no one in the city of Alexandria capable of teaching Christian learning to her.²³ In Ælfric's words, by entrusting his daughter to learning (*lar*), Philippus hoped that she would acquire secular wisdom (*woruldwysdom*, line 20), Greek philosophy (*grecisce uðwytegunge*, line 21) and Latin eloquence (*lædenre getingnyse*, line 21). The young Eugenia, much like Basil, after absorbing all there was to know of those disciplines, encountered Christian teachings (those of Paul) which stirred her spirits. Given the proximity of the Life of Eugenia to that of Basil in the *Lives*, it seems undisputable that Ælfric intended these passages to echo one another. The stylistic experiment in Eugenia takes full shape in LB, by means of explicit paronomastic echoes and by playing on the same rhyming words as in LB, *lare* / *wære* (line 27). Just as in LB, in Eugenia Ælfric feels compelled to reiterate the notion that in those ancient times no man or woman was worthy unless he or she knew about *woruldwisdom*. Since the introductory passage of LB analysed above is a very free paraphrase of *Vita Basilii* c. 1, one must turn elsewhere to understand the dichotomy between *lar* and *wisdom*.

In Ælfric's writings the connotations of the compound *woruldwisdom* are perhaps clearest in the lines from the Homily for St Andrew (*CHI*, 38, lines 24–6): 'fisceras and ungetogene men geceas drihten him to leorningnihtum. and hi swa geteah þæt heora lar oferstah ealne woruldwisdom', where *lar* is clearly superior to *woruldwisdom*.²⁴ As is expected, the compound *woruldwisdom* can signify pagan teachings, but also seems to define a general acquaintance with common sense and ways of life, whereas *lar* applies exclusively to teachings (or indeed learning), pagan or Christian. The word *wisdom* on its own, on the other hand, is used in a neutral sense, and seems to be interchangeable with *lar*, for example in LB itself:

and gecneow Basilium, and cwæð him sona to:
 'Ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on geþungenre **lare**

²³ *LS* 2, lines 30–3: '[heo] wolde swa cepan þære cristenra lare. forðan þe heo næfde on ðære byrig nænne geleaffulne mann þe hi læren cuþe'.

²⁴ 'The Lord chose fishermen and uneducated men as his Apostles and decreed that their learning should surpass any secular wisdom.'

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and on **uðwitegunge**.' Him andwyrde se biseop:
210 'Forgeafe God ælmihtig þæt ðu fyligdest **wisdom**.'²⁵

Ælfric's sensitivity to the Latin puns is evident here. The *Vita Basilii* also plays on etymologically related words at this point: '[s]uperphilosophatus sum te o Basilii', to which the saint responds: '[u]tinam philosophareris'. Ælfric's intent, however, goes beyond rhetorical flourish.²⁶ The echoes between this brief exchange and the introduction of LB are clearly audible, where *lar* and *wisdom* remain at the core of Basil's outstanding achievements and superiority to his now pagan schoolmate. It is Basil himself who establishes, provokingly, a clear-cut dichotomy: rather than philosophy, Julian should pursue wisdom.²⁷

Throughout the Old English corpus of writings, the word *wisdom* is, not surprisingly, used to translate Latin *sapientia* (knowledge or wisdom). Within Ælfric's homiletic corpus we find the Pauline precept: 'sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est apud deum' (I Corinthians 3.19), translated variously and commented upon.²⁸ Paul's condemnation of the *sapientia mundi* could explain why Ælfric felt the need to justify the fact that some of his saintly figures had to undergo a heathen education. Since this reference appears as many as four times in Ælfric's writings, it must have been

²⁵ '[Julian] recognised Basil and immediately said to him thus: 'I have surpassed you for excellent learning and philosophy.' The bishop answered him: 'May God Almighty grant that you follow wisdom.'" As far as I am aware, no other instance of paronomasia between *oferþogen* / *gebungen* survives in Ælfric's work. It is, however, significant that in the parallel passage found in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary, Ælfric kept his word choice closer to the Latin text: 'Eala ðu basili. nu ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on uðwitegunge', *CH I*, 30, lines 207–8. For a comparison between Ælfric's rendering of this episode in the Homily and LB, see above, pp. 54–73.

²⁶ For a discussion of the relationship of this passage to the Latin, see below, pp. 116–18.

²⁷ The encounter between Julian and Basil as a bishop is fictitious, because Julian had already died when Basil became bishop of Caesarea; see above, pp. 6–7.

²⁸ Perhaps the most interesting instance is 'Ðære sawle wlyte is þæt heo wisdom lufie. na ðone eorðlican wisdom be þam þe þus awriten is. Sapientia huius mundi stultitia est apud deum. þysses middaneardes wysdom is stuntnis ætforan gode' (The Nativity of Christ, *LS I*, lines 225–8). *Sapientia mundi* is translated as *woruldlica wisdom* in the Homily for the Second Sunday after Easter (*CH I*, 17, lines 179–80), in the addition found in Clemoes' manuscripts M, N, O, Q, U (see *CH I*, at xviii and 535–42); as *þissere worlde wisdom* in Tenth Sunday after Pentecost (*ÆHom* 16, line 222); and as *þisses middaneardes wisdom* in Christmas Day, A. O. Belfour, ed., *The Twelfth Century Homilies in Ms Bodley 343*, EETS o.s. 137 (London, 1909, rpt. 1962), Homily 9, p. 94, lines 22–3. Outside the Ælfrician texts, this maxim only appears in the Old English gloss to Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*; see Getty, ed., 'An Edition with Commentary', c. 18.7.

particularly dear to his heart, and perhaps he expected his audience readily to recognise the words of Paul. Therefore, here as elsewhere, Ælfric echoed the Scriptures for pedagogical purposes, instead of quoting verbatim from them.²⁹ Finally, the choice of learned men and women of noble birth for the *Lives of Saints* seems directly connected to his interest in learning and sanctity. Ælfric does not miss an occasion to stress that nobility of birth in those days led to pagan schooling, but also that this same learning, if well inspired, would eventually lead to sanctity.³⁰

Sanctity and learning in LB are intimately connected to sophisticated structural variation. Similarly, there are many other stylistic aspects in this text that deserve attention. Structural organisation seems to be a priority in Ælfric's work, with internal patterns often marking out self-contained units. An appropriate example is found in LB 6, which stands out for the alliterative patterns governing its structure. Together with alliteration, rhyme and paronomasia impose a tripartite division on this section, while reinforcing its internal cohesion:

He eode æfter mæssan ut of þam temple,
 and efne þa sona hine gesohte an wif
 170 biddende his þingunge to anum geþunenum ealdormen.
 Basilius þa awrat þam earman wife an gewrit
 to þæm ealdormenn on þisum andgite:
 'Þis earne wif me gesohte, sæde þæt ic mihte
 hire to ðe geþingian. Þonne cyð þu nu, ic bidde,
 175 gif ic swa wel mæg wið þe swa þæt wif truwað.'
 Þa rædde se ealdorman þæt ærendgewrit
 and sende him ongean sona on gewrite,
 cwæð þæt he wolde þam wife gemiltsian

²⁹ Similar echoes of the Scriptures, without explicit quotation, are heard throughout LB. For instance, the passage on the Lord's apparition and blessing of the Eucharist makes clear references to Psalm 50.17–18, with the expression *offrian onsægedniss*.

³⁰ Ælfric's words in these lives and his apologetic remarks on youngsters having to earn 'worldwisdom' are powerfully reminiscent of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*: '[s]atis est, ut adolescentulorum ista sit cura, nec ipsorum omnium, quos utilitati ecclesiasticae cupimus erudiri, sed eorum quos nondum magis urgens et huic rei sine dubio praeponenda necessitas occupauit'. See J. Martin, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini opera. De doctrina Christiana. De uera religione*, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), III.4, lines 13–16. For knowledge of this book of the *De doctrina* by Augustine in Anglo-Saxon England, see L. Reinsma, 'Rhetoric in England: The Age of Ælfric, 970–1020', *Communication Monographs* 44 (1977), 390–404.

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for his *þingunge*, ac he swa *þeah* ne *mihte*
 180 þæt gafol alecgan þe heo gelæstan sceolde.³¹

The introductory line of each new section in LB tends to function as a link between sections, so it usually displays few rhetorical devices, as is the case here with vocalic alliteration only (line 168, *eode*, *æfter* and *ut*).³² The alliterative patterns governing this passage become clearer if divided into three units of three lines each, separated by an intermediary line (lines 169–71, 173–5, 177–9). Within each unit, alliteration is carried by stressed words, either in *s*, *þ*, or *w*. Each three-line subsection is then followed by a connective line (lines 172, 176 and 180) which functions as transition to the next subsection. This pattern is not based on syntactical subdivisions, since the first and third units (lines 169–71 and 177–9) start with a coordinate clause, and only the second unit (lines 173–5) is a complete sentence. Thus stylistic and structural subdivisions rarely constitute disruptive breaks because most of Ælfric's clauses are already syntactically independent from one another. On the contrary, these patterns are instrumental in the thematic organisation of the passage.³³ After the first line introducing the episode and connecting on continued vocalic alliteration to the following line (with *efne* and *an*), the first movement of this vignette is introduced at lines 169–71. Each line alliterates respectively on *s*, *þ*, *w* (*sona* and *gesohte*, line 169, *þingunge* and *geþungenum*, line 170, *awrat* and *wife*, line 171). All three lines, in addition, exploit vocalic alliteration. There follows a connecting line which, on the thematic level, functions as the transitional point during which

³¹ 'After Mass he went out of the church, and indeed immediately a woman sought him, begging for his intercession with a prosperous nobleman. Basil then wrote a letter on behalf of the poor woman to the nobleman with these contents: "This poor woman came to me, saying that I may be able to intercede with you for her. Then say, now, I pray, if I have as much influence on you as this woman believes." Then the nobleman read the message and immediately sent him a letter back. He said that he wanted to pardon the woman due to his intercession, but that nevertheless he could not lift the debt which she had to pay.' For a discussion on the relationship between this passage and the Latin text, see above, pp. 79–81 and 201–2.

³² Pope noted the disruptive presence of such imbalanced rhythmical patterns (*ÆHom*, p. 124): '[t]here are also a few lines in which one half alliterates without the other, or even each half by itself'.

³³ Pope's explanation of the differences between Old English verse and Ælfric's style may be quoted here (*ÆHom*, p. 128): '[t]he impression of regularity is due in part to the comparative stability in the number of main stresses, in part to the heavy preponderance of lines that alliterate on two or three of these, and in part on the predominance of end-stopped lines'.

Basil writes to the *ealdorman* (line 172). This line contains vocalic alliteration (*ealdorman* and *andgite*) echoing the previous line with the diphthong *ea* and cross-alliteration on *þ* relying on the dative demonstratives *þæm* and *þisum*. A sequence of continued alliteration on *þ* keeps together lines 172–4 (*þæm, þisum / þis, þæt / gepingian, þonne, þu*). Similar observations apply to the second section (Basil's note to the nobleman lines 173–5) which alliterates on *s, þ, w*, though in some cases on normally unstressed syllables (respectively, line 173 *gesohte* and *sæde*, line 174 *gepingian* and *þonne*, and line 175 *wel* and *wif*). The fourth line in this group (line 176) works as a connector, its function both structural and stylistic. The narrative seems to pause briefly again here, while the nobleman reads Basil's note. This line exhibits cross-alliteration on *þ* (on the unaccented *þa* and *þæt*) and vowel (*ealdorman* and *ærendgewrit*) and end-alliteration on *w*, if we count two stresses on the compound *ærendgewrit*. The pattern resumes with a third and final group (lines 177–9) containing the nobleman's refusal to help the poor woman, alliterating on *s, w, þ* on the stressed syllables (respectively, line 177 *sende* and *sona*, line 178 *wolde* and *wife* and line 179 *þingunge* and *swapeah*). The final line of Basil's and the *ealdorman*'s exchange is characterised by continued *þ*-alliteration, relying primarily on unstressed syllables (*þæt* and *þe* line 180), whereas the main alliteration is on *l* (*alecgan, gelæstan*).

Furthermore, the internal structure of this passage is bolstered by rhetorical embellishments on the verbal level. The three thematic units echo one another by means of repetition, *þingunge* (lines 170 and 179), *gewrit* (lines 171 and 177), *mihte* (lines 173 and 179); paronomasia, *þingunge, gepungenum* (line 170) and *gepingian* (line 174), *awrat, gewrit* (line 171) and *gewrite* (line 177); epiphora, *-gewrit, gewrite* (lines 171, 176 and 177); and end-rhyme, *andgite, mihte* (lines 172 and 173). The first paronomasia is introduced at the start (line 170) and is echoed only once in the following two subsections (lines 174 and 179). The second starts at line 171 and is echoed at lines 176–7, thus forming a pattern of direct dependence between literacy and intercession.³⁴ In addition, each unit is individually linked to the following one by means of two groups of end-rhyme: *andgite / mihte* (lines 172–3) and *ærendgewrit / gewrite* (lines 176–7). As with the introductory passage discussed above, therefore, alliteration seems to create structural subdivisions within the same passage, whereas the rhetorical devices on the verbal level provide the passage with cohesion.

The function of the temporal adverb *þa* on the phrasal level requires further comments. This pronoun often introduces a change of subject in LB,

³⁴ The use of written documents as a form of pledge is a peculiarity of the *Vita Basilii*. It appears three times: in this episode and in cc. 11 and 15.

but is also used as a connective to direct the audience's attention to a specific event. In this case, for instance, repetition of an identical syntactical pattern leads up to a reversal of the aristocrat's lot. The basic word-order SVO introduced at line 171 describes Basil's initiative to write to the *ealdorman* on behalf of the poor woman: 'Basilius þa awrat þam earman wife an gewrit'. Such a pattern is reversed at line 176, with *þa* introducing the sentence and the verb *rædde* preceding the subject. The Latin text had exactly the same word-order, but instead of a finite form, a present participle is used both times (c. 6, lines 4 and 6): '[q]ui accipiens cartam scripsit' and 'legens autem princeps rescripsit'.³⁵ In the Old English, however, the irony of the nobleman's fortune-reversal is made much more prominent when at lines 181 and 191 (not cited here) the inversion verb-subject is maintained and the same verb is repeated: *asende se bisceop* (line 181) and *asende se ealdorman* (line 191), echoing the sending of the letter (line 177), with a variation in the subject. A further parallel is established between these lines by the two prepositional phrases *to* + dative echoing each other, while the verb *sendan* is echoed at line 194, 'se casere het sendan'. No such sophistry is found in the Latin: '[I]egens quoque eam princeps rescripsit haec ... [s]anctus uero rescripsit ei ... tunc fit postulator Basilii ut per orationem suam misericordem super ipsum imperatorem faceret' (c. 6, lines 6–14).³⁶ Here the verb *rescripsit* is used twice with the somewhat awkward periphrasis *postulator Basilii* (a literal rendering of Greek ἰκέτης ἐλεεινός Βασιλείου). That the nobleman's imprisonment is a consequence of his actions is made quite clear in the *Vita* as well, but in the Old English translation the cause and effect link is made much more prominent by means of repetition and puns. By exploiting syntactical and lexical devices which echo one another throughout the passage, Ælfric enhanced the didactic nature of the miracle.

One final example will illustrate a further technique by which Ælfric structured each individual chapter. Subverbal, verbal, and phrasal devices appear with almost obsessive frequency in a passage of intense religious ecstasy. In this section, the Lord appears to Basil and blesses the Eucharist which the saint is then to bring to his deathbed. This passage is wrapped in a tight envelope-structure and advances with a slow-moving intertwined sequence of lines mostly alliterating on either *b* or *h*. As in c. 6, this passage may be divided into three separate sections, introduced by an opening line:

³⁵ Respectively, 'and he taking the letter wrote', and 'indeed, the prince reading wrote back'.

³⁶ 'And reading this letter, the nobleman wrote back to him ... truly the saint wrote back to him ... then he became a supplicant of Basil's, that he may make the emperor merciful towards him with his prayer.'

- [and Godes *gelapunge* mid lare *getrymde*.]
 105 He *bæd* þone *ælmihhtigan* God þæt he him *gewissode*
 þæt he mid *agenre* spræce him *offrian* mihte
 ða *liflican* *onsægednysse* mid *soðfæstre* þenunge.
 Æfter þam *gebede* he wearð *swiðe* onbryrd
 þurh þone *halgan* gast, and se *Hælend* him com to
 110 on sumere nihte mid his *apostolum*
 and *awrehte* *Basilium*: cwæð þæt he his *bena* *gehyrde*.
 Þa stod se *Hælend* sylf æt þam *halgan* weofode
 and mid his *halgum* *handum* *husel* senode,
 and þam *biscope* tæhte, þæs þe he *biddende* wæs.
 115 He cwæð to *Basilie*: ‘Beo þin muð afylled
 mid *haligre* herunge, æfter þinre *bene*,
 þæt ðu mid *agenre* spræce *geoffrian* mæge
 þa *liflican* *onsægednysse* mid *soðre* þenunge.’
 [Þa wearð se *bisceop* micclum *ablicged*.]³⁷

This passage can be interpreted as a sort of conversion: after his blessing of the Eucharist Basil moves on to pastoral endeavours, becoming an active miracle worker within the community.³⁸

The episode can be divided into three subsections which highlight Ælfric’s use of ornamental devices to create an orderly structure. After the opening line (105), the passage can be divided into Basil’s prayer (lines 106–7), God’s apparition (lines 108–16) and finally God’s granting of Basil’s request (lines 117–18). Line 105 functions as the intermediary with the previous line (by echoing the prefix *ge-* with back-linked alliteration), but it also connects to the following line by strong-linked vocalic alliteration (between *ælmihhtigan* and *agenre*). Basil’s prayer (lines 106–7) is repeated almost verbatim at lines 117–18, when the Lord grants him his request. This prayer encloses the passage with an envelope-pattern marking the structural and devotional significance of the passage. In fact, after this episode, LB is more readily divided into self-contained narrative episodes, each reporting

³⁷ ‘[A]nd [he] strengthened God’s Church with [his] teaching. He prayed the Almighty God to show him that he might be able to offer the living sacrifice in his own words with truthful service. After the prayer he was greatly inspired through the Holy Spirit, and the Saviour came to him on a certain night with his apostles, awoke Basil, and said that he had heard his prayers. Then the Saviour himself stood by the holy altar and blessed the host with his holy hands, and taught the bishop what he was praying for. He said to Basil: “May your mouth be filled with holy praise after your prayers, so that you may offer the living sacrifice in your own words with truthful service.” Then the bishop became greatly overjoyed.’

³⁸ For the structural significance of this passage see also above, pp. 91–2 and 197–8.

an individual miracle, emphasising Basil's active role in the community and omitting references to his contemplative tendencies. This sequence displays a sophisticated mastering of subverbal connectives drawing on various types of alliterative patterns. All nine lines inside the envelope-pattern (but one, line 110) alliterate on either *b* or *h*, following the pattern: *b, h*, no alliteration, *b, h, h, b, b, h*.³⁹ The highest tones of this section are reached with the Lord's blessing of the Eucharist at lines 112–13, doubly intertwined by continued alliteration on *h* and by end-rhyme (*weofode* and *senode*), echoing *gewissode* (line 105).

Internal cohesion in this passage is granted by etymological paronomasia on the group *bæd, gebede, bena, biddende* (lines 105, 108, 111 and 114), and the repetition of *halgan* and *Hælend* disposed chiasmically at lines 109 and 112.⁴⁰ Both paronomastic groups are again echoed at line 116 in the Lord's speech, which summarises the essence of this passage, while repeating Basil's prayer. Rhyme is an important feature of this section, as well, with lines 112 and 113 rhyming on noun and verb (*weofode, senode*). Verbal repetition and phrasal parallels are exploited in the almost verbatim correspondence between Basil's prayer and the Lord's speech. The envelope-pattern is significantly constructed as two sets of two parallel lines, phrased with only some minor variations, translating and paraphrasing a psalter refrain.⁴¹ The expression 'offrian mihte ða liflican onsægednyss' (and inflected forms) is exploited by Ælfric in three different texts before LB (where it occurs again at line 156).⁴² Thus the envelope-pattern, which highlights one of the most significant moments in LB, contains an exclusively Ælfrician coinage which takes inspiration from the Psalms. Lines 106 and 117 vary in their use of *magan*, with the preterite subjunctive *mihte* used in Basil's prayer and the present subjunctive *mæge* used by God. The variation between *offrian* (line 106) and *geoffrian* (line 117) seems to be determined simply by the use of the pronoun *him* at line 106, which makes

³⁹ Line 108 *gebede, onbryrd*; line 109 *halgan, Hælend*; line 110, no pattern; line 111 *Basilium, bena*; line 112 *Hælend, halgan*; line 113 *halgum, handum, husel*; line 114 *bisceope, biddende*; line 115 *Basilie, beo*; and line 116 *haligre, herunge*.

⁴⁰ A similar paronomasia on words related to *halig* occurs in the introduction; see above, p. 98.

⁴¹ Psalm 50.17–18: 'Domine labia mea aperies et os meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam / non enim vis ut victimam feriam nec holocaustum tibi placet.'

⁴² Nativity of St John the Baptist (*CHI*, 25, lines 145–6): 'for ure alysednyssye. his fæder liflic onsægednys. on lambes wisan geoffrod'; twice consecutively in the Decollation of St John the Baptist (*CHI*, 32, lines 99–100): 'ure lichaman liflice onsægednyssye ... se lichama bið liflic onsægednyss'; and Palm Sunday (*CH* II, 14, lines 67–8): 'for urum synnum geoffrode liflice onsægednyssye'.

the prefix *ge-* rhythmically superfluous. More problematic is the variation between *sodre* and *sodfæstre* because, again, we are faced with a unique formula within the entire corpus of Old English.

The subverbal and verbal patterns continue in the lines following this episode, even though the aural effects gradually decrease in intensity. Immediately after this section there follow five more lines alliterating on either *b* or *h*:

120 Þa wearð se **b**isceop micclum **ab**licged
 and genam þæt **h**usel þe se **H**ælend **ge**bletsode,
 to**br**æc on þreo, and on**h**yrigde anes **d**æles.
 Þone oðerne **d**æl **h**e **dy**de **ge**healden
 mid him to byrgenne, æfter his forðsiðe.⁴³

The alliteration in these five lines continues the pattern adopted for the Lord's apparition, but it slowly tapers off into line 122, which only exhibits simple and strong-linked alliteration on *d* on the stressed words (*dæl*, *dyde*) and cross-alliteration on *h*, if we count the unstressed *he* alliterating with *gehealden*. Line 123 does not exhibit an alliterative pattern at all. Continuity between this and the previous section is seen more clearly on the verbal level, with the obvious echoes at line 120, *husel* and *Hælend* and the rhyme *-ode* (*gebletsode*). After the vision Basil is *ablicged* (line 119), rather than his initial state of being *onbryrd* (line 108), but the progression between these two states of mind is made very prominent by the use of *weorðan*, an intensifying adverb, and by placing both these past participles at line-end.

If the passage concerning Basil's reaction to the vision exhibits clear, predictable, yet extremely elaborate patterns, which seem to convey Basil's serenity of emotions, the section describing the onlookers' reactions is verbally far less elaborate, and its sound-patterns do not proceed as smoothly as in the previous passage:

135 **E**ubolus se **u**ðwita and þa **y**ldestan preostas
 stodon æt þære dura **s**tariende on þæt leoht
 and **b**eheoldon þa apostolas þe mid þam **H**ælende comon
 mid **w**uldre **g**efrætewode, and hi **w**urdon afyrhte.
 Hi **g**ehyrdon þa stemne þæs **h**algan sanges
 and **B**asilium **g**eṣawon **b**innan æt þæm weofode
 and **f**eollon to his **f**otum mid **f**yrhte fornumene.

⁴³ 'Then the bishop became greatly overjoyed, and took that host, which the Saviour had blessed, broke it in three parts, and partook of one. The other part he did keep to be buried with him, after his death.'

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Ða ða he uteode. and him eall sædon. hwæt hi þær gesawon.
Se bisceop þæs ðancode. mid blyðum mode
140 and þam folce sæde siððan larspell.⁴⁴

As the onlookers gather around the church, Ælfric ensured that their state of mind is well differentiated from Basil's. Such an effect is achieved by consistently using alliteration on *f* for Eubolus and the priests (at line 134, *gefrætewode afyrhte* with cross-alliteration on *w* and at line 137, *feollon, fotum, fyrhte, fornumene*). Basil's serenity is highlighted by a continuing pattern of alliteration on *b*, in which, clearly, his name functions as the pivotal item (line 136 *Basilium, binnan*, and line 139 *bisceop, blyðum*). Verbal echoes are again too obvious to be coincidental. When Basil thanks the Lord (line 139) Ælfric echoes the rhyme above in *-ode: þancode and mode*. Even though the *o* in *þancode* does not carry stress and the *o* in *mode* is long, the rhyming echoes evoke the Lord's blessing of the Eucharist (lines 112–13 and 120). Line 135 exhibits cross-alliteration on *h / s*, if we accept alliteration between pure *s* and *s*-groups.⁴⁵

Such copious use of figures of speech has more than an ornamental function. It contributes to the overall unity and structure of LB, and it also creates a network of internal echoes which alert the hearer's or reader's attention. Ælfric's pedagogical intentions when writing the *Lives of Saints* can hardly be disputed. By means of a repetitive style, which occasionally echoes familiar works such as the Psalms or the *Liber Scintillarum*, Ælfric was appealing to the mnemonic abilities of his audience. The efficacy of his rhythmical style rests on the use of phrases which vary slightly, but whose frame repeats cyclically throughout his corpus of writings. Many such phrases can be found in the earlier *Catholic Homilies*, but acquire that characteristic Ælfrician form once they become locked into alliterative groups. It is fundamental for an understanding of Ælfric's work to see these patterns not only as purely rhetorical embellishments, but also as structural expedients.

⁴⁴ 'Eubolus the philosopher and the most distinguished priests stood at the doors staring at that light, and saw the Apostles who had come with the Saviour adorned with glory and they were frightened. They then heard the voice of the holy song and saw Basil inside, near the altar, and fell at his feet seized by fear. Then he went out, and they told him all they had seen. The bishop gave thanks for this with joyful heart, and afterwards said a homily for the people.'

⁴⁵ *ÆHom*, p. 128: 'Ælfric allows *sc*, *sp* and *st* to alliterate with one another and with *s* followed by a vowel or any other consonants'. Alliteration on *hl / l* and *hr / r* is discussed in *ÆHom*, p. 129.

The devices discussed above are employed throughout LB. An analysis of direct speeches is especially illuminating, because these constitute self-contained units of text. At the same time, however, the rhetoric of discourses is framed within a smooth textual continuum with the use of elaborate motifs.

The rhetoric of direct discourse

LB is crowded with characters and rich in speeches which usually involve the saint.⁴⁶ Ælfric's stylistic devices are at play in direct speeches as in other parts of the text and important ornamental patterns connect different interlocutors to Basil's discourses. Furthermore, the use of subverbal, verbal, phrasal and thematic links frames each speech in the larger narrative patterns connecting it to the narrator's voice. Indeed, most direct speeches rely heavily on interlinear embellishments. It seems therefore appropriate to look at these speeches in closer detail, by focussing on three episodes of LB: 7, 11 and 15, in which Basil interacts with eloquent characters. I consider these three chapters especially representative because they all contain character types who seem to occur regularly in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: in LB 7 Basil interacts with an emperor, in LB 11 with the devil and in LB 15 with a character who will eventually convert. These characters converse with Basil whose edifying speeches contain the highest number of embellishments peculiar to Ælfric's style.⁴⁷

The first speaker⁴⁸ to interact with Basil is Julian the Apostate who, in recognising his old schoolmate, boasts about his greater achievements in

⁴⁶ Ruth Waterhouse calculated that out of 670 lines of Skeat's edition 148.5 (22.2%) are of direct speech and 56.5 (8.4%) are of indirect speech. Such figures, according to Waterhouse's chart, place LB among those lives with a low number of speeches. The figures provided by Waterhouse range from 4.8% (Æthelthryth) to 48.7% of direct speech (Lucy, Thomas); see R. Waterhouse, 'Ælfric's Use of Discourse in Some Saints' Lives', *ASE* 5 (1977), 83–103, at 86. Waterhouse's work pre-dates the discovery of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, and it mostly based on printed sources.

⁴⁷ In Cynewulf's poem, St Juliana is rhetorically and spiritually above her torturers for clarity of speech and sophistication of form (except for the demon): R. E. Bjork, *The Old English Verse Saints' Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style*, McMaster Old English Studies 4 (Toronto, 1985), 45–61; see too, P. Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto, 2001). In the discussion that follows, I hope to show that such observations may apply to LB as well.

⁴⁸ Apart from the Saviour who speaks to Basil in LB 4.

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knowledge and philosophy with resonant words. Basil's answer is no less crafted (for comparison, I provide the Latin henceforth):

- 205 [þa rad Iulianus se arleasa casere
 mid micelre fyrdinge, swiðe fus to wige,
 and gecneow Basiliū, and cwæð him sona to:]
 JULIAN 'Ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on gepungenre lare
 and on uðwitegunge.' [Him andwyrde se bisceop:]
 210 BASIL 'Forgeafe God ælmihtig þæt ðu fyligdest wisdom.'⁴⁹

[et uidens eum imperator dixit:] 'Superphilosophatus sum te o Basilii.' Qui respondit ei: 'Vtinam philosophareris.' (c. 7, lines 4–6)⁵⁰

Ælfric's translation of this short exchange is more elaborate than the Latin. The peculiar compound *superphilosophatus* is one of the many Graecisms of the *Vita Basilii*. In response to it, Ælfric introduces the compound *oferþogen* and its alliterating cognate *geþungenre*. Julian's apostrophe to Basil (line 208), therefore, alliterates on *þ*, exhibits paronomasia on the keywords *oferþogen* and *geþungenre*,⁵¹ and is further interconnected to the following half line by means of a parallel prepositional phrase containing a feminine compound as well (*on gepungenre / uðwitegunge*). Basil's reply, concise and effective, alliterates on *f*, is back-linked to Julian's boast in *w* (*wisdom*, line 210) and plays on the etymology of *uðwitegunge*. Thus the parallels between *lar* and *wisdom*, introduced at the beginning of LB, find an echo in this passage where the two former schoolmates meet again.

The altercation between the two continues, with Julian looking down on Basil from his horse, and Basil looking down on Julian from his faith, until the irate emperor explodes in a flurry of anaphora which only partially derives from the Latin:

[þa gebealh hine se casere, and cwæð mid gebeote:]
 'Þonne ic eft gecyrrre sigefæst fram fyrde,
 ic aweste þine buruh, and gewyrce hi to yrðlande.

⁴⁹ I include the narrator's voice within square brackets. Alliteration and other rhetorical devices within the brackets are not highlighted unless pertinent to the discussion; 'when the wicked Emperor Julian rode forth with a great troop, very eager for battle, he recognised Basil, and immediately said to him thus: "I have surpassed you for excellent learning and philosophy." The bishop answered him: "May God Almighty grant that you follow wisdom."'

⁵⁰ 'And the emperor seeing him said: "I have surpassed you in philosophy, O Basil." He answered him: "If only you would philosophise."'

⁵¹ See above, pp. 106, note 25.

- 225 Ic wat þine dyrstignysse, and þinre burhware,
þe tobræcon þa anlicnysse þe ic sylf arærde
 and me to þære gebæd gebigdum cneowum.⁵²
 [Æfter þysum worde he gewende to Persum.]⁵²

[Iulianus denique audiens et insania factus dixit ad eum:] ‘Pastio namque istius foeni sine ablatione dabitur tibi, quando autem persas subigens reuersus fuero, desolabo ciuitatem tuam et arabo eam, ut farrifera magisquam hominifera sit, non enim ignoro audaciam populi a te suasum ut a me adoratam deam postquam eam statuerim non ferens fascinationem confringeret usque in finem.’ [Et haec dicens pergebat ad persarum regionem.] (c. 7, lines 12–18)⁵³

The paucity of figures of speech in the Latin text contrasts with the tightly intertwined Old English unit. The Latin translator provided a sequence of alliteration on *a* and *f* (*foeni, autem, fuero, arabo, farrifera, hominifera, audaciam, adoratam, ferens, fascinationem, confringeret, finem*). Ælfric was certainly sensitive to this pattern and partially followed it (line 222 alliterates on *f*, *sigefæst fram fyrde*; and line 225 on *a*, *anlicnysse, arærde*). In the Old English, Julian’s final words to Basil are dominated by anaphora of *ic* + verb: *gecyrre, aweste, gewyrce, wat, arærde* (lines 222–5), which syntactically corresponds to the sequence of first person verbs in the Latin (*reuersus fuero, desolabo, arabo, ignoro, statuerim*). Ælfric’s rendition is, however, more effective because the fourth item of the anaphora (preterite present *wat*, line 224) acts as a logical link between the verbs in the present tense (expressing future, lines 222 and 223) and the three preterite tenses *wat, tobræcon* and *arærde* (lines 224 and 225). On the verbal level, lines 223–4 also exhibit repetition of the possessive *þin* (and inflected forms) in a parallel construction, while on the subverbal level continued *w*-alliteration links Julian’s promise of destruction to the citizens of Caesarea.⁵⁴ The contrast between first and second person pronouns seems to mark the

⁵² ‘Then the emperor grew angry, and said threateningly: “When I come back victorious from the expedition, I will lay to waste your city, and turn it into pasture. I know of your insolence, and that of your people, who shattered the statue which I myself built and to which I myself prayed with bent knees.” After this speech he went to Persia.’

⁵³ ‘Julian, then, hearing this, became enraged and said to him: “A meal will be given to you out of this hay, without delay. In fact, when I return, after subduing the Persians, I will destroy and plough through your city, that it may produce grain rather than men. I know the temerity of your people whom you persuaded to shatter to destruction my beloved goddess whom I had raised, instead of being in awe of it.” And saying these things he went off to the region of the Persians.’

⁵⁴ Line 224 also shows cross-alliteration on *þ* and *w*.

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distance between Julian and Basil even further, and elaborates on the antithesis in the Latin *a te / a me*. The source of Julian's wrath is expressed with the words *dyrstignysse* and *anlicnysse*, which rhyme internally across two lines (224–5) and follow the emperor's menacing promise to destroy Basil's city. However, whereas *dyrstignysse* translates *audaciam* literally, Ælfric added more emphasis to Julian's *hybris*, by rendering *statuerim* with the alliterating pair *anlicnysse* and *arærde*. Line 225 alliterates on *þ* on unstressed syllables with two relative and one demonstrative pronoun (*þe*, *þa*, *þe*), but the consonantal echoes at lines 224–5 between *burhware / bræcon* and *bræcon / arærde* are more readily audible.

A further example of Basil's rhetorical craft in contrast with that of his interlocutors is offered by the episode of the youth who forsook Christ in exchange for earthly love (LB 11). This passage is particularly interesting because it aptly demonstrates Ælfric's use of connectives between the narrator's and the speaker's voice on both the subverbal and the verbal levels. The youth speaks in a sequence of lines alliterating on a *w*-continued pattern, but echoing Basil's question with strong-linked alliteration and polyptoton between *wilt* and *wille*:

- BASIL [Pa axode se **b**isceop:] 'Wilt þu **b**ugan eft to *Criste*?'
 YOUTH [Se *wipersaca* cwæð:] 'Ic *wille* georne leof, ac ic ne mæg,
 þeah ic *wille*, forþanþe ic *wiðsoc Criste*
 and on gewrite afæstnode þæt ic *wære* þæs deofles.'
 415 BASIL [Se *halga wer* him cwæð to:] 'Ne *hoga* þu ymbe þæt,
 ure *Hælend* is swiþe *welwillende* and *wille* þe eft underfon
 gif þu mid soðre dædbote *gecyrst* eft to him.'⁵⁵

[Tunc dicit ei sanctus:] 'Vis reuerti ad Deum nostrum?' [Ad quem puer:]
 'Vtique uolo, sed non ualeo.' [Dicit ei:] 'Et quare?' [Respondit ei puer:]
 'Scripto abnegauit Christum, et professum diabolo.' [Dicit ei:] 'Non sit tibi
 cura, benignus est Deus noster et recipiet te penitentem, compatitur enim
 maleficiis nostris.' ... [et orans reclusit eum in uno loco interioris sacri
 peribuli et dans ei regulam collaborabat ei per tres dies.] (c. 11, lines
 90–100)⁵⁶

⁵⁵ 'Then the bishop asked: "Do you want to return to Christ?" The apostate said: "I want to eagerly, sir, but I cannot, though I wish to, because I forsook Christ, and committed to writing that I belonged to the devil." The holy man said: "Do not worry about that. Our Saviour is very benevolent, and will take you back to him, if you turn back to him with true contrition."'

⁵⁶ 'Then the saint said to him: "Do you want to go back to our Lord?" And the boy to him: "I certainly do, but I cannot." He said to him: "And why?" The boy replied: "I denied Christ in writing and made a promise to the devil." He said to him: "Do not worry, our God is

Ælfric's translation of this verbal exchange is very sophisticated from a rhetorical point of view, while the Latin text does not display so many flourishes, with simple *u*-alliteration and paronomasia between *uolo* and *ualeo*. In the Old English, Basil's question at line 411 locks the youth's answer into simple *w*-alliteration (echoing the Latin alliterative pattern in *u*). This flourish works on the verbal and subverbal levels, however, with chiasmus between *wipersaca* (line 412) and *wiðsoc* (line 413), which link the words of the narrator with those of the youth. As if for soothing effects, Basil's response (line 415) alliterates on an aspirant (*h*), the echo of which can be heard at line 416 with *Hælend*; this line also continues the *w*-pattern (*welwillende* and *wille*). On the verbal level the passage is rich with echoes between etymologically related words: starting at line 412, *wilt*, *wille*, *welwillende* (lines 412, 413, 416), *wipersaca* and *wiðsoc* (lines 412, 413), *halga* and *Hælend* (lines 415, 416). Non-etymological paronomasia links the youth's words back to the narrator's voice (*wære / wer*, lines 414–15). The youth's speech and Basil's response are connected by means of what might be called a non-etymological metathesis *Criste / gecyrst* (lines 411, 413 and 417). The latter figure of speech turns this brief passage into a self-contained structure with the adverbial phrase *eft to* positioned in parallel syntactical construction at lines 411 and 417. The pun also echoes the devil's words in LB as he is in the process of corrupting the youth: 'ge wipsacað me eft and cyrrað to eowrum Criste' (line 376).

Albeit in a less sophisticated pattern, the same wordplay between *Crist* and (*ge*)*cyrst* appears in Ælfric's version of the Life of St Denis and Companions (*LS* 29, lines 137–40):

Ic cweðe þæt þu underfo. eall Francena rice
to þinre bodunge. and beo **Crist** sylf mid ðe.
swa hwider swa þu **gecyrst**. swa swa he soðlice wæs
mid þam eadigan petre. and paule on life.⁵⁷

Within the Ælfrician corpus, the pairing of (*ge*)*cyrst* and *crist* is only attested in these two examples from the *Lives of Saints*. One of the Old English glosses to Psalm 132.10 (BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii) displays a lexical choice which is remarkably similar to Ælfric's: 'for dauide þeowan

kind and he will accept you when you repent. Indeed he shows mercy towards our misdeeds." ... Then, praying, he locked him away in a secret cave and giving him a rule he worked with him for three days.'

⁵⁷ 'I say that you should take all the kingdom of the Franks to your preaching and may Christ himself be with you wherever you turn, just as He was truly with the holy Peter and Paul in their lives.'

þinne ne **acyrre** ansyne **cristes** þines (Propter David servum tuum non avertas faciem Christi tui).⁵⁸ There can be little doubt that Ælfric's pun in LB and St Denis relies heavily on the Psalms. If indeed he expected his audience to recognise Psalm 132.10 in Basil's speech, he was working on a very subtle receptive level on the assumption that they would have the Psalms at least partially memorised, not only in Latin, but also in English.⁵⁹

Demons are often attributed some rhetorical dignity in Old English verse;⁶⁰ in LB 11 the devil can be shown to use sophisticated discourse as well. His speech to entice the youth contains a relatively high number of rhetorical embellishments:

[Pa cwæð se sceocca eft:] 'Ge synd swiðe ungetreowe,
 375 **þonne** ge min behofiað, **þonne** helpe ic **eow**,
 and ge wipsacað me eft, and cyrrað to **eowrum** Criste
 se þe is swiðe **mildheort** and **mildelice** **eow** underfehþ,
 ac writ me nu sylf willes þæt þu wiðsace Criste,
 and þinum **fulluhte**, and ic gefremme ðinne lust,
 380 and þu beo on **domesdæge** **fordemed** mid me.'⁶¹

[Dicit ei diabolus:] 'Perfidi estis uos christiani, et quandoquidem opus meum habetis uenitis ad me, quandoquidem consequimini desiderium uestrum, negatis me et acceditis ad Christum uestrum qui est benignus ac clementissimus, et suscipit uos, sed fac mihi manuscriptam Christi tui et

⁵⁸ Old English: 'on account of David your servant do not turn your gaze of your Christ', Latin: 'On account of David your servant, do not turn the face of your anointed'; see J. L. Rosier, ed., *The Vitellius Psalter Edited from British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius E. xviii* (Ithaca, NY, 1962), p. 329. The pun also finds an echo in Cynewulf's poetry. It appears in *Elene* and *Juliana*, though neither instance shows homoeoptoton ([ge]cyrran is not in the second person singular) and so does not carry the same emphasis: 'in gedwolan lange, **acyrred** fram **Criste**' (*Elene*, line 1118); 'þæt þu mec **acyrre** from **Cristes** lofe' (*Juliana*, line 138) and 'þæt he monþeawum minum lifge **acyrred** cuðlice from **Cristes** æ' (*Juliana*, lines 410–11); see G. P. Krapp and E. Van Kirk-Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York, NY, 1936). Note that the occurrence in *Juliana* is identical to the Psalm verse.

⁵⁹ The Old English glosses in the Vitellius Psalter (G) are dependent on the Royal Psalter (London, BL, Royal 2. B. V, s. x^{med}), which was in use at Winchester during Ælfric's times; see Gretsche, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 18 and 27.

⁶⁰ On the rhetorical devices used by the devil in *Juliana*, see Bjork, *Verse Saints' Lives*, pp. 45–61.

⁶¹ 'Then the evil spirit replied: "You are very untrustworthy: when you need me I help you, and afterwards you betray me and turn to your Christ, who is very merciful, and mercifully takes you; but write for me of your own will, that you forsake Christ and your baptism, and I will fulfil your desire, and you will be condemned together with me on Doomsday."'

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baptismatis abrenuntiationem uoluntariam, et quae in me est in saecula uoluntaria professione, et quia mecum sis in die iudicii condelectans mihi in praeeparatis aeternis tormentis et ego statim desiderium tuum adimpleo.’ (c. 11, lines 33–40)⁶²

The plethora of intralinear rhetorical devices turn the devil into a sophisticated speaker. On the verbal level, there is repetition of the second person plural pronouns (*ge* lines 374, 375 and 376, *eow* lines 375 and 377, and *eowrum* line 376) and anaphora with *and* (lines 379–80). On the subverbal level, these lines display cross-alliteration on *b* (*ð*) and *f* (line 379, *pinum*, *fulluhte*, *gefremme*, *ðinne*), exploiting, once again, an unaccented syllable, with chiasmus of the possessive pronoun. Interlinear devices adopted for the internal cohesion of this passage are also elaborate: simple alliteration on *c* and in *m* (line 376, *cyrrað*, *Criste*, and line 377, *mildheort*, *mildelice*),⁶³ double on *sc* / *s*, with an echo to the narrator’s voice (line 374, *sceocca*, *swiðe*), on *w* (line 378, *writ*, *willes*, *wiðsaca*), and on *d* (line 380, *domesdæge*, *fordemed*). At the verbal level these lines exhibit repetition of *þonne* (line 375) and paronomasia between the etymologically related *domesdæge* and *fordemed* (line 380). Here, alliteration on *d* is the only echo to the Latin text (*die*, *condelectans*). Though effectively employed by Ælfric in this instance, paronomasia between *domesdæg* and *deman* (and inflected forms) is not uncommon in Old English, and it appears frequently in poetic and prose texts including charters. What is significant about this passage is that, while translating the Latin faithfully, Ælfric added to his text a conspicuous number of rhetorical embellishments.

The devil’s second speech is a confrontation with Basil, claiming the youth’s soul in front of the gathered community. In this context, the devil’s rhetoric seems to wane in comparison with Basil’s, with far fewer elaborate subverbal and verbal links:

[þa com se wælhreowa deofol, wolde geniman þone cnapan
of Basilies handum hetelice teonde,
and cwæð to ðam halgan þæt he hine berypte:]
‘Ne sohte ic na hine, ac he sylf com to me,

⁶² ‘The devil said to him: “You Christians are untrustworthy. Whenever you need my help, you come to me, and, after you obtain your wish, then you deny me and go back to your Christ who is kind and extremely merciful, and accepts you. But write for me a letter by hand, which will be mine forever according to your declaration, [saying] that you forsake Christ and baptism of your own accord, and that you will be with me on Doomsday among preordained, eternal torments. I will then fulfil your desire immediately.”’

⁶³ Line 376 only alliterates in the second half-line.

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445 her ic **habbe** his **handgewrit** þæt ic hit **gehealde** mid me
to þam **gemænelican dome** on þam **micclum dæge**.⁶⁴

[Qui respondens ait ad eum:] ‘Basili, praeiudicas me, non abii ego ad eum, sed ipse uenit ad me. Abnegauit Christum et professus est mihi. Et ecce manuscriptum habeo et in die *iudicii* ad communem *iudicem* eum *duco*.’ (c. 11, lines 133–6)⁶⁵

In Ælfric’s translation, the devil’s short speech is adorned with simple alliteration on *s* (line 444, *sohte, sylf*), double alliteration on *h* (line 445, *habbe, handgewrit, gehealde*) and cross-alliteration on *m / d* (line 446, *gemænelican, dome, micclum, dæge*). There are, however, no interlinear links, paronomasia, or etymological wordplay. Waterhouse observed that in the Life of Julian and Basilissa and in the Life of Cecilia Ælfric favoured indirect discourse to report the speeches of ‘bad’ characters, and that the translator’s interventions are more readily visible in these portions of text. In LB the devil’s direct speech is translated in full, but is preceded by a segment of reported speech (line 443, ‘and cwæð to ðam halgan þæt he hine berypte’), thus blurring the transition between direct and indirect speech. The Latin paronomasia, *iudicii, iudicem* and *duco*, is not mirrored in the Old English, but the tmesis at line 446 echoes the devil’s earlier words at line 380 (*domesdæge*).

Thus Ælfric’s stylistic choices seem to be tailored around the nature of his characters. Character development can be observed in the episode of Joseph the physician: Joseph, ‘hæðen and iudeisc’ (line 566),⁶⁶ is an exceptional doctor who can judge his patients’ health by simply feeling their pulse. Basil, sensing the approach of his own death, knows through divine revelation that he has to bring Joseph to Christ’s flock. When the doctor is summoned and has visited the saint, his diagnosis is final:

[and se oðer him andwyrde:]
‘Gearciað þa þing þe eow gewunelice synd

⁶⁴ ‘There came the cruel devil. He wanted to take the boy from Basil’s hands, pulling fiercely, and said to the saint that he had robbed him: “I did not seek him, but he himself came to me. Here I have his script which I will carry with me to our common Judgement on the great day.”’

⁶⁵ ‘Answering, he said to him: “Basil, you misjudge me. I did not go to him, but rather he came to me: he denied Christ and made a vow to me. Here I have his script and on Doomsday I will lead him to the common Judge.”’

⁶⁶ On this line, see p. 218.

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to **b**ebyrigunge, **þ**es **b**isceop gewit hraðe.’ (lines 578–80)⁶⁷

[Dixit ad domesticos eius,] ‘Quae ad sepulturam sunt **in**dumenta praeparare ei iste autem **in**quid bene moritur.’ (c. 16, lines, 29–30)⁶⁸

The first line uttered by Joseph contains transverse alliteration on *b* and vowel (relying on relative, personal and demonstrative pronouns) and internal assonance (*þing*, *synd*). The second line is even less elaborate with double alliteration on *b* and an echo between *gearciað*, *gewunelice* and *gewit*. These patterns seem to reflect the simple alliteration on *s* and *in* found in the Latin. As Joseph talks to Basil, his use of rhetorical figures increases gradually and his lines begin to flow together with continued alliteration:

[Ða cwæð se ærcebisceop to ðam æðelan læce:]
 BASIL ‘Nastu hwæt þu sægst, þeah þu swa **ne** wene.’
 JOSEPH [Se læce him cwæð to:] ‘**Ne** lyfastu oð æfen.’
 BASIL [Ða cwæð Basilius:] ‘Hwæt gif ic **h**ide **m**erigenes?’
 JOSEPH [Se Ebreisca cwæþ eft:] ‘**Ne** bið hit swa langsum.
 585 Ane tid ic wene, **þ**æt **þ**in sawul **w**unige on þe,
 ac gefada **þ**ine **þ**ing, forþanþe ic **þ**e sæcge
þæt **þ**es dæg ne geendað ofer ðe cucena.’
 [Ða cwæð Basilius mid blyðum mode him to:]
 BASIL ‘Hwæt **d**estu gif ic to **m**ergen **m**iddeges **g**ebide?’
 590 JOSEPH [Se Ebreisca cwæð:] ‘**S**ylf ic **s**welte þonne.’
 BASIL [Se halga wer sæde:] ‘Þu scealt **s**weltan **s**ynna,
 and Criste *lybban* þurh *geleafan* awend.’⁶⁹

[Dicit ei magnus Basilius:] ‘*Nescis quid dicis.*’ [Dicit ad eum Ioseph hebraeus:] ‘Crede, domine, sol cum sole occidet hodie.’ [Et dicit ei sanctus:] ‘Et si *non* moritur usque ad matinum, quid?’ [Dixit hebraeus:]

⁶⁷ ‘And the other one answered him: “Prepare the things that are customary for your burial, this bishop will die quickly.”’

⁶⁸ ‘He said to his servants: “Prepare for him those garments which are customary for his burial, for, I say, he is certainly dying.”’

⁶⁹ ‘Then the archbishop said to the noble doctor: “You do not know what you say, because you do not believe.” The physician said to him: “You will not live until evening.” Then Basil said: “What if I live until morning?” The Jew said again: “It will not be for so long. One more hour, I believe, your soul will be living in you; but get your things ready, for I say to you that the day will not end with you alive.” Then Basil said to him with joyous heart: “What would you do if I lived to midday?” The Jew said: “I myself will die.” The holy man said: “You will die of [your] sins, and live in Christ, converted through the faith.”’

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'*Non est possibile fieri hoc domine, uix enim una hora erit anima tua in te. Sed dispone iam ecclesiam tuam et res tuas, non enim obscurabitur dies hodie in te.*' [Dicit ei sanctus:] 'Et si uenero in crastinum usque ad horam sextam, quid facies?' [Qui ait:] 'Ego moriar.' [Dicit ei sanctus:] 'Etiam ut moriaris peccato, uiuas autem Christo tuo.' (c. 16, lines 30–38)⁷⁰

The doctor's lines here contain a larger number of alliterative patterns on a more sophisticated level than his previous (albeit brief) speech. Joseph reaches his peak in this passage at lines 585–7 with transverse alliteration on *b / w* (line 585, *wene, þæt, þin, wunige*, relying on pronouns), cross-alliteration on *f / þ* (line 586, *gefada, þine, þing, forþanþe, þe, sæcge*), echoed at line 587 with a double alliteration relying on pronouns (*þæt, þes, ðe*). Internal continuity in Joseph's speech is guaranteed by continued alliteration on *þ* between lines 585 and 587 and by the parallels between the second person singular pronoun in the genitive and the second person singular pronoun in the dative (*þin* and *þe*, lines 585–6). By contrast, Basil's speech is more elaborate. He introduces the contracted form *nastu* (line 581) to translate Latin *nescis*. This provides a cue echoed in Joseph's reply (*lyfastu*, line 582), which is then picked up again by Basil himself when he asks the crucial question ('hwæt destu gif ic to mergen middeges gebide', line 589).⁷¹ The patterns in the Latin progressively build on the negative particles (*nescis, non moritur, non est possibile, non enim obscurabitur*), but Ælfric's rendering of this pattern is enriched by the presence of the contracted second person verb (*nastu*) and by the anaphora *ne ... ne* at the beginning of both Joseph's speeches (lines 582 and 584). Line 589 once again asserts Basil's superiority as a speaker: it exhibits transverse alliteration on *d / m* (*destu, mergen, middeges*) and moves slowly, in a seemingly lowering tone with the gradual advancement of the cluster *-de-*, from an accented position at the beginning of the word (*destu*), to mid-word

⁷⁰ 'Basil the Great said to him: "You do not know what you say." Joseph the Jew said: "Believe me, sir, the sun will die today with the sun." The saint said: "What if I do not die until the morning?" The Jew said: "This cannot happen, sir. Your soul will still remain in you for hardly an hour. Prepare your church and your things, for you will not see the end of today." The saint said to him; "And if I survive until tomorrow's sixth hour, what will you do?" He answered: "I will die myself." The saint replied: "Yes, you will die in sin, but you will live in your Christ.'"

⁷¹ Each of these contracted forms is rare in isolation and indeed unique in such echoing patterns; *nastu* occurs together with *wastu* as a gloss to *nosti* in *Gloss to Proverbs*, 30.3 (spelled *nasðu*). The form *lyfast* only occurs in Julius E. vii (Mark, *LS* 15, line 66), *leofast* being Ælfric's preferred form. It has not been emended in the present edition because *leofastu* would create a hapax legomenon.

(though still accented, *middeges*), to an unaccented position at word-end (*gebide*). On the verbal level, the chiasmus (*bide merigenes / mergen ... gebide*, lines 583 and 589) ties together Basil's speeches.

This brief exchange between Basil and Joseph seems to imply that the doctor is a noble and pure spirit, only lacking in the true faith which could save his soul. The Latin passage does not show the same patterns at all; Ælfric's translation is relatively literal, but much more lively than the original. So, for instance, to Latin *magnus Basilius* corresponds Old English *se ærcebisceop* (line 580), to *hebraeus, læce* (line 582), to *sanctus, Basilius* (line 588), to *qui, se Ebreisca* (line 590). Two additions in the Old English seem to function as complements to the line (*forþanþe ic þe sæcge* at line 586, and *þurh geleafan awend* at line 592), because they do not essentially change the narrative, but they contribute to the overall aural effects of the speeches.

Ælfric's use of rhythm and alliteration is not only a means of embellishing the translation, but also a way to keep the textual structure together with an array of rhetorical devices acting largely on the subverbal and on the verbal levels. These devices create a tightly interlaced sequence of episodes with many echoes throughout the text. Basil and the characters interacting with him continue these patterns in tune with the narrating voice. At points, Basil's speech is richer in rhetorical ornament than that of his interlocutors: in this saintly figure holiness and erudition interact and serve as powerful instruments for the edification of the community. The Emperor Julian the Apostate initially exhibits a highly controlled rhetoric, which gradually deteriorates as his anger mounts. On the other hand, in the episode of Joseph's conversion, the doctor's speech is unsteady while he is not a Christian, but improves as soon as he wishes to convert, reaching higher rhetorical tones once he becomes a Christian. The Faustian youth who sold his soul to the devil speaks in simple terms, and this simplicity is made even more obvious by the contrast with Basil's response. A separate case seems to be represented by the devil, whose speeches contain an elevated number of intralinear patterns, but a low number of interlinear ones. This character seems to be rhetorically more belligerent when he is conversing with a young man whom he is trying to ensnare. Such technique reveals Ælfric's intention of warning his readers or listeners against the persuasive logic of demons. Indeed, the devil's use of ornamental devices is relatively low when compared to Basil's, against whom, Ælfric will demonstrate, he has no chance of prevailing.

In conclusion, modeled on Pope's exhaustive analysis of Ælfric's rhythmical style, an analysis of the alliterative patterns can shed further light on the abbot's translation techniques. Ælfric's works can be better understood if we

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look at how the rhetorical patterns interact in combination with one another, and especially at how they affect the pace and structure of the narrative.

LB is found in one complete manuscript and two very badly burned fragments. The text as edited here conforms to a new methodological approach which reconstructs a hypothetical text as Ælfric conceived of it. This method rids the text of the spelling oddities found in the only complete copy of LB, incorporating the readings of the charred fragments. The *Vita Basilii* (BHL 1023) survives in three pre-twelfth-century English manuscripts: two of which are part of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary tradition. The Latin text is edited from these.

*Old English text**Manuscripts*

Ælfric's translation of the Life of Saint Basil survives in three manuscripts, one complete (J) and two fragments (O and V). Part of the O fragment is now in Oxford, and I treat it together with the codex from which it became separated in 1731.¹

J = London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii (S England, s. xiⁱⁿ; provenance Bury St Edmunds; *Ker* 162, *Gneuss* 339).²

This codex is the most complete version of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. It is from Bury St Edmunds and has been dated by *Ker* 162 to the beginning of the eleventh century. The only complete edition of the texts found in this manuscript is Skeat's *Lives of Saints*. The written space measures ca. 232 x 125 mm. Large decorated initials are in red and green, and the largest one is about four lines long. LB is found at folios 15v–26r.³ The square looking, large script has been described in *Ker* as 'influenced by Anglo-Saxon minuscule' (p. 210). Capitalisation is regular: upper-case letters are used to introduce new sections or a turn in the narrative. Punctuation is frequent and used to mark the rhythmical units of Ælfric's style.⁴ In fact, it seems that the scribe was particularly sensitive to Ælfric's style because the points are used fairly regularly to identify both rhythmical and sense units.

¹ For a discussion of the manuscripts of *LS*, see Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*'.

² For manuscript date, origin and provenance, I rely on *Ker*, *Ker MSS* and *Gneuss*.

³ I follow the foliation indicated in *Ker* 162 (in pencil on the manuscript), but note that *LS* adopts the older foliation, according to which LB is at folios 13v–24v. Skeat's foliation is two folios behind and is the one written in ink, rather than pencil.

⁴ See below under editorial principles, pp. 137–9. See too Orchard, 'Re-editing Wulfstan', pp. 63–5; and Bredehoft, *Early English*, pp. 84–5. For a discussion of punctuation in poetic codices and a summary of the relevant bibliography, A. Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 40–2.

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This manuscript is notorious for its idiosyncratic spellings and for its use of rare orthographical variants.⁵ For example, *æ* is used instead of *e* (*færde* line 10, *wær* line 62, *astræhte* line 66, *æffrem*, line 521), *e* instead of *æ* (*messode* lines 349 and 617, *fec* line 468), *gc* for *g* (*cnæplingc* line 9), *æ* instead of *ea* (*ræf* line 68, *gær* line 22, *sæp* line 161, *dædlicum* line 280). Morphologically, there is confusion of verbal endings between *-an*, *-on*, *-en*: *gebugan* instead of *gebugon* (line 56), *beheolden* instead of *beheoldon* (line 133), and confusion of final *e* with *a*: feminine and dative singular article is regularly *þæra*, *worhta* for *worhte* (line 21), *arwurðe* for *arwurða* (line 489). Confusion of *i* and *y* is also a distinctive characteristic of this scribe, generating a group of idiosyncratic spellings only attested in the *Lives of Saints*: for instance the group *uðwyta* (and inflected forms) and *uðwytegunge* (see Appendix II).⁶ A number of spellings also betray the possible dialectal origin of the scribe, perhaps Anglian, showing smoothing of the diphthong *ea* (*bræc* for *breac*, line 212). Likewise, absence of rounding (*e* > *eo* in front of *w*) in *larewas* (line 25) points to a Northumbrian influence on this so frequently criticised scribe.⁷

Some of the scribal idiosyncrasies seem an attempt to adjust to the sound patterns, and it is indeed possible that some of the notoriously erratic spellings reflects this tendency. Hence homoeoteleuton (morphological) is the most frequent spelling peculiarity of this manuscript: ‘and fæla wundra worhta. swa swa wyrdwriteres’ (line 21),⁸ where the final *a* in *worhta* appears as an adjustment to the phonic environment.⁹ Conversely, unaccented *e* is often found in place of unaccented *a*: ‘mid þam worde þry berene hlafes. swylce for bletsunge.’ (lines 211–12) where *-es* in *hlafes* is a homoeoteleuton. Another case of homoeoteleuton is found at line 485, but this time it generated a nonsensical line: ‘mid þam wædlian hreoflian’. The adjective *wædlian* is the correct reading, but *wædlian* creates an internal rhyme. However, these patterns are far from consistent and are perhaps

⁵ See the recent account of this phenomenon in Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, pp. 581–2. Following Lapidge’s method, I emend silently the idiosyncratic variants of J (see below, pp. 137–9). Since, however, many of these scribal idiosyncrasies generate spellings that are unique in the Old English corpus, I have reported them in Appendix II.

⁶ For further discussion of the spellings of Julius E. vii, see below, pp. 133–4 and 137–8.

⁷ See A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§ 145 and 222.

⁸ For this discussion I quote directly from the manuscript and report its punctuation.

⁹ Where morphology calls for final *e* instead of *a*, a later scribe has intervened in some of the items of J, but not in LB, see Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, p. 581. In LB there are three corrections in the hand of J (by means of expunction): line 11 *wysdome* from *wysdone*, line 268 *þegna* from *þegnu*, line 520 *ane* corrected into *ana*, but there no corrections by the later hand.

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better classified as mechanical errors or a result of the progressive weakening of unaccented inflections, rather than a conscious scribal adaptation.

Despite J's lack of consistency, homophonic adaptations appear throughout the text, and involve both accented and unaccented vowels. The following example will illustrate at least in part the frequent use of *æ* in place of *e*:

þa weop se **f**æder . wolde hi **g**efræfrian . and **cw**æð mid mycelre sarnysse.
to þære seocan dehter. Ic wolde mid **cl**ænnysse. criste þe beweddian to
engla **g**efærredena. to **f**rofre minre sawle. (lines 391–4)

It seems evident here that the use of *æ* in *gefæfrian* and *gefærredena* is meant to highlight the alliteration between the two words. Such spelling variants, otherwise unattested in the Old English corpus, echo the predominantly front vowel environment of these three lines: *fæder*, *cwæð*, *þære* and *clænnysse*. One final instance, this time involving the omission of initial *h*, deserves mention; it seems that all three scribes (J, O and V) had trouble with the alliterative patterns of the passage below:

and **h**i æt þære **h**algan stowe þone **h**ælend bædon. þæt he **h**raðe towurpe
þæs wælreowan andgyt. and hi **ahr**ædde wiþ ðone **r**eðan casere. (lines
237–9)

J is perhaps the one scribe who solves the difficult alliteration between *hr* and *r* more elegantly (though incorrectly). By adopting the less frequent variant *wælreowan* instead of *wælhreowan* the scribe of J created two parallel rhythmical units each alliterating on *hr* and *r*, and also maintained interlinear alliteration on *h* with the line above.¹⁰ The other two manuscripts do not show equal sensitivity to these patterns: O and V eliminated all aspirates and introduced the very rare variant *aredde* (O = *raðe*, *wælreowan*, *aredde*, *reðan*); V retained the *h* in *wælhreowan* (V = *raðe*, *wælhreowan*, *aredde*, *reðan*).

Much can be said about J's erratic orthography, but it generally seems to result from a tendency to adjust to or even imitate Ælfric's sound patterns.

¹⁰ The variant without the aspirate is less frequent in Ælfric, but note that both spellings occur with equal frequency in poetry, perhaps suggesting a more widespread tendency. For example: *wælreow* (and inflected forms): *Andreas*, line 1211, *Fates of the Apostles*, line 69, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, line 6, *Beowulf*, line 629; *wælhreow* (and inflected forms): *Daniel*, line 53, *Elene*, line 112, *Metres of Boethius* 9, line 5, *Judgement Day II*, line 229. All these instances occur in a context with *w*-alliteration (rather than *h* or *r*), except in the ambivalent instance of *Judgement Day II*: 'þær bið unrotnes æghwær wælhreow'.

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Whether the scribe was consciously intervening (on perhaps an already faulty copy) or not, however, cannot be determined here.

O = London, BL, Cotton Otho B. x + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q. E. 20 (s. xi¹; provenance Worcester; *Ker* 177, *Gneuss* 355).¹¹

This codex was very badly damaged in the fire at Ashburnham House in November 1731 and is so charred that many of its surviving portions have curled up and are now very blackened. Its folios or fragments of folios are cardboard bound, mostly in the wrong order, some upside down, and are held together by adhesive tape which has partially corroded the edges of the parchment.¹² A fragment of this manuscript is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q. E. 20 (called O in this edition). This fragment became separated from the main codex two weeks after the fire and was brought to Oxford where it was rediscovered by Sir Frederic Madden. The fragment was subsequently placed between two pieces of glass where it is currently kept. It has been printed by Napier but was not collated in Skeat's edition.¹³ In O, LB is found at folios 3–6 and 50, but these are misbound: folios 4 and 5 are inverted, folio 5 is reversed, the Rawlinson fragment should be after folio 4 and finally folios 50 and 6 are both inverted and reversed. Thus the correct foliation for our text is as follows: 3rv + 5vr + 4rv + Rawlinson, vr¹⁴ + 50r + 6rv + 50v.

The portion of LB which survives in O starts with 'KALENDAS IANUARIII' and ends with 'to frofre minre sawle (spelled *saule* in O)' (lines 1–394). The original foliation is still visible on folio 6r (marked 22), and has been used in *Ker* (177) to reconstruct the original composition of the codex. The surviving folios were originally numbered 17r–22v;¹⁵ folios 17–19 are folios 3–5 in the current foliation (3 = 17; 5 = 18; 4 = 19); 20 is now the

¹¹ I am grateful to the Leavis Foundation Committee, University of York, for granting me the funds to purchase ultraviolet photographs of this manuscript. I am also grateful to Stephen Roper of the Department of Reproductions, BL, for his prompt help.

¹² See *Ker* 222, item 3. For additional codicological features of this volume, see also S. D. Lee, 'Two Fragments from Cotton MS Otho B. x', *British Library Journal* 17 (1991), 83–7; see too K. Kiernan, B. Seales, and J. Griffionen, 'The Reappearance of St Basil the Great in British Library MS Cotton Otho B. x', *Computers and the Humanities* 36 (2002), 7–26, which discusses the unfortunate textual history of LB and prints photographs of manuscript O.

¹³ A. S. Napier, ed., 'A Fragment of Ælfric's Lives of Saints', *Modern Language Notes* 2 (1887), 189–90.

¹⁴ The fragment is marked in reverse order: its verso should be the recto.

¹⁵ The original foliation is of vital importance to reconstruct this codex. For the sake of consistency, in the edition I follow the BL foliation.

Rawlinson fragment; folio 21 is missing (it contained lines 259–332: ‘cuðlice his gesihðe’ to ‘[g]if þonne se ælmihtiga God’); folio 22 is now split in two parts (folios 50 and 6), and its complementary members are mounted on two separate cardboard pieces.

Insofar as I can tell, there are twenty-nine lines to the page. Titles are in red; capitalised initials and tironian *and*-signs seem to have some red filling in them. The script of folios 50 and 6 seems of a different aspect and quality from that of the other folios: it looks less pointy, has a more square appearance and the strokes appear somewhat thicker. It also has an overall more evenly spaced appearance, whereas the preceding folios (including the Rawlinson fragment) have a very cramped appearance with less space between the minims. Thus Skeat called folios 50 + 6 fragment O₂, believing it to be a different witness, and collated it against V and J wherever possible, but it is only with the aid of modern technology that one can partially compensate for the damage done by the fire.¹⁶ Given the appalling codicological state of O, it is not possible, however, to speculate further on the nature of its script, even though it should be noted that this fragment is also quite different from V, as also pointed out by Kiernan.

The spelling in O is on the whole much closer to the standards of Ælfric’s homilies, but, like J, it contains a number of idiosyncrasies: for example, O spelled *bisceop* regularly with a *y*. Confusion of *i* and *y* also generated contradictory sound contexts, such as lines 107 (*lyflican*) and 118 (*liflycan*). Wherever J has ð, O has þ. There are a number of corrections, all superscript, in a contemporary but somewhat different hand, and there are also two later corrections, in a much thinner stroke (lines 346 and 361).¹⁷ The scribe of O is generally more accurate than J and, as Lapidge observed, its readings are overall more reliable. Many of O’s spellings (though not all) conform to Ælfric’s *usus* and many of its variants are to be preferred to those of J.¹⁸

On the basis of Wanley’s *Catalogus* and whatever is visible from charred leaves, *Ker* reconstructs the original contents of O. This codex was not wholly hagiographical, but it also contained some homiletic pieces. Judging

¹⁶ See Kiernan, ‘The Reappearance of St Basil’, pp. 15–17.

¹⁷ One is a superscript *p* to correct *up*. The other, however, is more problematic, because it adds something to the word *digol* but is a *locus desperandus*: the superscript correction looks like a sideways *t*. After the word *digol* (‘secret’), O reads *lige* (‘flame’), so perhaps O or its ancestor read something like *digole lige* (instrumental). This would render the Latin more literally: ‘et incendit [diabolus] ad puelle amorem’ (c. 11, line 9), but the phrase *digole lige* (or any inflection) is not attested, while *digellice* (or *digollice* the reading of J) appears around 200 times in the Old English Electronic Corpus.

¹⁸ See Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, p. 580.

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from its starting matter, whoever compiled the collection did so with careful planning. Significantly, the first item of the codex was Ælfric's homily *De initio creaturae* followed by the *Exameron Anglice* and then LB. There seems to be no doubt that the compiler of this codex recognised the thematic correspondence between the two non-hagiographical texts and perhaps even their relationship to Saint Basil.

V = London, BL, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii (s. xi^{med}; *Ker* 222, *Gneuss* 406).

This is also a fragmentary version of LB, badly damaged and charred in the Cotton fire. The original manuscript contained a collection of lives not arranged *per circulum anni*: LB is currently at folios 79v–83r (folios 189–92 and 197 in Wanley's account), between the life of Edmund and that of Paul. About half of LB survives in this witness. The fragment starts with the words 'wurðscype butan he wisdom' and ends with 'geuntrumed and orwene lifes', lines 7–300 (folios 79v–82v); the fragment on folio 83r resumes with the words 'ane synne þe on þissere ymelan' to the end of LB (lines 641–69). Folio 83r is now foliated consecutively with the rest of LB, but about 340 lines of text have gone missing between folios 82v and 83r. Indeed, according to Wanley's foliation, there is a gap of about five folios between 82 and 83 (see *Ker* 222).

There are about twenty-five lines per side. The surviving folios are very badly charred at the upper and lower margins, so that approximately seven lines of (printed) text are missing from the edges of each folio. The fragments have also shrunk considerably: it is therefore impossible to determine how many words are missing from each burnt edge. For example, at folio 80r (LB line 59) there does not seem to be enough missing parchment to contain the words 'gehaten þær se Hælend', so I concluded that V must be in agreement with J in the omission of *gehaten*, but, owing to shrinkage, such speculation is only possible when both the other witnesses are legible. V is overall in better condition than O, at least for the fragment of LB, though the surviving folios are still severely damaged and the parchment is really worn, owing perhaps to stretching during restoration. Folio 83 seems to have undergone some trimming as well, because a number of words are cut off at the outer margin (for example, *basili[us]*, line 660). The fire burned some holes through the parchment of folio 82, and wore other folios out so that there is considerable bleedthrough between the recto and the verso, making some of the words illegible to the naked eye.

Such conditions allow for little speculation on the original state of the text, though the verso part of these folios seems overall more legible than the recto, suggesting perhaps that this section of the text originally belonged in the first half of a quire, and that the verso was the flesh side. Dry-point ruling was used. The title of the life of Paul (following LB) is in red display

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capitals, and it would also seem that some initial capitals, notably Ð, had red filling, though this is now barely distinguishable. Majuscule Ð also contains a decorative stroke inside the bowl, parallel to its shaft. A new ligature for *sw* starts being used at folio 83, with tall, half-uncial *s* linking to the leading stroke of *w*: this is a distinctive feature absent from the other portion of the text. The shape of *d* also changes on this folio, with its ascender being shorter than its counterpart on the other folios and almost completely leaning to the left.¹⁹ But again, as with O, the state of the surviving fragment allows for little speculation, for example on change of scribal hand.

A punctus is used throughout the text for the rhythmical units (but not as consistently as in J, as far as is discernible); occasionally a semicolon is used for syntactical pauses. Like O, the orthography of V is overall very close to the standards of Ælfric's homilies, with very few oddities and rare orthographic variants (fewer than O). The scribe (or scribes) of V used ð instead of þ except in the abbreviation for þæt. Like in J, some homoeoteleuta perhaps originate in response to Ælfric's style. For example, at line 150 ('to geðungenra lareowa lifes drohtnungna') the ending of *drohtnunga* (for *drohtnungum*) shows scribal response to the surrounding sound environment in the rhythmical unit. A similar reaction to the inflectional endings can be observed at line 195, where, again, V is in error against the other witnesses: '[ongean þone geswænc]tan ealdorman'. Here V reads *geswænctan* (for *geswæncten*) by homoeoteleuton (it should be noted that the portion indicated in square brackets has been consumed by fire). Three superscript corrections are visible, the first at line 169, *f* in *efne*, the second one at line 248, *p* in *spræcð*, and *c* in *swincst*, line 658, as reported in the *apparatus criticus*.

Previous editions

LB had only been edited in Skeat's collective edition of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. In his edition Skeat accurately followed the text as found in manuscript J reporting some variants from O and V, but without collating the Rawlinson fragment and folio 83 of the Vitellius manuscript. All in all, Skeat's text can be said to be more of a diplomatic edition than a critical one, for he never incorporated the other extant witnesses in the main text, nor did he ever intervene when J was clearly in error. For the present edition I have chosen to follow Michael Lapidge's method of restoring Ælfric's spelling as found in the first two series of *Catholic Homilies*.²⁰ Following Lapidge's innovative approach, the odd spellings peculiar to J have been silently

¹⁹ Ker 222 comments on the shape of tall *s*.

²⁰ Lapidge, ed., *The Cult of Swithun*, p. 587.

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emended, in accordance with Godden's glossary and the spelling of BL, Royal 7. C. XII.²¹

In the edition I have retained the verse layout first used by Skeat and followed by Pope,²² but have altered Skeat's lineation in two places, so that my edition is 669 lines long, one line shorter than Skeat's.²³ In the first instance, the present edition rearranges the lineation of *LS* 3, lines 22–4:

Basilus ða wunode mid þam upwytan
on lare ealles fiftyne gær .
and eallne þone wisdom wundorlice asmeade . (*LS* 3, lines 22–4)²⁴

By looking at manuscript punctuation and alliterative patterns, these three lines can be rearranged as follows:

Basilus ða wunode mid þam upwytan on lare ealles fiftyne gear .
and ealne þone wisdom wundorlice asmeade . (lines 22–3)

My edition moves the phrase 'on lare ealles fiftyne gær' to the end of line 22, so that it stands in the same rhythmical line as its main verb, in the syntactical unit where scribal punctuation would appear to have intended it. Thus at the end of line 22 a possible internal rhyme is created (*lare / gear*). Moreover, the *w*-alliteration, now in an interlinear continued pattern, enhances the connection between Basil's lifestyle (*wunode* and *wundorlice*) and wisdom (*upwytan* and *wisdom*), in a chiasmic scheme.²⁵

A second difference in lineation is introduced at lines 41–2 of my edition, where *swa micclum oflyst* is moved on the same line as *wearð* (Skeat left this verb at line-end):

Eubolus se uðwyta þa wearð
swa mycclum oflyst . basilies lare .
þæt him ne hlyste . nanes metes . (*LS* 3, lines 41–3)²⁶

²¹ Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 671–794.

²² See also below, p. 138.

²³ In the edition I provide a concordance to *LS* 3 by page number. Bredehoft, *Early English*, pp. 86–7 also discusses possible rearranging of Skeat's lineation (for *LS* 5, Sebastian).

²⁴ 'Basil then lived with the philosopher in learning all of fifteen years, and wonderfully comprehended all the wisdom.'

²⁵ For a discussion of the mutual relationship between the rhetoric of this passage and its themes, see above, pp. 99–104.

²⁶ 'Eubolus the philosopher then was so greatly eager for Basil's teaching, that he did not desire any food.'

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I have arranged the lineation on the basis of the criteria above (manuscript punctuation and alliteration):

Eubolus ða se uðwita wearð swa micclum oflyst .
 Basilies lare . þæt him ne lyste . nanes metes . (lines 41–2)

Even though Skeat's arrangement emphasises the wordplay between *oflyst* and *hlyste* (or *lyste*, the correct reading) by placing them in the middle of consecutive lines, the *enjambement* created by leaving *wearð* at line-end does not seem to offer a plausible rhythmical pattern. The three rhythmical points at line 42 might be a scribal way to make sense of the incorrect spelling *hlyste* for *lyste* (*hlystan* = to listen; *lystan* = to please, impersonal verb).

The critical approach adopted in this edition differs overall from the one taken in *LS 3*: I have collated all three manuscripts and often preferred the readings of O or V over those of J, emending the latter when necessary. Since Skeat never adopted the readings from either O or V, there are a number of differences between his text and the one presented here. Indeed, Skeat reported in his apparatus when O or V provide a better reading (morphological or lexical), but he never operated a critical choice among the surviving witnesses. Some examples include (line numbers from Skeat's edition): *LS 3*, line 43 *hlyste* (for *lyste*), line 66 *seo* (for *se*), line 281 *dædlicam* (for *dædlicum*) and line 353 *godas* (for *godes*). Furthermore, Skeat listed in his apparatus criticus the numerous spelling variants found in O and V (usually preferable to J's). The present edition is a collation of all three witnesses, and includes preferable spelling variants in the main text without reporting the alternative of the base manuscript in the *apparatus criticus* if not significant.²⁷

Aside from those cases where J is clearly in error, or where the variants are simply orthographic, the other two manuscripts also provide alternative

²⁷ This list provides the variants noted by Skeat at the bottom of the page, which I have not included in my apparatus (for reference the lineation of *LS 3* has been used here): *bisceop* O (line 1), *brymest* V (11), *underfeng* V (13), *feola* V (21), *ealne* V (24), *lareowas* V (25), *he* V (30), *bliðelice* V (32), *ðrowode* V (60), *gesohton* V (61), *seo* OV (66), *eþele* V (87), *comon* V (88), *geswutoled* V (89), *biscop* V (99), *bylewyta* O (100), *weard* V (102), *afilled* O (116), *onsundron* OV (126), *culfre* OV (130), *yldestan* V (132), *gebild* O (142), *hefigra* V (147), *ateowde* OV (164), *segene* O (185), *embe* O (201), *dæge* V (205), *se* V (205), *hlafas* V (212), *underfeng* V (218), *stodon* V (244), *swyðe* V (251), *ðære cyrcan* V (255), *nedde* V (286), *geopenod* O₂ (336), *dæge* O₂ (339), *merien* O₂ (344), *hludere* O₂ (346), *scittelsas* O₂ (348), *mæssode* O₂ (350), 'sic read godes' (351), *lyfiendan* O₂ (356), *dweledon* O₂ (357), *scincraefte* O₂ (365), *ungetriwe* O₂ (375), *agenrae handa* O₂ (382), *gefreþrian* O₂ (392), *dohter* O₂ (393). For O₂ see above, pp. 130–2.

readings which improve the fluency of the text. In particular, two variants not adopted by Skeat provide a better reading and might be closer to Ælfric's original version. Both readings involve a transposition. The first one is found at line 29, and had gone unnoticed in the earlier edition. As was his practice, Skeat followed the reading of J (and O, though this is not reported in the apparatus): '[h]im becom þa on mod þurh mynegunge godes' (LB, line 29).²⁸ V (against J and O) provides a better alternative, however, with the inversion *godes mynegunge*. The same collocation also appears at LB, line 530, this time with the genitive preceding the noun: 'þurh godes mynegunge and ealle hire manlican dæda'.²⁹ The order genitive + modified noun seems altogether a more natural one for Old English and is supported by other occurrences within LB: out of the sixteen instances in which the genitive *godes* appears as a modifier, in no case does it follow the noun it modifies.³⁰ Even though the inverted order found in J and O (*mynegunge godes*) potentially improves the alliterative pattern (it draws closer together the alliterating pair on *m*), *godes* precedes the noun it modifies in another instance: 'and Basilius wiste þurh Godes onwrigennysse' (line 569). In this case the collocation *godes* + *onwrigennysse* is uniformly attested: while the alliterative pattern on *w* of line 569 could be improved by transposition of *godes*, the scribe chose a word-order which is better suited to the modifying function of the genitive. Other Ælfrician works seem to point to this *usus scribendi*, for example the Homily for the Second Sunday after Pentecost (*CH I*, 23, lines 27–8, *mannes mynegunge*) and the Homily for the Decollation of St John (*CH I*, 32, line 129, *iohannes mynegunge*); while in one instance the genitive is postponed, Life of St Cuthbert (*CH II*, 10, lines 10–11), 'þurh mynegunge gelimplices lareowes').

The second case of transposition signalled in Skeat's apparatus but not incorporated in his text has been adopted in this edition. Again, the transposition here involves the place of a genitive phrase not as a modifier this time, but as the object of the present participle *biddende*. The phrase *fulluhtes biddende* at line 165 is taken from O against J and V, both of which read *biddende fulluhtes*. The same phrase occurs again at line 275, this time in the correct order. This is clearly Ælfric's preferred word-order for this formula as seen in St Laurence (*CH I*, 29, line 178), the first Homily for the Assumption of Mary (*CH I*, 30, line 246), St Martin (*CH II*, 34, line 9), St George (*LS 14*, line 80), St Thomas (*LS 36*, line 337), De falsis diis

²⁸ 'Then there came to his mind through God's inspiration'; note that O reads *minegunge*, see Appendix II.

²⁹ 'Through God's inspiration and all her terrible deeds.'

³⁰ The cluster *godes* + noun appears at lines 89, 101, 104, 214, 318 (twice), 352, 403, 437, 530, 533, 536, 569, 631, 637, 647.

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(*ÆHom* 21, line 634), and Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus (*ÆHom* 23, line 36). Thus, in the first instance the reading of V (*godes mynegunge*) must be preferred against that of J and O, but in the second one, I adopt O (*fulluhtes biddende*) against J and V (with J at fault both times).

Furthermore, Skeat did not incorporate in his text two readings found respectively in V and O. In both cases there seems to be an erasure in J. The first one, at line 57, is attested in V (O is not legible here) and is the correct reading both for rhythm and alliteration. Skeat reports: ‘and manega hæðena manna þurh hí gebugan . to drihtne . mid geleafan onbryrde’ (*LS* 3, lines 57–8). Manuscript V contains a modifier before *drihtne*, which has been adopted in this edition: ‘and manega hæðena manna þurh hi gebugon to þam leofan Drihtne mid geleafan onbryrde’ (LB lines 56–7). The adjective phrase improves line 57 because it adds to its rhythmical pattern by introducing alliteration on *l* and paronomasia between *leofan* and *geleafan*.

The second erasure in J occurs a few lines later, and involves another modifier. Skeat reports: ‘[h]i coman ða siððan to ðære foresædan byrig hierusalem . þær se hælend ðrowade .’ (*LS* 3, lines 59–60). The reading *gehaten* from manuscript O improves both rhythm and alliteration: ‘[h]i comon ða siððan to ðære foresædan byrig Hierusalem gehaten þær se Hælend ðrowode’ (LB lines 58–9). Manuscript V omits this reading, while in J it is erased, suggesting perhaps that J was copied or collated against an ancestor of the text found in V. In addition, Skeat did not emend when J was the only surviving witness and was clearly in error, for example at line 435 *wædlían* for *wædlan* and line 536, *me* for *ne*.

Finally, the present edition differs from Skeat’s because it adds two fragments to the collation. The Rawlinson fragment of manuscript O (originally folio 20) and folio 83r of manuscript V had not been consulted for the edition of *LS* 3.³¹

Editorial policy

Since the incomplete witnesses O and V are so badly damaged, I have largely based this edition on the text found in J, but chosen the readings of either O or V whenever possible. Modern punctuation has been adopted. The notoriously idiosyncratic spelling of J has been standardised, following Michael Lapidge’s recent methodology of emending the orthography of J on the basis of BL, Royal 7. C. XII, the manuscript of the *Catholic Homilies*.³² Many such spellings involve confusion between *i* and *y*; so *swyðe* has been

³¹ For other fragments that have not been included in other *LS* items, see Kleist, ‘Ælfric’s Corpus’, p. 25.

³² See Lapidge, *The Cult of Swithun*, pp. 586–7 and Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, pp. 671–794.

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turned into *swiðe*, *swilce* into *swylce*, *mycel* (and inflected forms) into *micel* (and inflected forms), *cyld* into *cild*, *simle* into *symle*, and forms of *wyllan* into forms of *willan* (except for *welwylleddlice*, line 63).³³ Variants for the word 'bishop', variously attested, have all been turned into *bisceop*, and the spelling of demonstratives has also been altered to Ælfric's more common usage. For example, *þæne* (masculine accusative singular, line 285) and the numerous instances of *þonne* / *ðonne* have been changed into *þone* / *ðone*. Instances of *seo* for the masculine nominative singular *se* have been silently corrected, as well as *heo* when found for the masculine nominative. Infinitive, preterite and subjunctive plural endings are used interchangeably in J: I have silently corrected all instances of confusion between *-an*, *-on* and *-en*. In the critical apparatus I only report significant variants, providing in Appendix II those spellings which are unique to J and which would otherwise be lost in the printed text. All three witnesses contain some unique spellings which I have listed in Appendix II, when only orthographical.

The textual layout for the Old English responds to modern conventions for the arrangements of Ælfric's rhythmical prose, as adopted by early editors, including Skeat and then John Pope. The latter also reiterates in his introduction to his edition of the *Supplementary Homilies* that Ælfric's style is a form of prose rather than an attempt at verse.³⁴ However, as noted in the previous chapters, since Ælfric's style can be studied with the methodology so far reserved to Old English poetry, alliterating units have been turned into individual lines. The 'poetic' layout also facilitates the modern reader's response to the rhetorical patterns of Ælfric's style. The patterns identified in chapter 5 are more readily appreciated if the text is presented in a way that visually identifies the sense units of Ælfric's work. The regularity of the medial points in the extant manuscripts suggests that contemporary scribes were sensitive to these patterns, very much as the compilers of the poetic codices recognised their work as poetry but nevertheless presented it on continuous lines.³⁵ It seems clear that scribes responded to the sound patterns introduced by Ælfric and tried to repeat them, often introducing their spelling idiosyncrasies in the process.

Manuscript accents have been omitted. The present edition is also divided into sections which are numbered, mirroring the sequence of the Latin text.

³³ This form of the adverb is one of two instances in Ælfric's writings, the other occurring in the Homily for the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost (*CH* I, 24, line 22).

³⁴ *ÆHom*, pp. 105–36.

³⁵ Recently, Andy Orchard has shown that Wulfstan's prose style can be better appreciated when the text is edited in a (modern) verse layout: see Orchard, 'Re-editing Wulfstan', pp. 63–93.

Moreover, such subdivisions emphasise Ælfric's block-like restructuring of the narrative.

Latin text

Manuscripts

The text of *BHL* 1023 survives in numerous copies from both the Continent and the British Isles.³⁶ The present edition is based on three manuscripts of English origin which can be dated prior to or circa 1100. Two of these are complete (N and S) and one is a small fragment (E).

E = Exeter, Cathedral Library, FMS/3 (Exeter, s. xⁱⁿ / x^l; *Gneuss* 260).

This manuscript survives in eight small fragments and is dated to the early part of the tenth century. Its square minuscule script is from Exeter, and could be associated with either the reign of Edward or that of Athelstan.³⁷ The fragments are preserved today in the Cathedral Library, wrapped in rice-paper in an envelope. The condition of the fragments makes it difficult to establish the history of this manuscript: one cannot determine, for example, whether the text once belonged to a larger collection of lives and, if so, whether its extent was comparable to that of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary. In Maxted's edition of a 1327 inventory by Robert de Brailegh (subdeacon), several entries are listed as *legenda sanctorum*, but according to his survey only three of these have survived to modern times in complete codices.³⁸

The Exeter fragment was used as a spine reinforcement in a cartulary and some of its parts can be reconstructed into small binding strips. The order in which the fragments are numbered from 1 to 8 is not that of the *BHL* 1023

³⁶ Aside from the three witnesses discussed below, there are other post-Conquest English copies of *BHL* 1023. Of these, I mention two, London, Lambeth Palace 94, and Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 22. See respectively M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1930–2), and *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–4). Both these manuscripts are dated to the end of the thirteenth century.

³⁷ See above, pp. 39–40. For an account of the script of Exeter at the time, see D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule: The Background and the Earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79 and, by the same author, 'English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases', *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64.

³⁸ I. Maxted, *Exeter Cathedral Library: A Concordance of Medieval Catalogues and Surviving Manuscripts*, Exeter Working Papers 5 (Exeter, 1987), 11.

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text. The fragments combined form no more than two folios, from 'ciuitatis nomine maximino' to 'quae pependit super a[ltare]' (cc. 2–4) of the *Vita Basilii*, containing the scene of Basil's baptism, his election as bishop, and his vision of the Lord and Apostles during the blessing of the Eucharist.³⁹ In addition, fragments 2v and 4v contain an Old English non-continuous interlinear gloss, written in a much lighter ink, perhaps red, the ascenders and descenders of which measure approximately 2 mm. Only the glosses on top of *columbae aureae* and partially one on *pendit* on fragment 4v can be seen, *culfre gold* and *up****, in a pointy script with flat-topped *g*. Use of ultraviolet light could help identify these glosses.

N = London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, part 1 (Worcester, s. xi^{3/4}; *Gneuss* 344).

This very large codex, in two parts, forms one large collection with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9.⁴⁰ Each of these codices has some accretions, respectively at the beginning of N and at the end of the Cambridge manuscript.⁴¹ The *Legendary* as a whole is from Worcester and can be ascribed to the third quarter of the eleventh century. Manuscript N was restored after the Cottonian fire, but the edges of some pages are at points worn (perhaps indicating frequent use), though there is no damage to the text. The leaves have been trimmed presumably for the leather binding in which it is today: for instance on folio 61v in the outer margin some early modern notations have been mutilated. The written space measures ca. 325 x 218 mm. The text is laid out in two columns of forty-three lines each, about 100 mm wide and ruled in dry-point.

The *Vita Basilii* is at folios 61v–70r. Running headings on the top margin of the text are written in rustic capital letters, starting with a large uncial initial *e*, in black ink, and they read: 'eodem die uita et miracula sancti basilii'. The display script for the chapter headings is in rustic capitals, written in a light brown ink. These must have been added in after the main text, as would appear, for example, from the two lines left blank on folio 66v, where the heading 'de anastasio spiritali presbytero' (c. 12) should have been written. Large initials are in red and measure approximately 25 mm. The very first initial in the prologue must have been approximately seven lines long (*D* in *Dilectissimi*, line 1) but is now missing. The perfectly rounded edges around the vacant space make it seem as though it might have fallen out due perhaps to the level of acidity in the ink. This hypothesis

³⁹ See further, Corona, 'Saint Basil', where the text of the fragments is printed.

⁴⁰ N. R. Ker, 'Membra Disiecta, Second Series', *British Museum Quarterly* 14 (1939), 79–86, at 82–3.

⁴¹ For a description of the contents of these two codices, see Lapidge and Jackson, 'The Contents', p. 132.

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seems to be confirmed by the fact that the preceding and following folios are flawed at the point where the ink from the *D* must have seeped. That highly acidic, slow-to-dry ink was used for large initials can be seen on most folios where some staining has occurred (62r, 63rv, 64rv and so on). As far as punctuation is concerned, a period is used for shorter pauses, a period surmounted by a v-sign is used for medium pauses, and a raised period is used for longer pauses. Question marks are used consistently.

The contents of N show some features in common with BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (*Ker* 396, *Gneuss* 378.5), another large legendary containing *BHL* 1023 (without the prologue).⁴² This codex is better known as one of the witnesses to *Cædmon's Hymn*, but it also contains a number of Latin lives, mostly of male saints, in the order of the liturgical year, starting with Saint Sylvester (December 31), followed by Saint Basil.

S = Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 221 (Salisbury, s. xi^{ex}; later provenance Oxford; *Gneuss* 754.5).⁴³

This manuscript, formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4, was reclaimed by Salisbury in 1985. It is dated to the end of the eleventh century in *Ker MSS* and is of Salisbury origin.⁴⁴ The written space measures 275 x 260 mm, in thirty-three lines, thirty-six after the ninth quire and is ruled in dry point. It is written in six different hands, but for the most part it is the work of one scribe, who worked at Salisbury shortly after its foundation.⁴⁵ The script is clear and very legible, with very few ligatures and avoidance of ampersand. The *Vita Basilii* is found at folios 9v–22r, and is written by the main scribe, who according to Neil Ker compiled the first eight quires of S.⁴⁶

Chapter headings do not appear consistently, they did not receive the same care and attention as in N and are often not allocated separate lines. For example, the heading of c. 1 appears on the same line as the prologue (from which it is separated by a semicolon) and its last word is superscript, thus: ‘ad finem uirtutes ipsius enarrantes [end of *Prologus*, lines 30–1; title of c. 1]; de tempore quo doctrine uacauit et de conuersione magistri sui \euboli’. All other headings appear to have been added later in the same

⁴² This manuscript contains forty-two saints’ lives and is dated s. xi / xii (*Gneuss*). Its provenance is Winchester, Old Minster but it could be French in origin.

⁴³ I am grateful to Pauline Thompson for allowing me to use her microfilm copy of this manuscript.

⁴⁴ *Ker MSS* 4, 259.

⁴⁵ See N. R. Ker, ‘The Making of Salisbury Cathedral Library’, in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Watson (London, 1976), pp. 23–49, at p. 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

hand; only headings to cc. 12 and 13 are written in a display script (rustic capitals), which is also sometimes used for the incipit of individual chapters. C. 5 is numbered as 4. One interesting palaeographical feature of this portion of the manuscript is the (nearly) consistent use of hyphens: these are used both at line end and at the start of the following line to indicate run-on.

This *Vita Basilii* as it appears on this manuscript is overall more accurately executed than the one in N. However, a number of readings suggests that this text might have been copied from N to S, that there might have been some contamination, or perhaps that they had a common ancestor. For example, *datur* (c. 1, line 6) originally read *dator* in both copies but has been corrected in S; *quae qualem* is the reading of both manuscripts (for *qui aequalem*, c. 1, line 75); ‘*quae oculus non uidit et auris non audiuit*’ (c. 1, lines 77–8) is omitted in both codices; both read ‘*facta sunt ei res carecteres*’ (instead of ‘*factae sunt ei res*’, c. 6, line 11);⁴⁷ *arrianae eresiarchi* (instead of *arriane haeresis exarchi*, c. 14, line 4); and so on (see the *apparatus criticus* to Appendix I). Manuscript S also shares a significant correction with N: in both copies *uno* is corrected into *unam* (c. 13, line 43).

Previous editions

The editorial history of *BHL* 1023 has undergone several stages, none of which saw a complete text. In the space of thirty-five years (1540–75) this *Vita* was printed three times. The two earliest printed versions are incomplete; the third one is complete but has been subjected to such a large number of editorial interventions that it is practically unrecognisable.

The earliest printed excerpt of the *Vita Basilii* is found in Georg Witzel’s *Hagiologium* of 1541.⁴⁸ Witzel transcribed his base manuscript without intervening to ‘improve’ the style of the Latin as was customary for many of his contemporaries; unfortunately, however, like many of his contemporaries, he did not list the manuscript(s) from which his text was printed. The second edition of excerpts from *BHL* 1023 was made by Georg Maior in 1544, who, like Witzel, did not mention the manuscript(s) consulted.⁴⁹ Both these editions are incomplete: Witzel’s contains cc. 1 (lines 1–95), 2, 4, 5, 11, 15 and 16.⁵⁰ Maior’s version contains the same sections omitting c. 5 and

⁴⁷ See above, p. 11.

⁴⁸ G. Witzel, ed., *Hagiologium seu de sanctis ecclesiae. Historiae divorum totum terrarum orbe celeberrimorum e sacris scriptoribus* (Mainz, 1541), ff. 67r–73r.

⁴⁹ Maior, ed., *Vitae patrum*, ff. 206v–22v.

⁵⁰ This section is introduced by the phrase ‘*De Ioseph Hebraeo interseritur historia*’ (f. 72r), not found in any manuscripts I have consulted.

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adding, at the end, an excerpt from the *Vita Ephrem* (*BHL* 2565).⁵¹ Both Witzel and Maior named a Claudius instead of Elladius as the eyewitness mentioned in c. 11;⁵² both omitted the prologue, though Maior included the chapter headings. While it is not possible at this stage to determine which manuscripts were used for these two early printed texts, both versions print the text of *BHL* 1023 without essentially altering its readings.

The third printed version of *BHL* 1023 appears in Laurentius Surius' *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (the recension of 1570–5).⁵³ The collection as a whole was intended as an expansion of, and improvement on an earlier collection published by Lipomanus, not relevant for the present study because the latter did not include the *Vita Basilii*.⁵⁴ Even though Surius' edition of the *Vita Basilii* is complete, his work presents several difficulties for the modern scholar: not only is there no mention of the manuscript(s) which he used, but it was also emended heavily. These silent editorial interventions were intended as improvements on what he called a 'barbarous' Latin style, but they make the text effectively unusable for a study of its reception as a source. Surius declared in the preface to this text:

⁵¹ Maior, ed., *Vitae patrum*, ff. 223r–225v; the excerpt from the *Vita Ephrem* is also printed in *Acta SS*, February, tome I, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1863), 75–6. In the *Acta SS* this passage is introduced as follows: 'De S. P. N. Ephraem ex Vita S. Basilii Magni auctore (ut vulgo creditur) S. Amphilochio. Ex veteribus latinis MSS. Caput I, in mss. XIV' (p. 75). *Acta SS* also print c. 15, on the repentant woman (pp. 76–7).

⁵² Bishop Elladius or Helladius, Basil's successor, was thought to have written some of the episodes which then became part of the Pseudo-Amphilochian tradition. See above, p. 7, especially note 5.

⁵³ Surius, ed., *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, pp. 4–19. This collection was reprinted four times (1581, 1605, 1617 and 1618); only the first and the last reprints contain the *Vita Basilii*. A revised edition of Surius' work appeared about three centuries later: L. Gastaldi, ed., *Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum juxta optimam Coloniensis editionem*, tome VI, June (Aosta, 1877), 319–38; I am grateful to Virginia Brown for bringing Gastaldi's edition to my attention.

⁵⁴ A. Lipomanus, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae* (Venice, 1551). See the entry in *BHL*, but see also Munding, *Das Verzeichnis*, p. 36. Lipomanus' collection has been abundantly commented upon and criticised by Surius and by *Acta SS*, but see S. Boesch-Gajano, 'La raccolta di vite di santi di Luigi Lippomano. Storia, struttura, finalità di una costruzione agiografica', in *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, ed. S. Boesch-Gajano (Fasano di Brindisi, 1990), pp. 111–30. The article points out that Lipomanus functioned, in a sense, as an intermediary between Witzel's *Hagiologium* and Surius' collection (*ibid.* 112–14).

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Ob styli tum barbariem, tum obscuritatem quo interpret incertus usus est, hic paulo Latinius pleraque omnia reddidimus, nihil de industria mutata sententia, sed additis non paucis ex vetustis manuscriptis libris.⁵⁵

The changes introduced by Surlius are justified on stylistic and syntactical grounds, and they mostly involve lexical alteration, insertions of adverbs and general rephrasing of entire sections. This is not the place to discuss whether Surlius' changes actually purge the *Vita Basilii* of its 'barbarity', but it will be noted from the above quotation that he displays a tendency to convoluted phrasing.

A random sampling of passages from Surlius' version is necessary to illustrate how much the sixteenth-century edition strayed from the manuscript tradition. The very first lines from the prologue exemplify Surlius' return to classical forms:

Surlius

Non potest videri indecorum, dilectissimi, si fideles et probii filii patris obitu doleant: immo vero eius causa etiam lachrymari par est: quemadmodum etiam omnes nos hucusque, dolore perurgente fecimus. (p. 4)⁵⁶

Appendix I

DILECTISSIMI NON ERAT INDECORVM fideles filios patris contristari defunctione, et lacrimam ei dare iustum, quemadmodum usque nunc omnes compassibiliter tulimus. (Prologus, lines 1–3)⁵⁷

As is evident from this small excerpt, the version presented in Surlius differs greatly from the actual text of *BHL* 1023. Surlius turned 'non erat

⁵⁵ 'Due both to the barbarity and obscurity of the style as which the unknown translator used, we rendered here everything a little more in Latin, not changing the sentence out of zeal, but adding not a few things from ancient handwritten books', Surlius, ed., *De probatis*, p. 4. For an appreciation of Surlius' work and of his limited access to the source material, see S. Spanò-Martinelli, 'Cultura umanistica, polemica antiprottestante, erudizione sacra nel *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*', in *Raccolte di vite di santi*, ed. Boesch-Gajano, pp. 131–41.

⁵⁶ 'It cannot appear unbecoming, most beloved ones, if the faithful and honest children suffer for the death of the father: on the contrary, truly, it is fitting to weep for his cause, just as also we all thus far did with crushing grief.'

⁵⁷ 'Most beloved ones, it was not unbecoming for the faithful children to be afflicted by the death of the father, and it is righteous to shed tears about this, just as until now we all did compassionately', I surmise that the referent of *ei* is *defunctione* from the Greek version: [αποθίσει] καὶ δάκρυον αὐτῇ χαρίζθαι δίκαιον.

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indecorum' into 'non potest videri indecorum', introduced a conditional clause (*si*), and turned the infinitive *contristari* into a finite form *doleant*. He then introduced a parallel clause to his *indecorum potest* with *par est*, thereby changing the somewhat awkward *lacrimam ei dare* of the *Vita* with the more classical *lachrymari* (in its archaic spelling). A similar tendency for the more archaic-sounding lexical items also appears from the use of the adverb *hucusque*, rather than simply *usque*, a substitution in vogue among Humanist scholars in (affected) imitation of classical usages.⁵⁸

Another example from later in the *Vita* will further illustrate such points:

Surius

Iam porro, fratres mei, quippiam referre volo de celeberrimo Patre Basilio et Ephraem Syro, qui per visum didicit, qualis esset apud Deum Basilius: quod equidem ex homine sancto et minime vano atque fallaci audiui. (pp. 14–15)⁵⁹

Appendix I

Fratres, enarrationem uolo facere de Basilio memorabili et Effrem Syro quae sunt apud Deum de patre nostro uisore, quae etiam de sancto et non mentiente eius ore audiui. (c. 13, lines 1–3)⁶⁰

The use of the uncommon *quippiam* in correlation with *quod* contributes to the general impression of hyper-correctness of Surius' text. In addition, he substituted the first relative clause introduced by *quae* with an indirect interrogative (*qualis* and subjunctive), turned *de patre nostro* into *Basilius*, thus making it the subject of the clause, and expanded *uisore* (referring to *Ephraem*) into a relative clause ('qui per visum didicit'). Surius' syntactical alteration actually blurs the sense of the original, because it is quite clear from *BHL* 1023 that Euphemius, the Latin translator, wanted to emphasise the eyewitness quality of Ephrem's testimony, and not the fact that he had had a vision of Basil. Surius intended to improve on the colloquial style of the original text, as is evident from changes such as *referre volo*, in place of *enarrationem uolo facere*, or the elimination of the ablative absolute 'non

⁵⁸ See J. P. Krebs, *Antibarbarus der Lateinischen Sprache*, rev. by J. H. Schmalz, 2 vols. (Basel, 1905–8); *TLL* notes that the word is a coinage of modern philology.

⁵⁹ 'Henceforth, my brothers, I wish to tell something about the very famous Father Basil and Ephrem the Syrian, who learned through a vision how [of what sort] Basil was in front of God, which thing I surely heard from the holy man, hardly untrustworthy and deceitful.'

⁶⁰ 'Brothers, I wish to tell about the memorable Basil and Ephrem the Syrian, those things which are before God about our father, the eyewitness, which I also heard from the saint himself and his truth-telling mouth.'

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mentiente ore eius', which he might have considered too elliptical and perhaps awkward, and which he substituted with the pair *minime vano atque fallaci*, again conferring a more classical tone to the text.

Thus, Surius did not essentially alter the meaning of the text, but his changes, though arguably making the text *latinius*, turned it into an unrecognisable piece, which had hitherto remained the only complete printed version of *BHL* 1023. For a comparative analysis between Ælfric's LB and its Latin source; therefore, it has been necessary to turn to unprinted material. Many lexical and syntactical parallels between the Latin and the Old English texts may be recovered just by looking at the manuscripts of English origin containing *BHL* 1023. Since this point has already been touched upon by Zettel, two representative instances will suffice here.⁶¹ The first example comes from *Vita Basilii* c. 6 and it will illustrate fittingly the difficulties involved in comparing Surius' edition with LB. Close textual equivalents are lost, and Ælfric's translation practices are less easily identified:

Surius

Siquidem voluntas prompta fuit, at defuit facultas, tolerabile est. Si autem potuisti quidem, sed noluisti, Christus te rediget in ordinem inopum, ut ubi volueris non possis (Surius, p. 9)⁶²

Appendix I

Siquidem uolens non potuisti, bene utcumque se habet. Si autem potens, non uoluisti, ducet te Christus ad indigentium chorum, ut quando uolueris non possis. (c. 6, lines 8–10)⁶³

Ælfric

'Gif þu woldest miltsian, and swaþeah ne mihtest,
þær is sum beladung on þære segene.

185 Gif þu þonne mihtest miltsian and noldest

⁶¹ Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographical Sources', pp. 198–201.

⁶² 'If indeed the will were ready, but the means were lacking, it is understandable. If, however, you were in fact able to, but did not wish to, may Christ reduce [you] to the class of the poor, that when you want to, you may not be able to.'

⁶³ 'If indeed, you had been unable [to help], though wishing for it, be that as it may. If however, being able to, you did not wish for it, may Christ lead you to the crowd of the needy, so that when you wish to, you may not.'

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gebringe þe se Hælend to hire hafenleaste,
þæt þu ne mæge miltsian þeah þu wille.⁶⁴

Ælfric's rendering of this passage shows his ability as a translator to parallel and surpass the number of figures of speech which are already present in the Latin, thus improving on the quasi-oracular effects of Basil's response. The chiasmic correspondence and wordplay between the verbs *uolo* and *possum* is emphasised in Ælfric's translation,⁶⁵ but Basil's Old English words are translated literally from the Latin. Surius' emendations have transformed the text to the extent that the wordplay between the two verbs is lost. At the beginning of Basil's note he introduced two periphrases with the substantives *voluntas* and *facultas* in place of the verbs (*uolens* and *potuisti*). Therefore, although more elegant, Surius' passage is of limited use in assessing Ælfric's source. Two additional changes attest to Surius' editorial zeal: the use of *inopum* instead of *indigentium* avoids the arguably clumsy present participle and the substitution of *quando* with *ubi* rids the passage of any non-Classical trace.

Similar results may be seen in the section in which the repentant woman goes to Ephrem to have her sin blotted out. In the *BHL* 1023 text the hermit's reply is full of pathos and conveys a sense of familiarity which seems to draw the saint closer to the sinner. In Surius such effects are smoothened, as it were, with the Classical pumice:

Surius

Nequaquam, inquit, filia: sed qui in multis potuit placare Dominum etiam in hoc uno plus poterit atque ego (Surius, p. 18)⁶⁶

Appendix I

Non, filia, non, qui enim pro multis praeualuit placare Deum, et pro uno poterit plus me. (c. 15, lines 57–8)⁶⁷

⁶⁴ 'If you wanted to pardon and nevertheless you could not, an apology is in your words. If you can pardon but do not wish to, may the Saviour bring you to her poverty, that you may not be pardoned though you may wish it.'

⁶⁵ The Latin text shows a regular interlace pattern, *uolens* / *potuisti*, *potens* / *uoluisti*, *uolueris* / *possis*, Ælfric introduces a chiasmus and a parallel sequence with *woldest* / *mihtest*, *mihtest* / *noldest*, *mæg* / *wille*, possibly playing on the different roots of *magan* for the preterite; for a further discussion of this passage, see above, pp. 107–10.

⁶⁶ "'Not at all, daughter", he said, "but he who can appease the Lord in many things, also in this one will be more capable than me."

⁶⁷ 'No daughter, no. For he who can appease God on behalf of many people will also be more powerful than me for this one [sin].'

clarify some of the convoluted syntax with a high number of commas. With the exception of the ‘prologus’, chapter headings are from the manuscripts, but chapter numbers are editorial: only one appears in S (incorrectly placed).⁷¹ The Continental manuscripts consulted (see above, p. 4, note 14) contain a chapter heading for the episode of the youth who could not translate the Homeric verses, but the English manuscripts do not, and it has been printed continuously in the present edition. Scribal accents have been eliminated.

The spelling of the diphthong *-ae-* is rather erratic and often incorrect (for example, *aecclaesia*) in both manuscripts and has been normalised from *e* or *e-caudata* to *ae*, because the text can be dated as early as the ninth century. Capitalisation has been kept to the minimum: upper case letters have been used for the *nomina sacra* and proper names. The *apparatus criticus* is constructed as a negative one and only includes significant variants (morphological, syntactical and lexical, but not orthographical).

Despite such a long text and at times such convoluted syntax, both manuscripts appear surprisingly accurate.⁷² There are, however, some *loci desperandi* which have been resolved by consulting the Greek text or other manuscripts of the same *Vita*.⁷³ I will discuss here three among the most significant examples. The first instance occurs in c. 8 (a portion of the *Vita* not translated by Ælfric). During Mass Basil noticed one of the (presumably) young deacons nodding towards a woman, thus preventing the Holy Spirit from descending on the gathered community. The manuscripts in the Cotton-Corpus tradition read: ‘uidit unum uentilantium diaconem innuentem mulieri inclinante [inclinantem S] deorsum’ (lines 6–7). The reading *inclinante(m)* is perhaps the result of homoeoteleuton with the genitive present participle (*uentilantium*). One of the ninth-century manuscripts I have seen (BAV, Reg. lat. 528) reads *inclinatam*, but the other two (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, series noua 4635 and BAV, Pal. lat. 582) read *inclinatae*. All variants except for *inclinatam* are plausible, but I have incorporated *inclinatae* in my text as the correct one. This is, in addition, the reading found in Aenas of Paris’ work when citing this passage.⁷⁴

The second instance is resolved by looking at the Greek text as well as at other surviving ninth-century manuscripts. It occurs at c. 11 (line 130), during Basil’s confrontation with the devil. Neither N nor S provide a satisfactory reading: ‘et Dei mei temptes palma’ (N), ‘et Dei mei temptes

⁷¹ See above, p. 141.

⁷² For other consulted manuscripts (but not collated here), see above, pp. 4, note 14 and 25–6.

⁷³ A number of these readings have been discussed above, pp. 9–13.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 15.

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palnam' (S), but a glance at the Greek solves this problem: καί τοῦ Θεοῦ μου ἐπηρεάζων πλάσμα ('and tempting my God's own blood/creature').⁷⁵ All three ninth-century manuscripts read *plasma* as well.

Finally, the third instance which can be clarified with the aid of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life occurs at the start of the episode in which Basil returns a church to the orthodox Christians after its temporary Arian abduction. This time both manuscripts in the Cotton-Corpus tradition are in agreement. They provide a word which suggests scribal confusion over a faulty reading: *arrianae eresiarchi* is the reading of N and S (c. 14, line 4), whereas the correct, preferable, reading is *arrianae haeresis exarchi* (Greek: οἱ τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς αἰρέσεως ἕξαρχοι, 'the perpetrators of the Arian heresy').⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Combefis, ed., *Amphilochii Iconiensis*, p. 196.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 206–7.

Text and Translation

LIST OF SIGLA

Old English

- J London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii (S England, s. xiⁱⁿ; provenance Bury St Edmunds), 15v–26r.
- O London, BL, Cotton Otho B. x (s. xi¹; provenance Worcester), 3r–6v + 50rv
and
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q. E. 20, fragment.
- V London, BL, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, fragment (s. xi^{med}), 79v–83r.

Latin (see Appendix I)

- E Exeter, Cathedral Library, FMS/3, fragment (Exeter, s. xⁱⁿ / x¹), not foliated.
- N London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, part 1 (Worcester, s. xi^{3/4}), 61v–70r.
- S Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (Salisbury, s. xi^{ex}; later provenance Oxford), 9v–22r.

KALENDAS IANUARIII DEPOSITIO SANCTI BASILII EPISCOPI^a

1 [Vita c. 1]

Basilius wæs gehaten^b sum halig bisceop, [50]

se wæs fram cildhade swiðe gehealdsum,
þeah þe he to langum fyrste ungefullod wære.

His fæder and his frynd hine befæstan to lare,

5 to woruldwisdome ða þa he seofon wintre wæs,
forþan þe on þam timan ne teah nan æðelborennysse
nænne man to wurðscype,^c butan he wisdom
ær ðam lange leornode æt gelæredum uðwitungum.

10 Þa wunode se cnæpling on Cappadoniscre^d byrig
fif gear on lare, and ferde to Græcum,

to Atheniscre byrig seo wæs þa bremeste on lare,
and Eubolus se uðwita, þe þær yldest wæs on wisdom,^e
underfeng þone cnapan, swa swa he frymdig wæs,
to larlicre scole and he leornode þa,

15 swa þæt ða uðwitan his andgites wundrodon.

On þære ylcan scole wæs se wælhreowa Iulianus
Cristen fram cildhade, se wearð casere siððan
and awarep his geleafan, and gewende to deofle.

Eac þær leornode on þære ylcan scole

20 se æðela Gregorius, se ðe eft wearð bisceop [52]

and fela wundra worhte swa swa wyrdwriteras secgað.

Basilius ða wunode mid þam uþwitan on lare ealles fiftyne gear
and ealne þone wisdom wundorlice asmeade
þe Grecisce lareowas him læran cuðon.

25 Ac seo lar ne mihte þe butan geleafan wæs

þam cneordlæcendum^f cnihte cyðan

be his Scyppende þone þe he sohte,

þeah þe heo him secgan ne cuðe.^g

Him becom þa on mod þurh^h Godes mynegunge^h

30 þæt he sceolde secan þa soðan lare

on Cristenum bocum be his Scyppende.

Hwæt, þa Basiliusⁱ bliðelice ferde

to Egypta lande and þær leornode twelf monað

on halgum bocum be þæs Hælendes fære,

35 hu he þisne middaneard mid him sylfum alysde.

[1] JOV] ^a om. O; ^b corr. from *haten* O; ^c V *begins here*; ^d *cappadoniscre* V; ^e corr. from *wysdone* J; ^f *cneordlæcendum* J; ^g *cuðen* V; ^{h-h} *mynegunge godes* JO (O = *minegunge*);
ⁱ *besilius* O;

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40 Æfter geares fyrste, ferde him eft ongean
 to his ealdan lareowe and lærde hine be Criste,
 hu mildheortlice he alydde mancynn on rode,
 and hu he of deaðe aras on ðam þridan dæge,
 and to heofonum astah to his halgan fæder.
 Eubolus ^jða se uðwita^j wearð swa micclum oflyst
 Basilies lare, þæt him ne lyste^k nanes metes,
 ac hi smeaddon ðry dagas swiðe smeapancollice
 ymbe þæt ece lif, and ætes ne gymdon.
 45 Þa gelyfde se uðwita on þone ælmihtigan God,
 and betæhte his æhta ealle Basilie,
 cwæð þæt he æfre wolde wunian mid him.
 Basilus þa herede þone Hælend mid wordum,
 and cwæð to Eubole his ealdan lareowe:
 50 ‘Vton nu aspendan ure speda on þearfum,
 and swa mid gebylde bugan to fulluhte,
 alysde fram bendum þissere leasan worulde.’
 Ða dydon ða witan swa swa him bam gewearð,
 dældon heora æhta ealle þearfum
 55 and ferdon to Hierusalem fulluht secende,
 and manega hæðena manna þurh hi gebugon
 to þam leofan^l Drihtne mid geleafan onbryrde.

[54]

2 [Vita c. 2]

Hi comon ða siððan to ðære foresædan byrig
 Hierusalem gehaten^a þær se Hælend ðrowode,
 60 and gesohton þone bisceop þe ða burh bewiste,
 bædon fulluhtes æt his fotum licgende.
 Se bisceop wæs halig wer gehaten Maximinus
 and welwylendlice him getiðode^b þæs ðe hi gewilnodon,
 and sona him mid ferde to þære flowendan^c ea
 65 Iordanis gehaten on þære wæs se Hælend gefullod.
 Hwæt, ða Basilus hine to eorþan astrehte
 and mid wope gewilnode sum gewis tacen æt Gode
 his geleafan to trymminge, and alede his reaf
 on þære ea ofre,^d and eode in nacod.
 70 Þa genealæhte se bisceop and mid bletsunge hine gefullode.
 Efne þa færlice com fyr of heofonum

^{j-j} se uðwita þa JO (V = uðwite); ^k hlyste J; ^l er. J

[2] JOV] ^a er. J, om. V; ^b ge***aðode V after erasure; ^c er. J; ^d ofran O;

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and an^e scinende culfre sceat^f of þam fyre
 into ðære ea, and astyrede ðæt wæter,^g
 fleah siþþan upp forðrihte to heofonum,
 75 and Basilius eode of þæm fantbaðe sona,
 and se bisceop hine bewæfde wundriende þæs tacnes.
 He gefullode eac siððan þone foresædan Eubolum,
 and hi begen gesmyrede mid gehalgodum^h ele,
 and eac gehuslodeⁱ hiⁱ mid þæs Hælendes gerynum.
 80 Hi wunodon þa begen mid þæm bisceope ofer gear
 and siððan gewendon to anre widgillan byrig
 Antiochia geciged,^k seo soðlice wæs mid cCristendome
 afylled gefyrn on ealddagum.

3 [Vita c. 3]

Pa gehadode se^a bisceop Basilius to diacone
 85 and he æfter fyrste ferde mid Eubole [56]
 to his agenum eþele þe he ongeborn wæs.
 Ða mid þam þe hi comon to Cappadoniscre scire
 and eodon into þære byrig, þa wearð þam bisceope geswutelod
 on gastlicre gesihðe be ðam Godes mannum,
 90 and þæt Basilius sceolde beon bisceop æfter him.
 Pa awoc Eusebius þære ceastre bisceop
 and asende his preostas sona him togeanes;
 het him gelangian þa gelyfedan^b men him to^b
 and sæde his ceastergewarum^c hwæt he geseah be him.
 95 Hi wurdon ða underfangene mid fulre estfulnysse
 and se halga bisceop hi heold arwurðlice
 þearle wundriende heora wisdomes deopnysse.

4 [Vita c. 4]

Pa æfter litlum fyrste forðferde se bisceop
 and Basilius se bylewita wearð to bisceope gehalgod,
 100 and on his setle ahafen, swa swa he geseah on ær
 þurh Godes awrigennysse þa þa hi wið his weard wæron.
 Hwæt, ða Basilius his bisceopdom geheold
 mid micelre arwurðnysse þurh þæs ælmihtigan wissunge
 and Godes gelaþunge mid lare getrymde.
 105 He bæd þone ælmihtigan God þæt he him gewissode

^e om. O; ^f scæt J, sætt O; ^g corr. from wæt O; ^h halgodum V; ⁱ he gehuslode O; ^j om. JV
 (O adds ss); ^k gehaten V

[3] JOV] ^a þe O; ^{b-b} men to J; ^c ceastrewarum O

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- þæt he mid agenre spræce him offrian mihte
 ða liflican onsægednysse mid soðfæstre þenunge.
 Æfter þam gebede he wearð swiðe onbryrd
 þurh þone Halgan Gast, and se Hælend him com to
 110 on sumere nihte mid his apostolum,
 and awrehte Basiliū: cwæð þæt he his bena gehyrde.
 Þa stod se Hælend sylf æt þam halgan weofode
 and mid his halgum handum husel senode,
 and þam bisceope tæhte þæs þe he biddende wæs.
 115 He cwæð to Basilie: 'Beo þin muð afylled
 mid haligre herunge æfter þinre bene,^a
 þæt ðu mid agenre spræce geoffrian mæge
 þa liflican onsægednysse mid soðre þenunge.'^b
 Þa wearð se bisceop micclum ablicged
 120 and genam^c þæt husel þe se Hælend gebletsode,
 tobræc^d on þreo and onbyrigde anes dæles.
 Þone oðerne dæl he dyde gehealden^e
 mid him to byrgenne,^f æfter his forðsiðe;
 þone ðridan dæl he dyde onsundron
 125 and het him smiðian of^g smætum golde
 anre culfran anlicnysse, and þa up aheng
 bufan þam altare, and þæron gedyde
 þone ðridan dæl þæs^h deorwurðan husles,
 and seo culfre siþþan symle hi astyrode
 130 æt Basiliesⁱ mæssan þriwa mid þam husle.
 Eubolus se uðwita and þa yldestan preostas
 stodon æt þære dura stariende on þæt leoht
 and beheoldon þa apostolas þe mid þam Hælende comon
 mid wuldre gefrætewode, and hi wurdon afyrhte.
 135 Hi gehyrdon þa stemne þæs halgan sanges
 and Basiliū gesawon binnan æt þæm weofode
 and feollon to his fotum mid fyrhte fornumene.
 Þa ða he uteode and him eall sædon hwæt hi þær gesawon.
 Se bisceop þæs ðancode mid bliðum mode
 140 and þam folce sæde siððan larspell.
 Witodlice Basilius, gebyld þurh his Drihten,
 be endebyrdnysse awrat ealle ða þenunga
 þære halgan mæssan swa swa hit healdað Grecas.

[58]

[4] JOV]^a bena J; ^b herunge O *by homoeoteleuton with line 116*; ^c he genam O; ^d and tobræc O; ^e gehealden JO (*V damaged here*); ^f bebyrgenne J, bebyrgene O; ^g on J; ^h ðas O; ⁱ Basilius O;

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145 He awrat eac munucregol mid micelre gehealdsumnysse,
 þone þe ða easternan and eac swylce Grecas
 anmodlice healdað, þeah þe he hefigra sy
 þonne se ðe Benedictus siþþan us gebysnode
 swylce to anginne agenre gecyrrednysse.
 150 Ac he tihte us on æftewardan þæs ylcan regoles
 to geðungenra lareowa lifes drohtnungum,^j
 and tymde to þam regole þe Basilius gesette.

5 [*Vita c. 5*]

Sum Iudeisc man wolde gewitan to soþan^a
 be ðære halgan mæssan, hwylce mihte heo hæfde
 and be ðam halgan husle þeah þe he hæðen wære. [60]
 155 Eode þa to mæssan mid oðrum mannum
 and hlosnode georne be ðære liflican onsægednysse.
 Þa mid ðam þe Basilius tobræc þæt husel
 þa þuhte þam Iudeiscan^b swylce he todælde an cild.
 Eode swaþeah mid oðrum mannum earhlice to husle
 160 and him wearð geseald an snæd flæsces,
 and he seap^c of ðæm calice eac swylce blod.
 Heold swaþeah sumne dæl ham to berenne mid him
 and æteowde his wife and gewislice sæde
 hwæt he sylf geseah, and siððan þæs^d on mergen
 165 com to Basilie ^efulluhtes biddende.^e
 Hwæt, þa se bisceop hine bliþelice gefullode,
 and ealle his hiwan on þæs Hælendes naman.

6 [*Vita c. 6*]

He eode æfter mæssan ut of þam temple
 and efne^a þa sona hine gesohte an wif
 170 biddende his þingunge to anum geþungenum ealdormen.
 Basilius þa awrat ^bþam earman^b wife an gewrit
 to þæm ealdormenn on þisum andgite:^c
 'Þis earne wif me gesohte, sæde þæt ic mihte
 hire to ðe geþingian. Þonne cyð þu^d nu, ic bidde,
 175 gif ic swa wel ^emæg wið þe^e swa þæt wif truwað.'
 Þa rædde se ealdorman þæt ærendgewrit,

^j drohtnungna V

[5] JOV^a to soðlice V; ^b iudeiscum V; ^c sæp J; ^d om. V; ^{e-e} biddende fulluhtes JV

[6] JOV^a corr. from ene V; ^{b-b} ða earman J, þa earmum O; ^c andgitum V; ^d om. O; ^{e-e} wið þe mæg J (V = mag);

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and sende him ongean sona on gewrite,
 cwæð þæt he wolde þam wife gemiltsian
 for his þingunge, ac he swaþeah ne mihte
 180 þæt gafol alecgan þe heo gelæstan sceolde.
 Ða asende se bisceop to þam foresædan ealdormen
 eft oðer gewrit, mid þysum andgite:
 'Gif þu woldest miltsian, and swaþeah ne mihtest,
 þær is sum beladung on þære segene.
 185 Gif þu þonne ^fmihtest miltsian^f and noldest
 gebringe þe se Hælend to hire hafenleaste,
 þæt þu ne mæge miltsian þeah þu wille.'
 Ða æfter sumum fyrste him wearð swiðe gram
 se healica casere and het hine gebindan
 190 and ^shine to bringan^s bysmorlice on hæfte.
 Ða asende se ealdorman sona to Basilie,
 biddende earmlice þæt he þone geysodan casere
 þurh his gebedu^h geliðgode; and hit gelamp swa.
 Ða ymbe six dagas se casere het sendan
 195 ongean þone geswænctenⁱ ealdorman
 of þæm nearwum bendum, and him þa bliðe wæs.
 Ða com se ealdorman to þam arwurðan bisceope,
 þancode^j his þingunge,^k and þam earmum wife
 be twyfealdum forgeald þæs þe he hire benam.
 200 Þes ylca bisceop, þe we ymbe sprecað,
 sæde he him sylfum on sumne timan
 þæt he næfre^l on his life ne come neah wife
 þurh hæmedþing^m ac heold his clænnysse.

[62]

7 [Vita c. 7]

On sumum dæge ferde se foresæda bisceop,
 205 þa rad Iulianus se arleasa casere
 mid micelre fyrdinge,^a swiðe fus to wige,
 and gecneow Basilium, and cwæð him sona to:
 'Ic hæbbe þe oferþogen on geþungenre lare
 and on uðwitegunge.' Him andwyrde se bisceop:
 210 'Forgeafe God ælmihtig þæt ðu fyligdest^b wisdome.'
 And bead him mid þam worde þry berene hlafas,

^{f-f} miltsian [sic] mihtest V (O *damaged here*); ^{s-s} him to gebringan J; ^h gebede V; ⁱ [geswænc]tan V; ^j and þancode O; ^k ðingunan V (-an *er.*); ^l the first fragment of O ends here; ^m the Rawlinson fragment starts here

[7] JOV] ^a fyrdunge O; ^b fyligdes O;

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- swylce for bletsunge þæs þe he sylf breac^c
 Ða het se arleasa onfon þæra hlafa
 and syllan þam Godes men gærs togeanes,
 215 and cwæð mid hospe: 'Horse^d mete is bere
 þæt he us forgeaf, underfo he gærs.'
 Ða underfeng se halga þa handfulle and cwæð:
 'We budon þe, casere, þæs þe we sylfe brucað
 and þu sealdest us togeanes þæt þæt^e ungesceadwise
 220 nytena habbað him to bigleofan, gebysmriende us.' [64]
 Ða gebealh hine se casere and cwæð mid gebeote:
 'Ðonne ic eft gecyrrre sigefæst^f fram fyrde,
 ic aweste þine buruh and gewyrce hi^g to yrðlande.
 Ic wat þine dystignysse and ^hþinre burhware,^h
 225 þe tobræcon þa anlicnysse þe ic sylf arærde
 and me to þære gebæd gebigdum cneowum.'
 Æfter þysum worde he gewende to Persum
 and Basilius cydde his burhwarum þis,
 and nam him to ræde þæt hi þone reðan casere
 230 mid sceattum gegladodon þonne he of þam siðe come.
 Hwæt, þa seo burhware bliðelice gegaderode
 ungerim feos ætforan þam bisceope.
 Ða bead he þam folce þreora daga fæsten
 and het hi astigan up to anre sticolre dune
 235 on þære wæs gefyrn foremære templ,
 Sancte Marian gehalgod mid healicum wurðmynte;
 and hi æt þære halgan stowe þone Hælend bædon
 þæt he hraðeⁱ towurpe þæs wælhreowanⁱ andgit
 and hi ahredde^k wiþ ðone reðan casere.
 240 Ða geseah se bisceop, þa þa hi swiðost bædon,
 on sumere nihte Sancta Marian cuman
 mid heofonlicum werode^l to þære halgan stowe,
 and cwæð to ðam halgum þe hire gehendost stodon:
 'Clypiað þone martyr Mercurium to me
 245 þæt he ardllice fare to þam arleasan Iuliane,
 and hine acwelle, forþanþe he Criste wiðsoc,
 and be minum suna^m þam soðan Gode
 tallice spræcþ,ⁿ mid toþundenum mode.'
 Ða com Mercurius to ðære mæran cwene^o

^c bræc J; ^d horsa O; ^e þæt ðe J; ^f sigefæste J; ^g om. J; ^{h-h} þine burhwara J; ⁱ raðe OV; ^j wælhreowan JO; ^k ahrædde J, aredde OV; ^l weorodum V; ^m sunu J, *corr. to suna V*; ⁿ *corr. from sræcþ V*; ^o cwen V;

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- 250 mid his gewæpnunge, and wearð sona asend
 fram Cristes meder to þæs caseres slege.
 Ða wearð Basilius swiðe^p afyrht,
 and eode mid Eubole eft to ðære byrig
 and sibþan to ðam sancte, þe on ðære cyrcan læg
 255 Mercurius, se martyr mid micclum wurðmynte
 and sohte his wæpnu, ac he ne geseah hi nahwar.
 Ða axode he þone cyrcweard be þæs sanctes wæpnum,
 and he swor þæt hi wæron gewislice þær on æfen.
 Ða oncneow se bisceop^q cuðlice his gesihðe,
 260 and eode eft to ðam munte mid micelre blysse.
 Kydde þam folce þæt se casere wæs ofslegen
 on þære ylcan nihte swa swa him æteowod wæs.
 He eode eft ongean to ðam arwurðan sancte:
 wolde gewitan gif his wæpnu comon.
 265 Ða stod his franca þær fule begledod
 mid Iulianes blode binnan þam gesceote.

[66]

8 [*Vita c. 8*]

- Efne þæs ymbe seofan niht, com to þære ylcan ceastre
 an þæs caseres þegna,^a and cydde þære burhware þis:
 ‘Iulianus wicode wið þa ea Eufraten,
 270 and him oferwacedon seofonfealde weardas.
 Ða com sum cempa uncuð us eallum
 swiþe gewæpnod and hine sona þurhþyde.
 mid egeslicum onræse^b and ne æteowde siððan.
 Ða hrymde^c Iulianus mid hospe,
 275 and earmlice gewat on ure gewitnysse.’
 Ðus cydde se cempa, and gecneowode to þam bisceope
 fulluhtes biddende, and se bisceop him þæs getiðode.
 Ða bead Basilius ðære^d burhware heora feoh,
 ac hi ealle cwædon mid anre stemne:
 280 ‘Gif we þam deadlicum þas cyste geuðan,
 þæt he ne towurpe ure wynsuman burh,
 miccle swiðor we sceolan þam soðfæstan Gode
 þas lac geoffrian þe us alyside fram deaðe.
 Ðu hæfst þæt feoh mid þe, gefada ymbe loca hu þu wille.’
 285 Ða nydde se bisceop þæt hi namon þone þriddan dæl,
 and þa twegen dælas he dyde^e to þære cyrcan,

^p pearle JO; ^q *end of the Rawlinson fragment*

[8] JV] ^a *corr. from* þegnu J; ^b onhræse J; ^c rymde V; ^d ðam V; ^e dydan V

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and to þæs mynstres neode mid menigfealdum cræftum.
 Twa gear rixode þes reða Iulianus
 and nolde gehealdan his preosthad on riht,
 290 ac truwoðe on þone hæðenscype þe hine to helle gebrohte. [68]

9 [*Vita c. 10*]

Eft on sumne timan wearð se arfæsta wer
 for ðam soðan geleafan leaslice gewregeð
 to Valens þam casere þe ða cynedomes geweold.^a
 Se wæs on Criste gefullod, ac he ne cuþe his geleafan
 295 ac folgode gedwylde þurh gedwolmanna tihtinge.
 Þa het se casere þone halgan gefeccan
 to Antiochia þære ænlican byrig.
 Þa mid þam þe se gedwola ymbe his deað smeade,
 þa wearð his agen sunu yfele^b geuntrumed
 300 and orwene lifes^c læg æt forðsiðe.
 Þa eode seo cwen to ðam casere and cwæð:
 'Yfele þu gefadast for Gode þine ræd
 nu swelt uncer sunu for ðam soðfæstan men.'
 Þa clypode se casere and cwæð to Basilie:
 305 'Gif þin lar is soð, and heo Gode gelicað,
 gebide for minum^d sunu þæt his yfel beo afliged.'
 Ða cwæð Basilius bealdlice to þam casere:
 'Gif þu wilt on riht gelyfan þonne lifað þin sunu.'
 He behet þæt he wolde and se halga gebæd
 310 for þæt soece cild and him wæs sona bet.
 Þa cwædon þa gedwolmen þe dwelodon þone casere
 þæt he ne sceolde bugan for Basilies lare
 of his agenum andgite fram heora æwfæstnysse,
 and sædon þæt his sunu wære gesundful þurh hi.
 315 Mid þam þe þa dwolmen hine bedydrodon þus,
 þa forðferde þæt cild færlice on heora handum.

10 [*Vita c. 14*]

Eft on oðrum timan se ungelyfeda Valens
 genam Godes cyrcan of þam Godes þeowum
 and forgeaf þam gedwolmannum þe hine bedydrodon.
 320 Ða ferde Basilius to ðam foresædan casere
 and mende þæt unriht þe ða yfelan hine ongebrohton

[9] JV] ^a weold V; ^b om. V; ^c the first fragment of V ends here;
^d mine J

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- swa þæt se casere æt nextan betæhte to his dome.
 Hwæt, þa Basilius to þære byrig ferde
 Nicea gehaten, on þære wæs gehæfd
 325 þæt foresæde mynster þe ðam manfullan abædon [70]
 æt þam unrihtwisan casere and þa Cristenan todræfdon.
 Þa cwæp Basilius: 'Uton belucan þas cyrcan
 and þæt loc geinseglian, and ge ealle siðþan
 waciað þreo niht wunigende on gebedum,
 330 and, gif seo cyrce bið geopenod þurh eowre gebena,
 habbað hi eow æfre siððan and ne sæcgað us nenne þanc.
 Gif þonne se ælmihtiga God^a nelle hi eow geopenian,
 þonne wacie we ane niht þone ælmihtigan biddende
 þæt he us geopenige þa geinseglodan cyrcan,
 335 and gif heo bið swa geopenod, heo bið siðþan ure,
 and, gif heo þonne ne biþ, ne bidde we hire næfre.'
 Ða gelicode þam gedwolum þæs biseopes dom,^b
 and wacodon þa þreo niht, and on þam þridan dæge
 stodon æt þære cyrcan dura singende ealle
 340 fram ærnerigen oð ofer midnedæg.
 Ac hi Crist ne gehyrde forþanþe hi ne cuþon hine.
 Þa wacode Basilius on gebedum ane niht,
 mid þam geleaffullan folce and fengon on ærnerigen
 ealle to clypienne kyrrieleyson
 345 mid hludre stemne to ðam leofan Hælende.
 Þa com færllice micel wynd, and wearp 'þa duru upp,^c
 þæt ða scyttelsas toburston and ^dhie slohon^d on þone weall.
 Hi eodon þa in þone ælmihtigan herigende,
 and se biseop mæssode, and bletsode þa geleaffullan
 350 and fela þæra gedwolmanna fengon to geleafan.
 Ða ne mihte se casere wiðcweþan þam dome
 ac let þa Godes^e þeowas þæt Godes templ bugian,^f
 and þæra are brucan þe him geahnod wæs.
 Þa foresædan gedwolmen wæron gefullode on Gode
 355 ac hi ne gelyfdan on riht on þone lifigendan Crist,
 ac mid manegum gedwyldum dweledon þa Cristenan.

11 [Vita c. 11]

- Sum arwurþe þegn hæfde ane dohtor [72]
 þa he wolde gebringan binnan sumum mynstre,

[10] JO] ^a *second fragment of O is legible from here*; ^b dem O; ^{c-c} upp þa duru J, O corrects up into upp; ^{d-d} heo sloh J; ^e godas J; ^f -egian O (*initial illegible*)

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- and Criste betæcan to his clænan þeowdome.
 360 Ða wearð an his cnapena tocuð þam mædene,
 and, þurh deofles tihtinge, hi digollice^a lufode,
 ac he ne dorste ameldian his ungemetegodan lufe.
 Eode þa to anum drymen þe deofles cræft cuðe
 and behet him sceattas gif he mid his scincræfte him
 365 þæt mæden mihte gemacian to wife.
 Ða gebrohte se dryman þone cnapan to his deofle,
 and se deofol befran þone dweligendan cnapan
 gif he wolde on hine gelyfan and his Hælende wiðsacan
 sibþan^b þe he gefremode his fulan galnysse.
 370 Ða stod se earming ætforan þam arleasan deofle
 þær he healice sæt mid his helcnihtum,
 and cwæð þæt^c he wolde wiðsacan his Criste,
 and gelyfan on hine gif he his lust gefremode.
 Ða cwæð se sceocca eft: 'Ge synd swiðe ungetreowe,
 375 þonne ge min behofiað þonne ^dhelpe ic ^deow
 and ge wiþsacað me eft, and cyrrað to eowrum Criste
 se þe is swiðe mildheort and mildelice eow^e underfehþ,
 ac writ me nu sylf willes þæt þu wiðsace Criste
 and þinum fulluhte, and ic gefremme ðinne lust,
 380 and þu beo on domesdæge forðemed mid me.'
 Ða awrat se earming mid his agenre handa
 swa swa se deofol him gedihte þone pistol,
 and se deofol sona sende to ðam mædene
 his fulan gastas^f þe galnysse styriað
 385 and ontende^g þæt mæden to þæs mannes lustum.
 Heo wearð þe geangsumod mid þære ormætan ontendnysse
 and feoll adune færlice hrymende:
 'Eala þu, min fæder, gemiltsa^h þinre dehter
 and forgif me þam men þe min mod me to spendð,
 390 elles ic mot sweltan sarlicum deaðe.'
 Ða weop se fæder wolde hi gefrefrian
 and cwæð mid micelre sarnysse to þære seocan dehter:
 'Ic wolde mid clænnysse Criste þe beweddian,
 to engla geferrædene, to frofre minre sawle,ⁱ
 395 and þu þus wodlice wilnast ceorles.'
 Heo ne rohte his worda for þære wodlican ontendnysse,
 and cwæð þæt heo sceolde sweltan forhraðe

[74]

[11] JO ^a digol (*something ss*) lige O; ^b wið þam J; ^c om. J; ^{d-d} ic helpe J; ^e om. O; ^f lustas O; ^g ontendan J; ^h corr. from gemiltsa O; ⁱ O ends here;

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- gif se fæder nolde gefremman hire willan.
 Se fæder þa æt nextan be his freonda ræde
 400 forgeaf þa earman dohter þam deofles cnihte
 mid micclum æhtan and his man nyste.
 Ða nolde se deofles cniht cuman næfre to cyrcan,
 ne Godes word gehyran ne þa halgan mæssan.
 Wearð þa geopenod his earman wife
 405 his manfullan behat þam hetolan deofle,
 and heo mid micelre angsumnysse arn to Basilie,
 and cydde him be endebyrdnysse hire cnihtes wiþersæc.
 Þa het se halga wer hine to him gefeccan,
 and befran gif hit swa wære swa his wif him sæde,
 410 and he sæde mid wope hu he beswican wearð.
 Þa axode se bisceop: 'Wilt þu bugan eft to Criste?'
 Se wiþersaca cwæð: 'Ic wille georne leof, ac ic ne mæg,
 þeah ic wille, forþanþe ic wiðsoc Criste
 and on gewrite afæstnode þæt ic wære þæs deofles.'
 415 Se halga wer him cwæð to: 'Ne hoga þu ymbe þæt,
 ure Hælend is swiþe welwillende and wille þe eft underfon
 gif þu mid soðre dædbote gecyrst eft to him.'
 Hwæt, þa Basilius gebletsode þone cniht
 and beleac hine onsundron on sumere digelre stowe,
 420 and tæhte him bote and gebæd for hine.
 Com eft ymbe ðry dagas, axode hu he mihte.
 Ða cwæð se dædbeta: 'Þa deoflu cumað to me,
 and me swiðe geegsiað and eac swylce torfiað,
 and habbað him on hande min agen handgewrit,
 425 cweðað þæt ic come to him, and na hi to me.'
 Basilius him cwæð to: 'Ne beo ðu afyrht,
 gelyf soðlice on God.' And senode hine eft
 beleac eft þa duru and lede him his mete.
 He com eft ymbe feawa daga and cunnode þæs mannes.
 430 Se cniht cwæð to ðam halgan were: 'Ic gehyre þa deoflu feorran
 and hira egslican þiwracan, ac ic hi ne geseo.'
 He beleac hine eft on þa ylcan wisan
 oð þone feowerteoðogan dæg and fandode his siððan.
 Þa sæde se cnapa þæt he swiðe wel mihte:
 435 'Nu todæg ic seah hu ðu oferswiðdest þone deofol.'
 Basilius þa on mergen gebrohte þone cnapan
 into Godes huse and het gegaderian þæt folc
 and bæd hi ealle wacian þær on niht mid him
 and ðingian þam earman men to þam ælmihtigan Gode.
 440 Mid þam þe hi swiðost bædon binnan þære cyrcan

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þa com se wælhreowa deofol, wolde geniman þone cnapan
of Basilies^j handum, hetelice^k teonde,
and cwæð to ðam halgan. þæt he hine berypte:
'Ne sohte ic na hine, ac he sylf com to me,
445 her ic habbe his handgewrit þæt ic hit gehealde mid me
to þam gemænelican dome on þam micclum dæge.'
Ða cwæð se halga wer: 'We clypiað to ðam Hælende
upahafenum handum oðþæt þu þæt handgewrit agife.'
Ða clypodon hi ealle kyrrieleyson
450 upahafenum handum wið heofonas weard
and efne þa æfter fyrste feol þæt ylce gewrit
ufan of þære lyfte, to ðam geleaffullan bisceope.
He þancode þa Gode mid gastlicre blisse
and axode þone cnapan gif he oncneowe þæt gewrit.
455 He cwæð: 'Ic oncnawe þas cartan ful geare:
þas^l ic sylf awrat þam awyrgeðan deofle.'
Hwæt, þa Basilius hi sona totær
and gehuslode þone cnapan and þam Hælende betæhte
and lærde hine georne, hu he lybban sceolde
460 on Cristes geleafan oð his lifes ende.

[78]

12 [*Vita* c. 12]

Basilius se mæra wearð micclum onbryrd
and mid godcundre beorhtnysse gebletsod forþearle
eode þa ardllice to anes preostes huse,
and het his gebroðor^a beon his geferan.
465 Anastasius wæs gehaten se arwurþa mæssepreost
þe se bisceop tofundode swa færlice mid gange,
mid þam wunode an mæden mærllice drohtnigende
geond feowertig geara fæc fægre gehealden.
Heo wæs mannum geþuht swylce heo his gemæcca wære.
470 Witodlice se mæssepreost wiste his tocyme
þurh þone halgan gast, and wolde hine behydan,
ac se bisceop wiste hwær he wæs ful geare,
and het hine mæssian for his mærlican drohtnunge.
þa æt þære mæssan wearð his mærd geswutelod
475 swa þæt se halga gast hine ealne befeng
on fyres gelicnysse þær hi onlocodon.
Se mæssepreost leofode be hlafe and be wætere,

^j basilius J; ^k hetolice J; ^l þis J

[12] J] ^a gebroðra;

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and symle he fæste buton on freolsdagum.
 He hæfde ænne licðrowere belocen on anum clyfan
 480 egeslice toswollen, and unsprecende fornean,
 and hine ðær afedde unafunden oðþæt.
 Ða eode Basilius to ðam clyfan
 ac se preost nolde undon þa duru mid cæge,
 ac se bisceop hi geopenode eaðelice mid his worde,
 485 and wacode ealle þa niht mid þam wædlian^b hreoflian
 biddende þone Hælend þæt he hine gehælede,
 and gelædde hine on mergen forð swiðe fægres hiwes,
 buton ælcum womme, and wel sprecende.
 Þus wearð geopenod se arwurða mæssepreost
 490 and þæt halige mæden þe his huses gymde,
 and se bisceop gewende mid his gebroðrum ham.

13 [*Vita c. 13*]

Effrem wæs gehaten sum swiðe halig abbod
 on westene wunigende fela wundra wycende
 and manegum oðrum gebysnode þa þe bugon to lare.
 495 Ða gehyrde he be þam wundrum þe Basilius worhte
 and bæd gelome æt Gode þæt he him geswutelode
 hwylc Basilius wære on wurðscype mid him.
 Þa wearð þam abbode æteowod an fyren swer
 se stod up aþened oð þa steapan heofonan,
 500 and him com stemn ufan þus clypiende hlude:
 'Eala þu, Effrem eall swylc is Basilius,
 swylce þes fyrena swer þe þu gesyhst her standan.'
 Ða gewende Effrem of þam westene sona
 to ðam halgan bisceope þæt he hine gespræce,
 505 and Basilius sende sona him togeanes,
 and hine wylcumode swa swa he wyrðe wæs
 and þa halgan him betweonan ymbe þæt heofonlice lif
 geornlice smeadon swiðe smeapancollice.
 Æfter þære halgan mæssan mid þam þe hi gereordodon,
 510 cwæð se halga Effrem to þam arwurðan bisceope:
 'Ic bidde þe, arwurða fæder, þæt þu me anes þinges tiðige,
 ic wat þæt þu bist tiða swa hwæs swa þu bytst æt Gode.
 Bide nu æt Gode þæt ic Grecisc cunne.'
 515 Þa cwæð se bisceop him to: 'Þu bæde ofer mine mæðe,
 ac uton swaþeah biddan þas bena æt Gode.'

[80]

^b wædlian

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Hi feollon þa on gebedum, and Basilius cwæð:
 'Hwi nelt þu la, Effrem, nu ðu swa arwurðe eart
 beon mæssepreost?' And se oðer him cwæð to:
 'Forðanþe ic eom synful.' Þa sæde se bisceop:
 520 'Eala, gif ic hæfde þine synna ane.'^a
 Hi cneowdon þa eft, and Effrem þa spræc
 mid Greciscum gereorde God herigende
 and se halgan bisceop hine hadode to mæssepreoste
 and his wealhstod to diacone, and hi wendon eft ongean
 525 to þam widgillan westene wuldrigende God.

14 [*Vita* c. 15, lines 1–48]

Sum swiðe welig wif wæs swylce on wudewanhade
 ac heo lyfde sceandlice swaswa swin on meoxe,
 and mid healicum synnum hi sylfe fordyde.
 Heo wearð swapeah æt nehstan wundorlice onbryrd
 530 þurh Godes mynegunge, and ealle manlican dæda
 awrat on anre cartan and beworhte mid leade.
 Gesohte þa Basilius biddende and cweðende:
 'Eala þu, Godes halga, beseoh me to are.
 Eala mine synna ic synfulle awrat
 535 on þissere cartan, and ic com to þe leof,
 and ic bidde þe for Godes lufan þæt þu ne^a unlyse þa inseglunge,
 ac adylega þa synna to Drihtne me þingiende.
 Se God þe me forgeaf þis gode geþanc,
 se wile þe gehyran me þingiende to him.'
 540 Þa genam Basilius se bisceop þa cartan,
 and beseah to heofonum and cwæð to þam Hælende:
 'Ðin agen dæd is Drihten þæt þu adylegie synna
 þu þe middaneardes synna mildheortlice ætbryst,
 eaðelice þu miht þissere anre sawle synna
 545 adylegian, þu soðfæsta Drihten,
 ealle ure synna sind mid þe awritene,
 ac þin mildheortnys is swiðe micel and unasmeagendlic.'
 Git þa Basilius gebæd for þæt wif
 waciende þa niht, and þæt gewrit ageaf
 550 þam foresædan wife and þa wæron þa synna
 ealle adylegode butan anre synna.
 Seo wæs seo mæste and heo wearð þa æmod

[13] J] ^a *corr. to ana*

[14] J] ^a *me*

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biddende mid wope þone halgan wer
 þæt he þa micclan synne mildheortlice adylegode,
 555 swa swa he dyde þa oðre þurh his Drihtnes unnan.
 Þa cwæð se ærcebisceop: 'Ic eom eac synful,
 and miltse behofige þæs heofonlican Dryhtnes.
 Ac far þe to westene and þu fintst anne wer
 haliges lifes se hatte Effrem,
 560 agif him þas cartan and cyþ him ymbe þe
 and he mid gebedum gegladiap God ælmihtigne.'
 Þæt wif gewende þa to ðam westene swiðe,
 and Basilius wearð gebroht on legere
 to his forðsiðe, forewittig swaþeah.

[84]

15 [*Vita* c. 16]

565 An æpele læce wæs wunigende on þære byrig
 Iosep gehaten hæðen and Iudeisc,
 se cuðe tocnawan, gif he cunnode þæs mannes
 be his ædrena hrepunge, hweðer he hraðe swulte.
 And Basilius wiste þurh Godes onwrigennysse
 570 þæt he sceolde þone læce to geleafan bringan
 and on fante fullian ær his forðsiðe.
 Þa lufode he hine forði and gelome hine gespræc,
 tihtende to geleafan, þeah þe he lange wiðsoce.
 Ða on sumum dæge sende Basilius
 575 æfter ðam ylcan læce swylce he his lacnunga gyrnde,
 and het hine sceawian be his seocnysse,
 axode þa hu him þuhte and se oðer him andwyrde:
 'Gearciað þa þing þe eow gewunelice synd
 to bebyrigunge, þes bisceop gewit hraðe.'
 580 Ða cwæð se ærcebisceop to ðam æðelan læce:
 'Nastu hwæt þu sægst, þeah þu swa ne wene.'
 Se læce him cwæð to: 'Ne lyfastu oð æfen.'
 Þa cwæð Basilius: 'Hwæt gif ic bide merigenes?'
 Se Ebreisca cwæþ eft: 'Ne bið hit swa langsum.'
 585 Ane tid ic wene þæt þin sawul wunige on þe,
 ac gefada þine þing forþanþe ic þe sæcge
 þæt þes dæg ne geendað ofer ðe cucena.'
 Ða cwæð Basilius mid blyðum mode him to:
 'Hwæt destu gif ic to mergen middæges gebide?'
 590 Se Ebreisca cwæð: 'Sylf ic swelte þonne.'
 Se halga wer sæde: 'Þu scealt sweltan synna,
 and Criste lybban þurh geleafan awend.'
 Se læce him andwyrde and cwæð þæt he gelyfan wolde,

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- and his willan gefremman gif he wunode oð^a middæg.
 595 He behet þa mid aðe þæt he to þam Hælende gebuge
 and fulluht underfenge, gif se halga fæder leofode.
 Hwæt, ða Basilius bæd þone ælmihtigan God [86]
 þæt he his lif gelengde þam læce to hæle.
 Se bisceop þa leofode swa swa he bæd æt Gode,
 600 and on mergen gelangode þone læce him to.
 Se Iudeisca þa com, and cwæð mid wundrunge
 mid ealre heortan: 'Ic sæcge þæt Crist is soð God,
 and heonanforð wiðsace mid soðum geleafan
 þam hatigendlicum bigengum þe ða Iudeiscan healdað.
 605 Hat me nu fullian and mine hiwan ealle
 on þæs Hælendes naman buton elcunge.'
 Se ærcebisceop cwæð: 'Ic eow ealle fullige
 mid minum agenum handum, ðine hiwan, and þe.'
 Þa grapode se læce his lima eft and cwæð:
 610 'Ðin mægen is ateorod, and þa mihte þu næfst.'
 Basilius him cwæð to: 'We habbað þone Scyppend
 þe þæt gecynd gesceop and se us gestrangað.'
 He aras ða mid ðam worde, and eode to cyrcan,
 and ætforan þam folce gefullode þone Ioseph
 615 mid eallum his hiwum and gehuslode hi siððan,
 and lærde hi georne be ðam ecan life.
 Siþþan he mæssode mannum to nones,
 and lærde hi georne and luflice hi cyste,
 and genam ðone dæl þæs deorwurðan husles,
 620 þe se Hælend gehalgode, þe he heold oðþæt,
 and æfter þære huslunge mid herunge gewat
 to þam lifigendan Gode þe he mid geleafan wurðode
 mid þam he wunað on blisse, a butan ende. Amen.
 Hwæt, þa se læce þe ðær gelyfed wæs
 625 feoll uppon his breost mid flowendum tearum
 and cwæð mid wope: 'Wella Basilius,
 gif ðu sylf noldest, nære þu git forðfaren.'^b
 Þa com micel meniu on mergen to ðam lice,
 and Gregorius bisceop þe mid Basilie leornode,
 630 and oðre fela bisceopas, and gebrohton þæt lic
 mid gastlicum sangum into Godes cyrcan. [88]

[15] J] ^a of; ^b forðfaran

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16 [*Vita* c. 15, lines 48–74]

We willað nu ful secgan be ðam synfullan wife
þe Basilius sende mid þære anre synne to Effremme
þam abbude, þæt he ða ane^a adylegode.

- 635 Þæt wif becom æt nextan þurh þæt widgille westen
to ðam halgan Effrem, and he wiste hire fær
ðurh Godes onwrigennysse, and hwæt heo wolde þær
and cwæð hire sona to: 'Ic eom synful mann.'
Heo awarep þa cartan ða, and cwæð to Effremme:
640 'Se ærcebisceop me sende soðlice to ðe,
þæt þu ðas ane^b synne þe on þissere ymelan stent
þurh þine gebedu adylegie, swa swa he dyde þa oðre.'
Se halga Effrem cwæð: 'Nese, nese, dohtor,
ac se ðe þa ^cmanegan synna^c mihte adylegian
645 þurh his þingrædene, ða þa ðu hine bæde,
se mæg bet þonne ic biddan for ðære anre.
Gang ongean hraðe to ðam Godes menn,
þæt ðu hine befo ær his forðsiðe.'
Þa arn þæt earne wif ofer þæt westen swiðe
650 oðþæt heo to þære byrig becom þær man bær Basilius,
and feoll ða to eorðan, flitende wið þone halgan
þæt he hi asende fram him sylfum to westene
on swa micelne weg, and ne wearð gefrefrod.
Heo wearp þa mid þam þæt gewrit on ða bære
655 and cydde þam mannum be hire misdædum.
Þa wolde an ðæra preosta witan þa synne,
and sceawode þa cartan, and clypode to ðam wife:
'To hwi swincst^d þu, la wif? Þeos carte is adylegod.'
Seo syn wearð þa adylegod þurh Drihtnes mildsunge
660 swa swa Basilius wolde þe ða wuldrode mid Gode.
Ða fægnode þæt wif and þæt folc wuldrode
þone lifigendan God þe lyfað on ecnysse. Amen.^e

17 [*no source*]

- His lic wearð bebyrged on Cessarean^a byrig,
Cappadoniscre scire, þær þær he sylf bisceop wæs,
665 manegum fremiende mid micelre lare,
and he sylf wolde sweltan for rihte

[90]

[16] JV^a an J; ^b *the second fragment of V starts here*; ^{c-c} manega synne J; ^d *corr. from swinst*; V^e *er. J*

[17] JV^a *cessariam V*

ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF SAINT BASIL

ÆLFRIC'S LIFE OF SAINT BASIL

ær ðam þe he forsuode þone soðan gelyfan
betwux þam gedwolmannum þe hine drehton for oft,
forði he wuldrað nu, a to worulde mid Gode. AMEN.

TRANSLATION

before he was silent about the true faith
among the heretics who often afflicted him.
Therefore he now glorifies forever in the world with God. AMEN.

Commentary

LB 1 (lines 1–57)

This introductory section is a summary of the *Prologus* and of *Vita Basilii* c. 1. Basil receives his schooling as a pagan student, and his conversion is prompted by divine inspiration. The lengthy and complicated theological disquisition of the first chapter in the Latin text is not translated in LB, nor does Ælfric mention Basil's ascetic phase.

4–5 For the collocation *befæstan* (and conjugated forms) + *(to) lare* in connection with a noble birth and for the compound *woruldwisdom*, see above, pp. 102–7).

8 The spelling *uðwyt-* seems to be a peculiarity of manuscript J, and has therefore been emended to *uðwit-* (see Appendix II). Eight out of the eleven occurrences of the rounded spelling occur in LB, one in the Nativity of Christ (*LS* 1, line 96), and two in the Life of Eugenia (*LS* 2, lines 21 and 23).

9 Ælfric called Cappadocia a *burh* here and at line 88, while at line 87 it is called a *scir*. This choice of vocabulary is reminiscent of the glosses to Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* (above, p. 56).

12 Eubolus is introduced as a philosopher and Basil's teacher. His name, in the nominative, is consistently followed by the same modifier *se uðwita* (lines 12, 41, 131). He is also called a *lareow* once (line 49, in the dative case): 'and cwæð to Eubole his ealdan lareowe'. In the Latin, this fictitious character appears in cc. 1–4 and 7 (but not 5 or 6) and then disappears. This might suggest that the Greek original had been composed at different stages, and perhaps by different authors. Accordingly, Ælfric only mentioned Eubolus up to c. 4 in connection with Basil's training years, and then again in c. 7 in the episode of Julian's death. Eubolus is not mentioned in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary.

21 The reading *worhte* is to be preferred to *worhta* (in Julius E. vii). Assimilation of endings within the same line may have generated this error. A similar instance is found at line 215 (*q.v.*). Owing to Ælfric's use of homoeoteleuton and epiphora as ornamental devices, such mechanical errors are frequent in later manuscripts. The scribes of J and V (but especially J) seem on the whole to have been more responsive to these patterns than O, particularly in the alternation of unaccented *-a* and *-e*.

COMMENTARY

- 28 The reading *cuðe* is from manuscript J; V reads *cuðen*, as a result of dittography with *cuðan* (line 24) and *cyðan* (line 26). The choice of *cuðen* over *cuðe* would create a string of epiphoras, but is ungrammatical.
- 32 The anacrusis *hwæt* (or *hwæt þa / ða*) is used for suspense ten times in LB, not only to start a new section, but also internally within the same miracle. I translate it as ‘well’.
- 57 At this point there is an important omission in LB. On their way to Jerusalem, Basil and Eubolus stop in Antioch, where Basil displays his profound knowledge of classical learning by translating a passage from Homer for one of Libanius’ students in three different versions (or languages?):

Filius uero stabularii nomine Filoxenus sedebat ante portas in anxietate plurima. Erat hic discipulus Libanii sophistae. Acceperat enim ab illo uersus homericos transmissos ad rhetores, et in tribulatione multa manens degebat ... Basilius denique accipens eosdem uersus cepit dicere eorum translationem. Stupens autem adulescens et gaudis factus, scripto illos disponi deprecatus est. Qui scripsit eorum absolutionem in tribus translationibus. (c. 1, lines 96–105)¹

This is the first of two miracles that display Basil’s linguistic prowess and knowledge of the Greek language (the second one involves Ephrem the Syrian, c. 13). It is also the first of four miracles involving the use of writing (the others are: c. 6 on the poor woman, c. 11 on the youth who forsook Christ and c. 15 on the sinful woman). In *Vita Basilii*, c. 1, after Basil translates the Homeric passage, the young student showed it to Libanius the Sophist, who invites Basil and Eubolus to his school. Basil’s attempt to convert Libanius, however, fails, and the sophist simply asks him to lecture to his students about general philosophical issues. Ælfric omitted this passage perhaps because it is long and convoluted, but perhaps he also felt uneasy at

¹ ‘The son of a stable-man, named Philoxenus, was sitting outside the doors in great anxiety. He was a student of Libanius the Sophist, and he had received from him the Homeric lines as transmitted to the rhetoricians, and he found himself in great trouble ... Basil then taking those lines began to speak out their translation. Wondering and rejoicing, the boy begged him to put them in writing. He wrote the solution to the lines in three translations.’

COMMENTARY

mentioning one of Basil's failures at the very start of the narrative.² In addition, according to the *Vita Basilio*, Basil and Eubolus converted many along their way 'conuertentes ad Deum gentilium multitudinem multam' (c. 1, lines 94–5), and it is therefore possible that Ælfric preferred not to contradict this statement. Gordon Whatley points out that Antioch is depicted in the *Vita* as a deeply Christian city: thus Ælfric's anxiety at portraying pagans and Christians living harmoniously together may also have reflected contemporary politics. In tenth-century England cohabitation of pagans and Christians seems to have caused a temporary relapse into paganism.³

LB 2 (lines 58–83)

58–9 It seems strange that Ælfric would need to remind his audience that Christ suffered in Jerusalem, but see also lines 64–5. The reading *gehaten* is erased from manuscript J and is omitted in V, but is essential to complete the alliterative pattern. The Latin simply introduces the arrival of Basil and Eubolus in the Holy City and immediately describes the bishop's vision:

Adprehendentes autem Hierosolimam et omnem locum sacrum fide et amore
requirentes et ipsis locis, qui est super omnia Deus, adorantes manifestauit
episcopo ciuitatis nomine Maximino. (c. 2, lines 1–4).⁴

A similar specification on Jerusalem is found in the Homily for Mid-Lent Sunday (*CH II*, 12, lines 20–1): 'Iudea land. on ðam is seo burh hierusalem ðe crist on ðrowode'.⁵

60 '[A]nd gesohton þone bisceop þe ða burh bewiste': LB contains many of these small additions which do not essentially change the contents of the *Vita Basilio*, but they add a sort of running commentary to the narrative. In this case, for instance, there is no indication in the Latin that Basil and Eubolus

² It is important to note that one of the manuscripts consulted does not contain this episode either (BAV, Reg. lat. 528). This manuscript, however, also omits cc. 6, 9 (which is also omitted by Ælfric) and 10; see above, pp. 25–6.

³ Whatley, 'Basil in Old English'.

⁴ 'Indeed when they had reached Jerusalem visiting all sacred places with faith and love, and venerating those places where God is above all things, [this] was shown to the bishop of that city whose name was Maximinus.'

⁵ 'The land of Judea where there is the City of Jerusalem, in which Christ suffered.'

COMMENTARY

looked for the bishop: the two holy men after entering Jerusalem simply prostrate themselves at Maximinus' feet: '[e]t se ei prosternentes' (c. 2, line 4). The earliest English copy of the *Vita Basilii*, dated to the beginning of the tenth century (Exeter, Cathedral Library, FMS/3), starts here with the words 'ciuitatis nomine'.⁶

- 61 The genitive *fulluhtes* and forms of *biddan* forms a recurrent stock phrase in Ælfric's writings; see lines 165 and 278.⁷
- 64–5 Line 65 is a seemingly unnecessary clarification, for one assumes that Ælfric's audience knew the name of the river in which Jesus was baptised. The reading *flowendan* has been erased (scratched) from the main manuscript, but survives in O and V (see too the orthographic variant *flowwendan* in O, Appendix II). The present participle seems necessary not only for intralinear and interlinear alliteration (respectively: simple with *midferde*, and back-linked with *gefullod*), but also as a reminder of the 'symbolic value' of flowing water at the origin of baptismal practice.⁸ These two lines also echo lines 58–9: 'to ðære foresædan byrig Hierusalem gehaten þær se Hælend ðrowode'. The two prepositional phrases form a parallel construction: *to* + adjective + dative feminine noun, with the name of the city / river followed by an explanatory half line. In both cases *gehaten* alliterates with *Hælend*, and each line ends respectively with a preterite (*ðrowode*, line 59) and a past participle (*gefullod*, line 65). The envelope-pattern between lines 58 and 65 functions as a bracket to isolate the circumstances leading to Basil's baptism, one of the most poignant scenes in LB.⁹
- 67 The phrase *mid wope* occurs, with intervening adjectives, over fifty times in the Ælfrician corpus of writings. It normally translates Latin *cum fletu*, but in LB it is an addition since the phrase *cum fletu* (Psalm 102.9) never occurs in the *Vita Basilii*.
- 75 The Old English *of þæm fantbæð* carries a stronger symbolic connotation than the Latin *de aqua* (a literal translation of the Greek text τοῦ ὕδατος). In his enlightening discussion of Old English *fant* / *font*, its origin and

⁶ See above, pp. 39–40 and 139–40.

⁷ For a discussion of this collocation, see above, pp. 136–7.

⁸ See C. A. Jones, 'Old English *Fant* and its Compounds in the Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary of Baptism', *MS* 63 (2001), 143–92, at 157.

⁹ This highly dramatic scene from *BHL* 1023 also made its way into Hincmar of Reims' *Vita Remigii*; see pp. 20–1.

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compounds, Christopher Jones points out that *fantbæð* seems to function as synonym of *fulwihrtbæð*.¹⁰ According to Jones, the compound *fantbæð* is a relatively rare formation, in contrast with, for example, *fantwæter*. It is only attested in this one instance throughout Ælfric's writings.

80–3 The word *widgillan* (line 81) is normally used by Ælfric to describe water-expanses, lands, or deserts (for the latter, see also lines 525 and 635), but is used more rarely for cities; see for instance, in the Life of Chrysanthus and Daria (*LS* 35), line 135: 'þe on þone timan geweold þære widgillan Rome byrig'.¹¹ The reading of manuscript V, *Antiochia gehaten*, is more frequent with place names (the comparatively rare *geciged* tends to be used almost exclusively for proper names). However, since O is usually the most reliable witness, I have chosen to follow its reading (and J's). An interesting parallel to the reading of J and O is found in the Old English Apollonius of Tyre: 'æfter þæs cyninges naman wæs seo ceaster Antiochia geciged'.¹² Ælfric added to the Latin here to describe Antioch as a thoroughly Christian city, which, as Whatley observed, 'directly contradicts the import of the omitted episode [on Libanius' refusal to convert]'. In the Life of Julian and Basilissa (*LS* 4), Ælfric located the city of Antioch in Egypt: 'Iulianus wæs gehaten. sum ædele godes ðegn. on Egypta lande, on antiochian þære byrig.' (lines 1–2), and 'ða com Martianus se manfulla cwællere. into Antiochia þære Egyptiscan byrig.' (lines 104–5).¹³ There is no reason to assume that he would think differently for the Antioch mentioned in LB.

¹⁰ Jones, 'Old English *Fant*', especially pp. 170–1.

¹¹ 'Who at the time ruled over the vast city of Rome.'

¹² 'The City of Antioch was named after the king', J. Raith, ed., *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke mit dem Text der Historia Apollonii nach der englischen Handschriftengruppe* (Munich, 1957), p. 52, line 2.

¹³ 'A noble servant of God in Egypt, in the city of Antioch, was called Julian', and 'then came Martianus the sinful killer to Antioch, the Egyptian city,'

COMMENTARY

LB 3 (lines 84–97)

87 As pointed out for Antioch (above, lines 80–3), it is not possible to determine the extent of Ælfric’s familiarity with the geography of Asia Minor. For the particular case of Caesarea and Cappadocia, his references seem to show familiarity with the Old English glosses to Aldhelm’s prose *De uirginitate*.¹⁴

88–90 Ælfric omitted the bishop’s name, Eusebius, but added the fact that his vision is *gastlicre* (line 89). LB greatly condenses the contents of the *Vita Basilii*, omitting the bishop’s surprise in seeing Basil and Eubolus, and commenting only briefly on his hospitality at line 96: ‘and se halga bisceop hi heold arwurðlice’.¹⁵

92 Old English *preostas* translates ‘principem ecclesiasticae ministracionis et quosdam reuerentium cleri’ (c. 3, line 9; see also below, line 131).¹⁶

97 This is the only occurrence of the formula *wisdomes deopnysse* in Ælfric’s work. The phrase is coined under the influence of the Latin metaphor (italicised here) ‘*admirans autem pelagus adiacentis in eis sapientiae, et habens eos dextra leuaque sustentatores*’ (c. 3, lines 22–3).¹⁷ A literal rendering of the Latin would have been unclear in Old English (as in Latin). Ælfric therefore adapted the figure into a metonymy: ‘and se halga bisceop hi heold arwurðlice *pearle wundriende heora wisdomes deopnysse*’ (lines 96–7),¹⁸ thus preserving the hydrographic echo (*deopnysse*), but clarifying the awkward syntax at the same time.

LB 4 (lines 98–151)

98 Eusebius’ death is mentioned at the very end of c. 3 in the *Vita Basilii*, but Ælfric reorganised the structure so that this fact is immediately followed by, and syntactically joined to Basil’s election as bishop.

¹⁴ See above, p. 56.

¹⁵ The Latin is more elaborate: ‘[e]t edoctus dixit ministris quae ad refectorem sunt eis tribuere’, c. 3, lines 15–16.

¹⁶ ‘And he called the chief of ecclesiastical administration, and hose among the worthiest of the clergy.’

¹⁷ ‘[A]dmiring indeed the sea of knowledge lying in them and keeping them as supporters for the right and the left hand.’ In order to clarify the phrase ‘*pelagus adiacentis sapientiae*’, it is necessary to turn to the Greek text; see above, pp. 9 and 12.

¹⁸ ‘And the holy bishop hosted them honourably, greatly wondering at the depth of their knowledge.’

COMMENTARY

- 99 The appositive *se bylewita* is not directly translated from the *Vita Basilii*, where an equivalent is not to be found. The more commonly attested orthographic variant (without gemination in *t*) is found in manuscript O (J *bylewitta*; see Appendix II). The position of this modifier within the line disrupts a common pattern adopted throughout LB: the asyndetic *and Basilius* is usually followed by a preterite verb form, without intervening predicates (lines 75, 228, 505, 516, 563 and 568). The strategic position and meaning of the adjective is chosen ad hoc for this particular episode: in Ælfric's writings the word *bylewit* is often employed to describe the dove which descended on Christ's baptism. A representative instance is found in the Homily for Pentecost (*CH I*, 22, lines 130–2): '[o]n bocum is geredd be þam fugelcynne þæt his gecynd is swiðe bylewite and unscaðði and gesibsum'.¹⁹ In LB *bylewit* functions as an ornamental addition (it alliterates with *Basilius*), and as a powerful reminder of Basil's baptismal scene, when the Holy Spirit descended on him in the shape of a dove (LB 3).
- 100 *He* refers to Maximinus and his vision.
- 101–4 In describing Basil's episcopacy, the *Vita Basilii* is much more succinct: '[Basilius] gubernabat ecclesiam Dei prouidentia',²⁰ while Ælfric elaborated on his divinely inspired, righteous conduct. From a rhetorical viewpoint, this passage shows particularly interesting characteristics: there is the envelope-pattern introduced by *þurh* at lines 101 and 103 and the parallel constructions *þurh Godes* (line 101) / *and Godes* (line 104). Two sets of internal rhyme contribute to the unity of this passage: *awrygennyssse* / *arwurðnysse* (lines 101 and 103), and *wissunge* / *gelapunge* (lines 103 and 104). Thus, in these three lines, the words God or Almighty appear three times in the genitive as a modifier of abstract nouns, culminating at line 105, where Basil is said to invoke *þone ælmihtigan God*. The alternation between *-nys* and *-ung* compounds is also echoed at line 107 with *onsægednysse* and *þenunge* (see below).
- 105–7 With these three lines, Ælfric summarised a lengthy description of Basil's progressive inspiration which eventually led to a vision of the Lord. Ælfric omits Basil's request to obtain grace, knowledge and understanding, delving straight into the saint's request to be able to offer the living sacrifice with his own words. Ælfric added the phrase *mid soðfæstre þenunge*, which not only

¹⁹ 'In the books one reads about that bird which is very tame and innocent and peaceful.'

²⁰ 'Basil administered the Church through God's providence.'

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echo *wissunge* (line 103) and *gelapunge* (104), but also introduce one of the key passages in LB: Basil's receiving of the power of consecrating the Eucharist.²¹

- 112 The anacrusis generated by the subject-verb inversion *Da stod* + noun is exploited three times in LB with significant dramatic effects (lines 112, 265 and 370). The phrase seems to be translated in imitation of *stetit*, a common biblical formula.
- 118–20 Through the relative *þe se* at line 120, Ælfric clearly established a connection between the housel blessed by the Lord and that which Basil divided in three parts. The Latin text is not equally clear. After the apparition, Basil celebrated Mass in front of his flock, but the bread which he broke and preserved for later is not linked directly to the one left to him by God:

Et post finem orationum exaltauit panem sine intermissione orans ... Et diuidens panem in tres partes unam quidem communicauit timore multo, alteram autem reseruauit consepelire sibi, tertiam uero inponens columbae aureae quae pependit super altare ... Exeunte autem Basilio, prostrauerunt se ad pedes eius ... [V]ocauit auri fabrum et fecit columbam ex auro puro atque in ipsam deposuit ut diximus portionem, pendens eam super sanctam mensam in figura ipsius columbae sanctae, quae apparuit in Iordane baptizato Domino. (c. 4, lines 18–37)²²

The Latin order of events is confused at this point: Basil first celebrated Mass, placed the bread in the golden dove, approached Eubolus, ordered a golden dove to be made, and finally celebrated Mass again. Ælfric's readjustments of the narrative create an overall impression of clarity with a smooth transition: he mentioned in order, the vision (lines 108–18), the breaking of the bread and the shaping of the dove (lines 119–30), Eubolus

²¹ For the ornamental patterns of this section, see above, pp. 110–13

²² 'And at the end of the prayers he elevated the bread praying without stopping ... And breaking the bread in three parts, he took a part for Communion in great awe, another he kept to be buried with him, placing the third one in a golden dove which hung above the altar ... Indeed as Basil went out they [Eubolus and the priest] fell at his feet ... He then called a goldsmith and had a dove made out of pure gold and, as we said, placed inside it a piece [of bread]. He hung it over the holy altar, [an effigy] in the shape of that very dove, which appeared as the Lord was baptised in the Jordan.'

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and the priests (131–38) and finally Basil’s celebration of Mass (lines 139–40). LB omits the first Mass mentioned in the Latin text, placing the fabrication of the golden dove before Basil’s office. In the Old English the dove appears immediately after Basil’s breaking of the Eucharist. The *Vita Basilii*, in this case, as it were, anticipates itself, by mentioning a golden dove above the altar before Basil has it made. Ælfric’s rearrangement of details is part of a larger plan to eliminate any logical or chronological incongruity from his translation. Even though he doubtlessly recognised the analogous symbolism between Christ’s and Basil’s baptismal scenes, Ælfric must have thought it more appropriate for the golden dove to resemble the one which had appeared to the saint, rather than to the Lord; hence presumably his omission of the phrase ‘*quae ... Domino*’. The Exeter fragment of the *Vita Basilii* ends here, with the words ‘*pendit super a[ltare]*’, and contains at this point a non-continuous Old English interlinear gloss.

122–4 The construction *dyde gehealdan* (line 122) is a relatively rare occurrence of causative *don*.²³ Both Julius E. vii and Otho B. x read *gehealden* (O is barely distinguishable). The edge of Vitellius D. xvii has been burnt here. The parallel between the two constructions *dyde gehealdan ... dyde onsundor* is emphasised by the rarity of the causative *don* construction, which became gradually more frequent in Middle English.

129–30 It is only at the beginning of c. 8 (omitted in LB) that the *Vita Basilii* mentions the dove’s threefold motion during Basil’s celebration of Mass (‘*semper ad exaltationem sancti sacrificii ter moueri solens*’, c. 8, line 5).²⁴ At line 130 Ælfric translated two Latin phrases which are only found later on in the *Vita Basilii*: *ad exaltationem sancti sacrificii* is translated as *æt Basilies messan*, and *cum sacramento* (c. 8, lines 4 and 5) as *mid þam husle*. The decision to add this detail at this particular point not only responds to organisational purposes, but it also reveals Ælfric’s translation plan: the literal rendering of a later passage of *Vita Basilii* c.8 at this point seems to indicate that he had already decided not to translate this chapter.

131 The singular *cleri princeps* found in the Cotton-Corpus manuscript tradition appears in Ælfric’s work as *preostas*, a possible indication that he was

²³ For a synopsis of the possible origins and frequency of causative *don* + infinitive, see B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax* 1 (Oxford, 1985), 266–7.

²⁴ ‘Always moving three times during the elevation of the Holy Sacrifice.’

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translating from a Latin version of the *Vita Basilii* with the variant *cleri principes*, which he rendered with a plural (see line 92).

135–7 In the Latin, Eubolus and the high clergy are in awe of the Lord's apparition to Basil (*stupefacti*, line 30). Ælfric translated this past participle with *mid fyrhte fornumene* (seized by fear).

141–51 These eleven lines, on Basil's compilation of the monastic Rule through divine inspiration, are Ælfric's own expansion: the *Vita* does not mention Basil's influence on Benedict and on monasticism. This addition, therefore, places Basil in a prominent position within Ælfric's corpus of writings. Aside from the biblical personages and the *nomina sacra*, Basil is the only personal name mentioned in the *Regula Benedicti*, so that the Old English passage can be seen as a reference to the end of the Rule: 'Necnon et conlationes patrum et instituta vite eorum sed et regula sancti patris nostri Basilii quid aliud sunt nisi bene viventium et obedientium monachorum instituta virtutum?'²⁵ The pivotal function of this passage emphasises the saint's versatility as a writer and his chaste conduct, a model which aptly fitted Ælfric's predilection for an active versus a contemplative monastic ideal.²⁶ Such characteristics constituted a model of life according to the canons brought to Anglo-Saxon England by the Gregorian mission, embraced by Bede and subsequently by the English monastic reformers.

LB 5 (lines 152–67)

Here begins the uninterrupted sequence of miracles following Basil's formal training as a Christian. Such a pattern is present in the Latin and Greek texts as well though in both cases the transition is abrupt. Ælfric established a much clearer connection between these two stages of Basil's life by mentioning Basil's activity as a writer. This episode from the *Vita Basilii* is also cited in Paschasius Radbertus' second redaction of the *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (843–4),²⁷ and is a variation on a popular Byzantine tradition, involving a Jewish

²⁵ 'And indeed the customs of the Fathers and the rules of their life and the Rule of our holy father Basil, what else is there but the virtuous rules of those monks living righteously and obediently?'; R. Hanslik, ed., *Regula Benedicti*, CSEL 75, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1977), c. 73. See also Lienhard, 'St. Basil's *Asceticon Parvum*', p. 231. For the function of this passage in the structure of LB, see above, pp. 91–2.

²⁶ See Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life', especially pp. 156–8.

²⁷ This is therefore the *terminus ante quem* for dating *BHL* 1023; see above, pp. 17–19.

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protagonist approaching the Eucharist out of curiosity. An early western witness to this strand is found in Gregory of Tours' *De gloria martyrum*, a miracle adapted from Evagrius Scholasticus. Gregory's miracle involves a young Jewish boy in Bourges who took the Eucharist and subsequently incurred his father's wrath. The boy was saved by the Virgin Mary from burning alive in a kiln (a scene no doubt inspired by the Book of Daniel).²⁸

152–4 Each individual episode of LB can be isolated as an independent unit, typically beginning with adverbs (*þa, nu, efne, æfter*), personal pronouns, nouns or the interjection *hwæt*, all of which start with a capital letter in J.²⁹ Ælfric enhanced the connection between the Mass and the Eucharist by introducing at lines 153–4 the parallel constructions with the prepositional phrase *be* + dative and the adjective *halig*. The peculiar association of Jews and heathens finds an echo later on in LB (line 566, *q.v.*), where Joseph the Jewish doctor is also described thus, but there are no other parallels of this collocation in the corpus of Old English literature.

156 The Jew's eager (*georne*) wait for the living sacrifice is one of Ælfric's subtle additions to create narrative suspense in his translations. Furthermore, this insertion echoes Basil's vision of the Lord, where *sanguineum sacrificium* (c. 4, lines 7 and 14) had been rendered as *liflican onsægednyssse* (lines 107 and 119). No such patterns embellish the Latin text.

158–9 Ælfric's emphasis on the act of breaking the Eucharist (line 158) seems to reinforce the connection with the previous episode, in which much emphasis had been placed on the breaking of the bread. The Latin is more ambiguous, simply mentioning that the Jew saw a child being torn apart:

Diinum quidem mysterium illo agente, hebraeus quidam se sicut christianus populo commiscuit officii ministerium et muneris explorare uolens, uidit

²⁸ B. Krusch, ed., *Gregorii Turonensis liber in gloria martyrum*, MGH, SRM 1, 2 (Hanover, 1884), 484–561, c. 9. This miracle was incorporated in later collections of Marian miracles (notably those by Dominic of Evesham, William of Malmesbury and Nigel Wireker), see Rigg, *A History*, p. 35. Southern, 'The English Origin', especially pp. 179 and 200–1 and Ziolkowski, ed., *Miracles of the Virgin*, pp. 6–7; see above, pp. 41 and 53, note 9.

²⁹ See above, p. 86.

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infantem partiri in manibus Basilii et communicantibus omnibus uenit et ipse, dataque est ei uere caro facta. (c. 5, lines 2–6)³⁰

The Latin seems to place less emphasis on the subjective nature of the vision. Ælfric's use of words such as *þuhte* and *swylce* clarifies the episode and stands in sharp contrast with the Latin *uidit*. In his translation, Ælfric drew a clear-cut distinction between reality and vision, which is absent from the Latin.

163 The adverb *gewislice* is Ælfric's addition to the otherwise literally translated portion *ostendit uxori suae*.

165 Manuscripts J and V read *biddende fulluhtes*, but the reading *fulluhtes biddende* of manuscript O is preferable, because it reflects Ælfric's usage throughout his corpus of writings, where the formula consistently occurs with the noun preceding the present participle.³¹

LB 6 (lines 168–203)³²

168 The *Vita Basilii* does not specify that Basil was coming out of the church, nor that he had just celebrated Mass. Ælfric's addition avoids the sense of discontinuity between this and the previous section found in the Latin.

182 Not in the *Vita*, the formula *mid þisum andgite* echoes the introductory half-line to Basil's first note to the aristocrat (*on þysum andgite*, line 172).

189–90 The emperor persecuting the aristocrat could be Julian the Apostate, since the following chapter treats of Basil's encounter with him. The *Vita* does not specify: '[n]on post multum namque imperiali indignatione temptatus' (c. 6, lines 11–12).³³

192 This is another one of Ælfric's small additions which turn the aristocrat's situation into a dramatic predicament. The verb phrases *biddende earmlice* and *geyrsodon* are Ælfric's additions: they are not found in the *Vita Basilii* and they convey the aristocrat's great distress more emphatically than the

³⁰ 'When he [Basil] performed the divine mysteries for the people, a certain Jew mingled with the crowd as if he were a Christian; wishing to find out about the administering of Mass and of the Eucharist [*lit. gift*], he saw a baby being torn in Basil's hands. While all were communicating, he also went forward and the flesh truly transformed was given to him.'

³¹ See pp. 136–7.

³² The rhetorical artifice of this section is discussed at pp. 107–10.

³³ '[A]nd not very long thereafter having provoked the emperor's wrath...'

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Latin, suggesting his progressive humbling. The aristocrat is reduced to begging miserably (*earmlice*), a feature which initially characterised the woman (line 171).³⁴

193 With the expression *hit gelamp swa*, Ælfric translated the ambiguous Latin phrase '[e]t factae sunt ei res'.³⁵ Although syntactically problematic, the phrase is transparent for sense and Ælfric translated it correctly.

196 The prepositional phrase *of þæm nearwum bendum* is much more graphic than the abstract *de abductione* of the *Vita Basilii*.

197–9 Ælfric's emphasis on the nobleman's penance is introduced by the same inversion of verb and subject, and is further accentuated by the echo created by *þingunge*. Ælfric's reworking of the Latin prose, which at this point simply reads 'uenit ad Basilium gratias agens ei' (c. 6, line 16),³⁶ makes the Old English text more appealing and memorable for his audience. The phrasing of line 199 implies that the woman had paid her debt to the aristocrat before his imprisonment (or that he had forcefully extorted it), a detail which is not stated in the elliptically phrased *Vita*: 'in duplum de propriis' (c. 6, line 17).³⁷

200–3 Just as was the case for the addition discussed above, this expansion is strategically placed, because it follows 'the first of three episodes ... in which Basil has intimate dealings with a female suppliant'.³⁸

201 The grammatical case in the prepositional phrases expressing an indefinite temporal function (*on + sum*) seems to shift between dative and accusative, according to the noun following the modifier. Thus, the prepositional phrase *on sumne timan* regularly takes the accusative in Ælfric's writings, whereas the phrase *on sumum dæge* appears in the dative (see line 204).

LB 7 (lines 204–66)

This is arguably one of the most entertaining and colourful miracles of this legend, involving a devilish emperor, a gift of barley loaves, the Virgin Mary and a mysterious holy soldier named Mercurius. Julian the Apostate's death is historically ascribed to a mutiny in his army while camped around Antioch on

³⁴ For syntactical cues to the aristocrat's fortune-reversal, see pp. 109–10.

³⁵ See above, pp. 11 and 142.

³⁶ 'He came to Basil thanking him.'

³⁷ 'Double of his [possessions].'

³⁸ Whatley, 'Basil in Old English'.

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his way to Persia. The most accurate account is found in Ammianus Marcellinus' *Rerum gestarum libri*, 15, 8–25.

Ælfric adopted this episode as an *exemplum* in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary (above, pp. 51–73).

208–26 Basil's verbal exchange with Julian contains a number of rhetorical devices which differentiate it not only from the Latin, but also from Ælfric's earlier use of the same material in *CH* I, 30. Note that at line 217 Basil is called a saint (*se halga*) for the first time after the introductory line (*sum halig bisceop*).

215 The reading *horsa* found in manuscript O in the genitive plural is correct from a syntactical viewpoint, but *horse* (an acceptable reading) forms a homoeoteleuton: *hospe, horse, mete, bere*.

224–6 Ælfric's phrasing here renders the *Vita* freely: 'non enim ignoro audaciam populi a te suasum ut a me adoratam deam ... confringeret'.³⁹ By not translating the word *deam* Ælfric leaves some doubt as to the nature of the statue to which Julian is referring, thus adding a veiled reference to the idolatrous nature of his cult. The Homily for the Assumption of Mary retains a much more literal phrasing: 'nis me uncuð þin dyrstinyss. and þyssere burhware. þe þurh ðine tihtinge þa anlicnyss þe ic arærde and me to gebæd tobræcon. and towurpon'.⁴⁰

229 Basil's advice to his citizens is simple: they should buy the emperor's forgiveness with treasures. The dative phrase in Latin *tyranno imperatori* (c. 7, line 22) is translated with the accusative *þone reðan casere*, which alliterates with *ræde* and is echoed in the envelope-pattern at line 239 ('and hi ahredde wiþ ðone reðan casere'), a small addition to the Latin. This new envelope-pattern brackets away Basil's reported speech to the citizens, while at the same time placing important emphasis on the start of his vision of the Virgin Mary. Once again, to identify Ælfric's stylistic progress more clearly, it is helpful to turn to the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary. Here Ælfric had translated literally the two Latin phrases describing Julian: *tyranno imperatori* with *þone reþan wiðersacan* and *iniqui imperatoris sensum* with *þæs unrihtwisan caseres andgit*. No addition or emphasis

³⁹ 'I know the temerity of your people whom you persuaded to shatter to destruction my beloved goddess.'

⁴⁰ 'Your insolence and that of these citizens is not unknown to me. Through your advice they shattered and overthrew the statue which I raised for me to pray to.'

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highlights the start of the vision here: in LB the same phrasing of the Homily is kept and echoed after ten rhythmical lines. Even though most lexical items are already contained in the Homily, it is by rearranging their sequence that Ælfric obtains such regular aural effects.

- 236 The Latin here, following the Greek, mentions the temple itself, rather than the Virgin, as the object of adoration: ‘in quo honoratur et adoratur Dei genitricis uenerabile templum’ (c. 7, line 30).⁴¹ This is a literal translation of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life: ἔνθα κείται καὶ προσκυνεῖται τῆς θεοτόκου ὁ πάνσεπτος ναός. Ælfric simply omitted this phrase, substituting it with *gehalgod mid healicum wurðmynte*, thus avoiding the potential ambiguity of whether the temple or Mary is the object of veneration. However, he followed the Latin faithfully in mentioning that, once atop the hill, the Christians prayed to the Saviour (*Hælend*), rather than Mary. The formula *healicum wurðmynte* is echoed at line 255 (*micclum wurðmynte*).
- 241 The Latin does not mention the fact that Basil’s vision occurred at night, but, unless his copy of the *Vita* contained this information, Ælfric added this detail, perhaps to make the vision more mystical.
- 244 Saint Mercurius is a mysterious figure whose identity has attracted a great deal of scholarship. According to Orlandi, he was a military martyr, whose cult originated in Caesarea around the fifth century.⁴² In England the earliest reference to this saint is ‘found in the famous Codex Epternacensis with its eighth-century copy of the Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome’, with his feast-day of August 26.⁴³ (Note, however, that according to *BHL* 5933–9, Mercurius’ feast-day falls on November 25.)
- 253–4 Ælfric moved quickly to describe Basil’s visit to the saint’s *martyrion*, omitting the cryptic reference to a book which, according to the *Vita Basilii*, Mary donated to the bishop during his vision.
- 255 The second half-line is an addition to the Latin: ‘[a]diensque martyrium sancti martyris Mercurii in quo et ipse iacebat et arma eius conseruabantur’ (c. 7, lines 47–8),⁴⁴ echoing the description of Mary’s temple, *mid healicum wurðmynte* (line 236).

⁴¹ ‘[I]n which the venerable temple of God’s Mother was honoured and worshipped.’

⁴² Orlandi, ‘La leggenda di San Mercurio’, p. 136.

⁴³ Loomis, ‘The Saint Mercurius Legend’, p. 132; see also Shaw, ‘A Dead Killer?’.

⁴⁴ ‘Going to the sanctuary of Saint Mercurius in which he lay and in which his weapons were kept.’

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- 265 The dramatic effects achieved by the introductory ‘ðā stod’ are discussed above (line 112). The word *franca*, ‘spear’, is very rare in the Old English corpus: it is used three times in poetry, once in *Genesis* (line 1982) and twice in the *Battle of Maldon* (lines 77 and 140).⁴⁵ This passage is characterised by a further vocabulary peculiarity: according to the Old English Electronic Corpus the infinitive form of *begleddod* (**begleddian*) is not attested and its inflected forms are relatively rare (eleven occurrences). In Ælfric’s *Grammar*, the word is used to exemplify the Latin verb *inficio* and its forms: ‘inficio (ic begleddige) infeci infectum et cetera’.⁴⁶ The formula *mid blode begleddod* also occurs in the First Homily for the Assumption of Mary and finds an antecedent in Psalm 105.38.⁴⁷
- 266 In Bosworth-Toller the word *gesceot* is glossed both as ‘the collection of weapons necessary for shooting’ and also as ‘a part of a building shut off from the rest’. See for example the Antwerp Glossary, lemma 656: ‘Propitiatorium gesceot bæftan þæm heahweofde [uel sancta sanctorum uel secretarium uel pastoforium]’.⁴⁸ Ælfric deliberately played on the ambiguity of the term, using the word as an alternative for both *wæpnum* (line 257) and *sancte* (line 263). This pun is absent from the Homily for the Assumption: ‘to þæs halgan martyres byrgene. and funde his spere standan mid blode begleddod’.

LB 8 (lines 267–90)

An important omission occurs at this point: a young deacon is punished for making eye contact with a woman during the service: ‘[h]oc autem facto et sancta exaltante eo ... et incommunicatam permanere’ (c. 8, lines 2–15). After Basil notices that the golden dove does not move during the elevation, the deacon is made to fast and from that day on women had to wear a veil during the

⁴⁵ See A. Breeze, ‘Old English *franca*, ‘spear’, Welsh *ffranc*’, *NQ* 236 (1991), 149–51.

⁴⁶ Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik*, p. 178.

⁴⁷ A. C. Kimmens ed., ‘An Edition of the British Museum Stowe 2: *The Stowe Psalter*’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1969); see R. Frank and A. Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1973), p. 287. See also *The Dictionary of Old English: Fascicle F*, s.v. *begleddian*.

⁴⁸ These glosses are in L. Kindschi, ed., ‘The Latin-Old English Glosses in Plantin-Moretus 32 and British Museum Ms Additional 32246’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1956), see Frank and Cameron, *A Plan*, p. 287.

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service.⁴⁹ This episode obstructs the logical flow of the narrative, because it intervenes between the section on the death of Julian the Apostate and that on the messenger's account of it. Furthermore, the contents of this short episode might have been dangerous in a climate in which clerical celibacy was being restored.⁵⁰ It is a deliberate omission: the Latin version consulted by Ælfric contained this episode because he had referred to it in LB 4, lines 129–30 (on the threefold movement of the dove).

The second half of this section is about the arrival of Libanius in Caesarea, and his account of Julian's death by the River Euphrates.

267–75 Libanius arrives after seven days, according to the Latin, after seven nights according to LB, but after three days in the Homily.⁵¹ In the *Vita Libanius* has the same vision as Basil, but this is not mentioned by Ælfric: '[n]arrauit etiam et per ordinem uisionem quam ipse iamdicta uiderat nocte' (c. 8, lines 23–4).⁵²

279 The prepositional phrase *mid anre stemne* (which here translates *una uoce*) occurs only in the Ælfrician corpus.

285–8 Ælfric here rendered the Latin soberly, by avoiding mention of Basil's investment in material ornaments for the church: '[a]ltare etiam auro puro et gemmis preciosis decorauit' (c. 8, lines 33–4).⁵³ It is possible that the idea of such expenditures on purely ornamental objects made Ælfric uncomfortable. A similar kind of omission occurs in cc. 12 (on Anastasius the priest) and 13 (on Ephrem the Syrian), in which the high pomp of the Byzantine Church is carefully glossed over by our translator.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ For the Latin of this episode see above, pp. 10–11; 14–15 and 30–1.

⁵⁰ See C. Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender and History* 12 (2000), 1–32, especially at 3–4 and 10: '[a]s the Eucharist became the most important form of mediation between God and man, taboos upon its pollution by sex made the virgin monk its most desirable celebrant'.

⁵¹ See above, pp. 64–5.

⁵² 'And in order he also told the vision he had had that night.'

⁵³ 'And he adorned the altar with pure gold and precious gems.'

⁵⁴ See Whatley 'Basil in Old English'.

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LB 9 (lines 291–316)

Ælfric skipped a very short chapter on Basil's writing of the *Homiliae in Hexameron* and the ensuing conversion of many non-believers.⁵⁵ It is not possible to determine whether the manuscript which he was using contained this passage or not, but it is likely that it did. In any case, it is not surprising that Ælfric should have omitted this section, for it disrupts the narrative and does not contain any miracles. LB 9 is the first of two encounters with the Arian Emperor Valens, one of the greatest historical opponents of Basil the Great. In this first episode Basil is imprisoned and as a result Valens' son falls ill. Interestingly, in neither miracle involving Valens does Ælfric mention the Arian heresy, despite the clarity of the Latin text: 'Valens ipsius auunculus apprehendens indigne imperialem purpuram et arrianorum malae gloriae patronus uenit ad eam quae apud nos est caesaris inlustrem ciuitatem conquirens' (Prologus, lines 26–9).⁵⁶ This is also the first of two miracles involving Basil's intercession to cure physical infirmity. All of Basil's miracles are aimed at the conversion of non-Christians or the rescue of lost souls. On two occasions, Basil heals two people, but both these episodes are miracles within miracles. In this chapter Basil's cure of Valens' child is subordinated to the emperor's conversion. In the second miracle (c. 12, *q.v.*), Basil cures a leper, but this episode is primarily a tribute to the saint's omniscience which tells him what his faithful flock are hiding at home.

291–5 The opposition between true faith, ὀρθοδοξία, and ill-faith, κακοδοξία (used for the Arian heretics), is introduced at the very start of the Greek text and pursued throughout the Latin.⁵⁷ Ælfric introduced the same dichotomy here, between *soðan geleafan* (line 292) and *gedwylde* (line 295), but did not mention the Arians, thus avoiding any reference to imperial dealings with heretical movements: instead, Ælfric laconically commented that Valens followed *gedwylde*.⁵⁸ The alliterative puns associated with the word *gedwylde* (and related words) form one of the most interesting developments within

⁵⁵ For Ælfric's knowledge of Basil's *Hexameron*, see above, pp. 48–50.

⁵⁶ 'Valens his [*scil.* Julian's] uncle and patron of the Arian ill-faith, unworthily taking on the imperial garb, came to the famous city which we call Caesarea [= of Caesar] in order to conquer it.'

⁵⁷ See above, p. 12.

⁵⁸ While Ælfric's translation avoids any specific references to heresy, his critique of bad kingship works at various levels; see above, pp. 67–8, 86, 89 and below, pp. 209–10 and 222.

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Ælfric's style. He seems to have started experimenting with them at an early stage in his writing career. The pun first appears in *CH* I, 20, lines 220–2 (Wednesday in Rogationtide), this time in a passage which talks openly about Arius: 'þa begeat se gedwola þæs caseres fultum to his gedwyldre ... and wolde gebigan eall þæt folc to his gedwyldum'.⁵⁹ Ælfric kept experimenting on this collocation at various stages throughout the *Catholic Homilies*, the *Lives of Saints* and the letters (see for example the Second Old English letter to Wulfstan, c. 22: 'se hælend adræfde of þam haligan temple ealle þa gedwolan mid hyra gedwyldre').⁶⁰ In the *Vita*, a *protector* named Anastasius is mentioned at the start of this episode (c. 10, line 6). This figure is omitted from LB.

315–17 Ælfric shortened the Latin text here and left an open-ended conclusion, which forms a logical link with the following section (LB 10). The *Vita Basilii* concludes the chapter with a proper coda, mentioning the same *protector* of the start of the chapter:

Ista uidens protector post obitum Valentis adnuntiauit imperatori Valentiniano uirtutes uiri. Ille autem admirans glorificauit Deum dans ei multam pecuniam per ipsum protectorem in opus egentium et dimisit eum. Qui magnanimitatem imperatoris suscipiens, aedificauit domos beneactionales in ciuitate ... Haec audiens imperator, oblationes multas dedit ad nutrimentum eorum cultum paternum tribuens sacerdoti Christi. (c. 10, lines 34–42)⁶¹

Historically and in legend, among other achievements, Basil's name has survived thanks to his initiative to build hospices and shelters for the needy and sick. His name is associated especially with the *Ptochotrophium* (house of the poor), a charitable institution which was eventually exempted from

⁵⁹ 'Then the heretic obtained the emperor's support for his heresy ... and wanted to convert all those people to his heresy.'

⁶⁰ 'The Saviour drove out of the holy temple all the heretics with their heresy'; see Fehr, ed., *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 152–3, c. 22.

⁶¹ 'Seeing this, the protector after Valens' death told the Emperor Valentinian about the man's virtues. He, full of admiration, praised God, giving him [= Basil] great wealth through the said protector in order to help the poor, and dismissed him. He [Basil], accepting the emperor's generosity, built hospices in the city ... Hearing this, the emperor gave many alms to feed them [= the poor], offering Christ's priest his protection.'

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taxes thanks to the saint's efforts.⁶² The Latin passage above makes it clear that, after Valens' death (378), political persecution was over for Basil and the region of Cappadocia. It also points out Valentinian's friendly attitude towards the Christian Church and, more generally, the Eastern Empire. Ælfric had no doubt read the episode's coda, so Valentinian's favourable disposition towards Basil appears as a deliberate omission. It seems therefore puzzling that in the *Life of Martin*, Ælfric depicted Valentinian as a victim of his Arian wife's counsel (*LS* 31, lines 650–4):

Martinus ferde hwilon to ualentiniane þam casere
wolde for sumere neode wið hine spræcan.
ac his micle mod. and his manfulla gebedda
þe mid Arrianiscum **gedwylde dweligende** lyfode.
noldon geðafian þam halgan bisceope.⁶³

The echoes between this passage and Valens' portrait in *LB* are all too obvious. Just as Valens was deceived by the heretics (not better defined) in *LB*, so Valentinian followed his Arian wife in the *Life of Martin*. In this light it is also possible to explain Ælfric's omission of Valentinian from his translation of *LB*.

LB 10 (lines 317–56)⁶⁴

This section translates c. 14 of the Latin text, which Ælfric pushed forward in order to have two consecutive sections about Valens, immediately following Julian's episode. In so doing, Ælfric grouped together over a quarter of *LB* on the theme of bad government, highlighting the dangers of having a ruler who does not follow the orthodox faith. The emphasis placed in this and the preceding chapter on the role of the emperor's advisers cannot be coincidental. During the reign of Æthelred, as his later nickname *unræd* suggests, the court was of little help in solving the difficult issues stemming from the increasing numbers of non-Christian settlers and from their contacts with their English neighbours. The

⁶² See Fedwick, *Church and Charisma*, pp. 38 and 127.

⁶³ 'Martin went to the Emperor Valentinian: he wanted to speak with him of a certain necessity but his proud mind and his sinful wife who lived in the Arian heresy would not allow the holy bishop.'

⁶⁴ This episode is discussed at pp. 81–3 and 90.

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reason behind Ælfric's rearrangements of the narrative could reflect a concern with broader political issues, therefore, as well as organisational requirements. By bringing together four previously separate episodes on bad rulership, Ælfric portrayed Julian and Valens as one relentless projection of what the monk must have experienced in his early years under the rulership of Æthelred.⁶⁵ It is indeed significant that in both cases the Old English translation stresses the fact that the emperors were both Christian but chose to forsake Christ (Julian, line 17, and Valens, line 294), a sin certainly worse than ignorance of the true faith.

317–19 The prepositional phrase used here to introduce the second miracle involving the Emperor Valens ('[e]ft on oðrum timan') echoes the chapter above (LB 9, line 291: '[e]ft on sumne timan'), establishing a direct link between the two consecutive episodes on the same emperor. Ælfric avoided mentioning Arianism here as well, despite the Latin being explicit about it: 'accesserunt ad eum arrianae haeresis exarchi, postulantes persecui fidelissimum Dei populum ... Tyrannus itaque et indignus purpura, abominandae eorum cum fuisset haeresis patronus, ad istud annuit eis' (c. 14, lines 3–7).⁶⁶

321–4 This is another greatly abbreviated section. In the *Vita Basilii* the saint goes to Constantinople to plead with the emperor. Ælfric omitted the peculiar dialogue between the two and an intervening cook:

Intrante igitur eo Constantinopolin, ut uidit Valentem, dixit ad eum: 'Imperator, scriptum est honor regis iudicium diligit et Sapientia dicit, iudicium regis iustitia. Et cur tuum dignatum est imperium eicere orthodoxos de ecclesia eorum et constituere in eos maligloriosos?' ... Et cum conloquerentur ecce Demostenes epularum imperatoris familiaris praefectus patrocinauit haereticos, et loquens blasphemias, fecit barbarismum. De quo ait sanctus: 'Vidimus et Demosetenen sine litteris.' Cui adhuc insistenti: 'Tuum est, inquit, de pulmentariis cogitare, non dogmata diuina decoquere.' Qui mox confusus obticuit. Dicit autem sancto imperator: 'Vade iudica inter

⁶⁵ Mary Clayton's observations on matters of ill-advised kingship and on monastic anxieties during Æthelred's reign are especially relevant to this discussion; see Clayton, 'Ælfric and Æthelred', pp. 68–9 and 75–7.

⁶⁶ 'The priests of the Arian heresy came to him [Valens] asking to persecute God's people ... and the tyrant, unworthy of the imperial garb, agreed to this [their wish], for he was the patron of their hateful heresy.'

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eos, sed non secundum inmoderatum amorem populi tui, quia non decet.’ (c. 14, lines 15–27)⁶⁷

Again, Ælfric’s intent here seems simply to abbreviate for the sake of space and organisational principles: the gist of this dialogue is heavily summarised. However, in the Latin text Basil appears as a rather aggressive figure in his interaction with the cook. Ælfric must have thought the saint’s behaviour toward the cook unsympathetic to the humble (or illiterate), and possibly even non-didactical for a monastic audience. In Ælfric’s translation of this passage, Basil’s travelling to and from Constantinople is enclosed in an envelope-pattern placed in chiasmus across three lines: ‘[ð]a ferde Basilius’ (line 320), and ‘þa Basilius to þære byrig ferde’ (line 323). This pattern highlights the saint’s active intervention to protect the Christian faith.

337 At this point, the Latin text makes it very explicit that the Christians are not pleased with Basil’s decision, because they fear defeat: ‘[o]rthodoxi autem contradixerunt ei dicentes non iudicare eum iuste sed timore imperatoris’ (c. 14, lines 40–1).⁶⁸ Ælfric omitted this detail, perhaps in order to avoid any doubts on the faith of Basil’s flock and to keep the distinction between the orthodox Christians and the heretics well-marked.

LB 11 (lines 357–460)

In this episode a youth seeks the devil’s support to conquer the love of a girl, but is asked to forsake Christ in exchange for the favour. Hincmar of Reims cited

⁶⁷ ‘Then coming into Constantinople, as he saw Valens, he said to him: “Emperor, it is written that the king should pursue wise judgement. In Wisdom it says: the judgement of the king is justice. And why then has your rulership decreed to eject the Christians from the church and to replace them with the unfaithful?” ... And as they conversed, there came Demosthenes, the household minister of the banquets of the emperor, and he supported the unfaithful, uttering blasphemy and speaking ignorantly. The saint said about him “We see Demosthenes, the illiterate one.” And, since he was insistent, then he added: “It is your job to think about meals, not to simmer over the divine dogmata.” He, confused, was quiet. Then the emperor said to the saint: “Go and judge among them, not according to your endless love of your people, because that is not fitting.”’

⁶⁸ ‘The Christians contradicted him, saying that he had not arbitrated fairly, but out of fear of the emperor.’

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this episode verbatim in his *De divortio Lotharii*, and the episode was also versified by Hrotsvit of Gandersheim shortly after (ca. 962).⁶⁹

361 The word *digollice* is the reading of manuscript J. O reads *digol lige*, with something superscript over the *o*. If O's reading is correct, the subverbal pattern would improve with alliteration on *d* and *l* (*deofles* and *diglum, lige* and *lufode*).⁷⁰ Ælfric paraphrased the *Vita* here in order to abbreviate its verbosity.

367 Being brought into the presence of the devil of one's own will is equivalent to idolatry or even heresy in Ælfric's eyes:⁷¹ significantly, the youth is called a *dweligan dan cnapan*.

384 The reading *gastas* is from J. O reads *lustas*, a curious error, given the context. The *Vita* reads: 'misit qui sunt super fornicationem daemones' (c. 11, lines 42–3).⁷² The reading *lustas* cannot be correct, however, because it would also thwart the alliterative pattern on *g*.

388–401 The conversation between the father and the daughter is greatly curtailed in LB and much of its melodramatic tone eliminated. The father's last words to the girl ('[u]ale filia, uere misera, multum enim planges poenitens in nouissimo quando nihil habes proficere', c. 11 lines 64–5)⁷³ are omitted in the Old English. In LB the development of the girl's passion is emphasised by the repetition of two parallel prepositional phrases: line 386 ('mid þære ormætan ontendnysse') and 396 ('for þære wodlican ontendnysse'). Ælfric's lexical choice and his use of an envelope-pattern at this point are intended to highlight the progress of a passion which goes from enormous to insane once the daughter refuses to listen to the father.

404–10 The Latin text introduces at this point a village (or neighbourhood) community who approach the girl and, in the form of gossip, report on the husband's neglect of the Christian faith: '[e]t dicunt miserae coniugi eius: "Scis quia uir tuus quem elegisti non est christianus sed peregrinus fidei et

⁶⁹ See above, p. 19, especially note 41. For Hrotsvit's work, see Berschin, ed., *Hrotsvit*, pp. 95–103.

⁷⁰ However, see above, p. 131, note 17.

⁷¹ Cubitt, 'Virginité and Misogyny', p. 5.

⁷² 'He sent those demons in charge of fornication.'

⁷³ 'Goodbye daughter, truly wretched, for you will cry greatly, repenting very soon when you have nothing to help you.'

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alienus?” (c. 11, lines 68–70).⁷⁴ Ælfric omitted this passage, perhaps out of concern with slanderous gossip within his community. The girl’s monologue in the *Vita Basilii* is full of pathos before she approaches Basil for intercession. This monologue is omitted from LB and the dialogue between the girl and the saint turned into reported speech.⁷⁵

458–60 Whereas the Latin specifies that the youth is free to return to his wife, after receiving Communion and a *regulam decentem* (c. 11, line 149), Ælfric did not mention what becomes of the youth (or his wife) once he receives the Eucharist and Christian teachings.

LB 12 (lines 461–91)

At this point the Latin text mentions again a narrator named Helladius (see too, c. 11 and above, p. 7). Ælfric, however, omitted the name and seems altogether indifferent to the hagiographic topos of the eyewitness account. This chapter contains the second miracle in which Basil heals an infirm (a leper), but the episode is aimed at showing Basil’s omniscience. With this unique gift, Basil unmasked the two odd plots of a priest who lived secretly with his sister and kept a leper hidden in ‘ad unam de cellulis domus’ (c. 12, line 52).⁷⁶ This passage is greatly abbreviated: Ælfric omitted all direct speeches and eliminated the description of the Mass, which involves copious use of incense and liturgical trappings (c. 12, lines 27–8).

461–5 The short dialogue between Anastasius the priest and his sister (Theognia) is omitted by Ælfric, who added emphasis on the saint’s divine inspiration, with the phrase ‘mid micclum onbryrde’. The Latin tautology ‘splendore diuino inlustratus’ (c. 12, lines 2–3)⁷⁷ is translated more elegantly with ‘mid godcundre beorhtnyse gebletsod’ (line 462): Ælfric’s word choice *gebletsod* (for *inlustratus*) eliminates redundancy and introduces an alliterative pattern on *b* to this line. Line 461 is also the only instance in which Basil is called ‘the Great’ in LB.

469 ‘Erat enim ipsa uirgo uenerabiliter conuersans quadraginta pertransiens annos cum cohabitatore suo et custodiens mysterium et quasi uidua

⁷⁴ ‘And they say to his miserable wife: “Do you know that the man you chose is not a Christian, but a strayer and a stranger to the faith?”’

⁷⁵ For uses of direct and indirect speech in LB, see above, pp. 115–26.

⁷⁶ ‘In one of the house’s small cells.’

⁷⁷ ‘Enlightened with divine splendour.’

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ostendebatur hominibus' (c. 12, lines 12–15).⁷⁸ This is again an instance in which the community's voice is used to report on the life of its members. This time Ælfric met the challenge by using the impersonal verb *geþuht*. In the Latin the relationship between Anastasius and Theognia is ambiguously described as: 'Anastasius et dicit nominetenus mulieri sorori autem suae usu' (c. 12, line 8),⁷⁹ which translates literally the Pseudo-Amphilochian life: καί λέγει τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι μὲν ἀδελφῆ ὡς τῇ χρήσει. While it is possible that the wording of the original text simply indicated a chaste cohabitation in God, Ælfric's rendering leaves no doubt: the woman lived chastely with Anastasius, but was thought by others to be his wife. The Old English does not mention that she was his sister, thus leaving no room for misunderstandings or speculations on a possible incestuous relationship. Therefore, it is also possible that Ælfric omitted the dialogues, first between Basil and the woman, then between Basil and the priest, because they reiterate this ambiguous relationship: '[d]icit ei sanctus pater noster: "Vbi est dominus Anastasius presbyter frater tuus?" Dicit ei: "Vir meus est domine, et abiit agricolari"' (c. 12, lines 18–20), and '... "[e]t est coancilla mea ista mulier mea ministrans pauperibus et mihi." Dicit ei sanctus: "Voca eam sororem tuam, sicut et est"' (c. 12, lines 57–9).⁸⁰ As the narrative progresses in the Latin, Theognia is simply called *soror*.

LB 13 (492–525)

This episode also appears in the *Vita Ephrem* (BHL 2565) and reports Basil's miraculous intervention in order to teach Greek to Saint Ephrem the Syrian. At first, Basil shuns the task, but it only takes the two saints a short prayer for the miracle to happen. In the Latin, the initial part of the section is occupied by Ephrem's vision of Basil's greatness in the form of a flame and by the description of Basil's Mass. Ælfric abbreviated this part considerably so that most of the chapter describes only the meeting between Ephrem and Basil.

⁷⁸ 'For she was a virgin of forty who lived very honourably with her companion, keeping this secret, and she appeared to people almost as a widow.'

⁷⁹ 'And Anastasius says to his wife by name, but sister by habit.'

⁸⁰ Respectively, 'The saint our father said to her: "Where is master Anastasius, the priest your brother?" She said to him: "Sir, he is my husband and he went to the fields."' and '... "and this is my helper and wife who provides for the poor and for me." The saint said to him: "Call her your sister, because she is such."'

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492–4 Ælfric’s start of a new subject with the name and the formula *wæs gehaten* mirrors LB 12 (line 465), as well as the beginning of the text (line 1). The alliterative pattern on *w* at line 493 exploits a frequent Ælfrician collocation, with conjugated forms of *wyrcean* in combination with inflected forms of *wundor*. The combination of the present participles *wunigende* / *wyrcende* alliterating with the dative *westene* occurs once outside LB, in the Life of Saint Macharius (the *item alia* appended to the Life of Swithun, *LS* 21, line 472): ‘Macharius wæs gehaten sum halig fæder on wæstene wunigende, fela wundra wyrcende’. Here Ælfric simply substituted Ephrem’s name with Macharius’ and *abbod* with *fæder*, but left the phrasing unchanged, specifying in both cases that they lived in the desert (*westene*). Ephrem’s title as abbot is Ælfric’s fabrication, presumably to bolster the alliterative pattern between vowels. Further down in this chapter, Basil ordains the Syrian hermit as a priest (lines 517–20).

497 Ephrem’s anxiety over how Basil compared to him is an Ælfrician addition: the Latin simply mentions that Ephrem asked God to reveal Basil’s greatness: ‘discens mirabilia opera beati patris nostri Basilii, sine intermissione [Effrem] postulabat reuelari sibi qualis esset magnus Basilius’ (c. 13, lines 6–7).⁸¹ The indirect interrogative with subjunctive ‘hwylc Basilius wære’ translates the Latin faithfully, but Ælfric also added the prepositional phrase ‘on wurðscipe to him’.

505–8 In the Latin, on his arrival in Caesarea, Ephrem sees Basil dressed in high garb for the service and decides that this man could not be the same saint shown to him as a fiery pillar in the desert. However, Basil, in his omniscience, summons the hermit to him and the two converse in a hagiographically conventional fashion, each calling himself more of a sinner than the other. Ælfric eliminated such preambles and abbreviated this section considerably, but he added instead that the saints meditate together on the heavenly life (‘and þa halgan him betweenan ymbe þæt heofonlice lif / geornlice smeaddon swiðe smeapancollice’, lines 507–8).⁸² Similarly, Ælfric did not mention the pomp surrounding Basil’s celebration of Mass, described in the Latin in some detail. In the Latin *Vita*, the imperative form *iube* is used

⁸¹ ‘Learning about the wondrous deeds of our blessed father Basil, Ephrem prayed God without interruption that He would reveal to him how [= of what sort] was the great Basil.’

⁸² ‘Then the saints meditated with each other about the heavenly life eagerly and with great subtlety.’

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four times as a filler and is followed by another imperative (*iube intra* (twice), *iube dic* and *iube fac*).⁸³ In none of these instances is the imperative complemented by an infinitive. The stylistic peculiarity of this form (used exclusively in this chapter) may suggest that the passage from the *Vita Ephrem* was not a part of the original Greek tradition.⁸⁴

517–20 Basil's question of Ephrem is translated very literally at lines 517–8: 'Cur, domine Effrem, non accipis ordinationem presbiterii quia decet te?' (c. 13, lines 53–4).⁸⁵ Ælfric also followed the Latin in the implication that once the hermit had taken the orders, he would also learn Greek. However, the Old English translation also seems to convey the veiled message that humble behaviour would sooner grant one learning (see line 497).

524 Ælfric did not mention the presence of a *wealhstod* (interpreter) until the end of the episode.⁸⁶ The *Vita Basilii*, on the other hand, mentions him four times in this episode: '[e]t continuo accipiens interpretem eo' (c. 13, lines 10–1); '[e]t discens beatus Effrem per interpretem' (*ibid.*, line 25); '[d]icit ei per interpretem sanctus Effrem' (*ibid.*, line 54); and 'atque ordinans sanctus sacerdos interpretem diaconem' (*ibid.*, lines 63–4).⁸⁷ One cannot help wondering whether this episode, with its miraculous learning of Greek, had particular resonance for the Latin translator, Euphemius *interpres* (if indeed this was his name).

LB 14 (lines 526–64)

This section translates section 15 of the *Vita Basilii*, on the repentant woman who wrote down all her sins in order to get them atoned. Ælfric rearranged the

⁸³ Respectively, lines 21, 26, 39 and 51.

⁸⁴ The occurrence at c. 16, line 46 functions as an imperative and is therefore followed by an infinitive. For this complemented instance see below, pp. 217–18.

⁸⁵ 'Master Ephrem, why do you not take the orders as is fitting for you?'

⁸⁶ The word *wealhstod* is relatively rare in Old English (sixteen occurrences). Matthew Townend has pointed out the interesting relationship between the etymology of the word and its occurrences in the corpus of Old English and Anglo-Latin writings: M. Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2002), especially 161–79.

⁸⁷ In order: '[a]nd immediately taking an interpreter with him'; 'and the blessed Ephrem saying through his interpreter'; 'through his interpreter Saint Ephrem says to him'; and 'and the saint [Basil] ordaining the interpreter a deacon'.

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narrative by moving the section on the abduction of the church by the Arians. He then cut the original c. 15 of the Latin text, so that the section on Joseph the doctor breaks this chapter in two. In so doing, Ælfric avoided repetition of Basil's death, which in the Latin appears twice (cc. 15 and 16). This is the third and final miracle which involves the use of writing as an intermediary (along with LB 6 and 11). In LB 6 it is Basil who compiles the written note. In LB 11 it is a sinful youth and here a repentant woman.

529–31 The repentant woman, inspired by God, decides to write all her sins and shows them to Basil. In c. 15, line 7, the Latin text reads *inluminata*, translated in the Old English as *onbryrd* (line 529), a word which occurs three other times in LB: in the first case it is one of Ælfric's additions (line 56); in the second case (line 108) he translated the Latin phrase 'in extasi factus'; and the third time it is an addition (line 461). The woman repents her sins with a self-pitying monologue which Ælfric omitted, just as in LB 11 he had omitted the young wife's lamentations. The omission of such drama could indicate Ælfric's discomfort with scenes of self-commiseration.⁸⁸

536 Only manuscript J has survived at this point. Its reading 'þu me unlyse þa inseglunge' seems to contradict the goal of this miracle, but the correct reading can be retrieved from a comparison with the Latin: '[t]u autem, sancte Dei, sigillum ne amoueas' (c. 15, lines 23–4).⁸⁹

564–5 For the connection between these two lines, see above, pp. 85–6. Ælfric added here that Basil had foreseen his own death, a piece of information which only appears later on in c. 15, when Basil prepares to convert the Jewish doctor.

LB 15 (lines 565–631)

This episode introduces Basil's death with one final miracle at the service of the community. The conversion of Joseph, the talented Jewish doctor, is described in a crescendo of religious passion which culminates in the doctor's moving speech when Basil dies.⁹⁰ Even though not a posthumous miracle, in the Latin (as in the Greek) the conversion of Joseph is placed last after Basil had already

⁸⁸ For the collocation *Godes mynegunge* at line 530, see above, p. 136.

⁸⁹ '[B]ut you, saint of God, do not remove this seal.'

⁹⁰ The episode is remarkable for its elaborate rhetorical patterns; see above, pp. 123–5.

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died. Ælfric's transposition of *Vita Basilii* cc. 15 and 16 contributes to the clarity and logical progression of the text.⁹¹

566 It seems strange that Ælfric should associate a traditionally polytheistic and rather amorphous group (pagans) with the monotheistic followers of the Old Law. Indeed, the implication that the Jews were also heathen is peculiar to LB (see too lines 152–4): it does not occur in the Latin, but it is also a unique instance in Ælfric's writings. The same collocation is used by Ælfric elsewhere to establish a contrast between Jews and pagans: Homily for Palm Sunday (*CH I*, 14, line 42): '[s]e getigeda assa and his fola getacniað twa folc þæt is iudeisc and hæþen', and in the Life of St Clement (*CHI*, 37, lines 119–20): 'swa þæt nateshwon næs gemet on þan earde. naþor. ne hæþen ne iudeisc'.⁹² Both instances make it clear that the Jews are quite a separate people from the heathens. Elsewhere in Ælfric Jews and pagans appear as clearly distinct groups: in the Homily for the Chair of Saint Peter (*LS 10*), for example, Ælfric commented on the fact that the Jews refused to enter a pagan household.⁹³

602–6 Joseph's request to Basil is a literal translation of the Latin:

In uero corde dico non est Deus magnus sicut christianorum et non est Deus amplius eo. Nego ergo Christo odibile religionem iudeorum, et accedo fideliter ueritati. Iube ergo sine dilatione dari mihi in Christo signaculum et sanctum baptismum et totae domui meae. (c. 16, lines 44–8)⁹⁴

As is his custom, Ælfric translated *Deus* as *Hælend*, otherwise this passage only diverts marginally from the Latin, with lines 602–3 omitting the

⁹¹ See above, pp. 85–7.

⁹² Respectively: 'the tied donkey and his foal signify two people, that is the Jews and the pagans' and 'so that one could not find at all on earth neither a pagan, nor a Jew'. For the Latin sources of these homilies, see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, respectively pp. 112 and 313–14.

⁹³ For this reference and an illuminating discussion on Ælfric's perception of the Jews, see A. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004), pp. 285–330; the reference to the Chair of Saint Peter is found at p. 287.

⁹⁴ 'In my true heart, I say that there is no greater God than that of the Christians nor a more powerful one. Thus I deny the Jewish creed, hateful to Christ, and I approach the truth faithfully. Pray without delay that I may be consecrated in the sign of Christ and his holy baptism, along with all my household.'

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comparative phrases. The Latin imperative *iube* is translated literally here (*hat*, line 605), but had been omitted when it occurred elsewhere. Unlike the instances above, here this imperative introduces an indirect statement (*iube ... dari*; see too Commentary to lines 505–8), Ælfric rendered it with a parallel syntactical construction. Line 607 does not alliterate, but its compact, twelve-syllable rhythm (favoured by a long anacrusis *on þæs*) allows for a smooth transition with the previous line.

615–16 The *Vita Basilii* is much more detailed at this point, specifying that Basil renamed the Jewish doctor (as Iohannes), and dwelling more extensively on the way in which he taught the newly converted:

Et surgens uenit in sanctam Dei ecclesiam, et coram omni populo baptizauit eum cum tota domu eius uocans nomen eius Iohannem. Communicans autem cum uiuificis mysteriis assumpsit eum et duxit in dormitorium suum dans ei escam et docebat eum quae sunt aeternae uitae adiciens ouili suo cum mulieribus et filiis nouiter electum militem. (c. 16, lines 52–7)⁹⁵

Two statements in this passage must have made Ælfric uncomfortable. Firstly, the suggestion that Basil could have led anyone to his bedchamber, albeit to convert them, must have sounded unusual to a tenth-century Benedictine monk. Secondly the message that a newly-converted man had more than one wife (*mulieribus*) could not be sent to his audience, whether they were his aristocratic patrons or the monks at Cerne Abbas.

618 At this point there is an illogical transition in the *Vita Basilii*: even though Basil had asked God to allow him to live a little longer to convert the Jew, once Joseph is converted, the narrative flashes forward to the doctor's good deeds: '[m]edicus autem sequentibus diebus pertransibat beneactionales domus et dabat donatam sibi de medicina pecuniam, et quod erat ei residuum' (c. 16, lines 57–9).⁹⁶ Ælfric, sensitive to ambiguous chronological

⁹⁵ 'And rising he went into the holy church of God, and in front of all the people he baptised him and his household, calling him Iohannes. Then giving him Communion he accepted him and led him into his bedchamber feeding him. He taught him those things which pertain to the eternal life, adding the newly-made soldier with his women and children to his flock.'

⁹⁶ 'Indeed the doctor in the following days went to the hospices and gave away the money he had made with his practice and whatever else he had left.'

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developments in his hagiographies, omitted this sentence and moved the narrative to Basil's death with the adverb [*s*]i**þ**ban.

623 The devotional tone of this line seems to invite the reader or listener to a moment of silence in honour of Basil's soul.⁹⁷

628–31 With these four lines Ælfric translated the closing section of *Vita* c. 16, which, however, mark the end of the Latin text. Gregory of Nazianus is mentioned at the start of the *Vita* and LB as Basil's schoolmate. Line 629 echoes LB 1, lines 19–20.

LB 16 (lines 632–62)

This chapter sees the reappearance of Ephrem the Syrian, as the spiritual healer of a sinful woman who has been sent to him by Basil. The episode is the penultimate miracle in the *Vita* but Ælfric moved it to the end in LB.⁹⁸ This shift improves the structure of LB and avoids the otherwise unclear timing between the woman's return to Caesarea and Basil's death. As shown below, the sharply ironic tones and the ridicule with which the Latin portrays the sinner appear mitigated in Ælfric's translation.

632 Ælfric's characteristic use of the *pluralis modestiae* serves here as a transition between the highly dramatic episode of Basil's death and the somewhat humorous representation of the repentant woman.

635 The woman running across the desert as part of her penance is depicted in comical terms in the Latin: '[m]ulier autem concite a sancto ad heremum cucurrit, et transiens longitudinem uiae ad praedictum sibi locum magni heremitaie peruenit et pulsans ostium clamabat dicens ...' (c. 15, lines 48–51).⁹⁹ Ælfric simplified this section, referring back to line 563, where the desert had been mentioned already. In addition, by not translating words like *concite* and *cucurrit*, he circumvented much of the irony of the original.

639–42 The woman's behaviour (throwing the paper in the air) and her growing frustration captivate the reader's (or listener's) sympathy, but seem to

⁹⁷ For the use of the word *amen* as a closing cue, see S. Larratt-Keefer, 'In Closing: Amen and Doxology in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglia* 121 (2003), 210–37, at 213 and 228.

⁹⁸ See above, pp. 85–7.

⁹⁹ 'The woman then went in a great hurry from the saint [Basil] to the hermitage across the vast expanse. She reached the great hermit who had been mentioned to her, and banging on the door she shouted saying ...'

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moderate the underlying irony of the passage. Ælfric's intention here seems to have been, once again, edifying, rather than ridiculing.

643 Ephrem's tone here is a very paternal one: Ælfric rendered the Latin *non filia, non* literally (c. 15, lines 57).¹⁰⁰

649–55 This time Ælfric followed the cues of the Latin more closely, by adding a comical tone to the passage: both in the Latin and in the Old English the woman is portrayed as running back to the city and losing her temper when she finds out that Basil is no longer able to help. However, here too, most of the irony of the Latin vocabulary is translated more neutrally. The Latin reads as follows:

Mulier autem concite a sancto reuersa est Caesaream et intrante in ciuitatem obuiauit corpus portantibus sancti Basilii. Et uidens cepit clamare, uoluens se in humo et causabatur cum sancto dicens: 'Heu mihi misere, heu mihi, sancte Dei propter hoc me misisti ad heremum ut immolestatus a me transires. Et ecce inacta reuersa sum inuanum pertransiens pelagus uiae. Videat Deus et iudicet inter me et te, quia potens Deum placare pro me ad alterum me misisti.' Et haec clamans proiecit cartam super feretrum, subtiliter enarrans de causa omni populo. (c. 15, lines 48–67)¹⁰¹

Expressions such as *concite*, *uoluens in humo* and *subtiliter* add to the ironic tones of this Latin passage. Ælfric created similar effects using words such as *arn*, *earme* and *feoll ða to eorðan*, but the sense of frustration that characterises the woman in the Latin episode is absent from the Old English. Line 649 is a direct echo of 562, both describing the woman crossing the desert and both ending with *westen swiðe* (line 562 in the dative, line 649 in the accusative). Thus the narrator's words complete an envelope-pattern which sees the woman back to her own city (the point of departure) as a

¹⁰⁰ For this passage see also above, pp. 147–8.

¹⁰¹ 'The woman then, from the saint [Ephrem] returned to Caesarea in a great hurry, but when she entered the city she ran into Basil's undertakers. Seeing this she started to shout, writhing on the dirt and reproaching with the saint, saying: "Woe is me, woe is me, saint of God, you sent me to the hermitage so that you could die, undisturbed by me. Here I am, helpless, after having crossed the vast expanse for nothing! May God look upon this and judge why you sent me to another even though you were able to placate Him." Saying these things she threw the paper on the bier and started to tell her story to all in a feeble voice.'

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contrite penitent. From a structural viewpoint, the echoes between these two lines link together the two episodes which had become separated in Ælfric's ingenious recasting of the Latin. Ælfric reduced the woman's direct speech in the Latin to reported speech, thereby also avoiding the contentious nature of her words against Basil.

LB 17 (lines 663–9)

This is Ælfric's addition: the coda found in the Latin had been translated at the end of LB 15. The concise summary of Basil's life adds further emphasis to his prominent role as a bishop and his steadfast faith even in times of severe persecution. One cannot help thinking of Ælfric's own times in which persecution to Christian institutions came from high-ranking political figures and took various different forms, including the alienation of land from churches and monasteries into the hands of the nobility.¹⁰²

¹⁰² See especially, Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Aethelred*, pp. 176–85. I am grateful to Catherine Cubitt for her advice on this matter.

Appendix I

AMPHILOCHII EPISCOPI ICONII IN VITA ET MIRACULIS SANCTI BASILII ARCHIEPISCOPI CAPPADOCIAE

[PROLOGVS.] Dilectissimi ^anon erat^a indecorum^b fideles filios patris
contristari defunctione et lacrimam ei dare iustum quemadmodum usque
nunc omnes compassibiliter tulimus. Postquam lamentationis caliginem,
secundum quod scriptum est, amouimus et ad gratificam nos
5 postulationem apud omnium uerum Deum nostrum admouimus.
Necessarium credimus memorabilia et uera ac magna miracula ipsius
patris et magistri nostri Basilii scripturae tradere, ut non temporali
percussione obliuionis profunditati tradantur. Tribus siquidem
10 sacratissimis et mirabilibus uiris, Gregorium, dico, in theologia decorum
et Gregorium memorabilem Nisensis ciuitatis, sed et Effrem beatissimum
aliis aliter epithaficis sermonibus uirum infulgentibus uisum est et mihi
tamquam abortiuo, ut apostolice loquar^c in manibus habenti ab eisdem
uenerabilibus uiris editas enarrationes quae his defuerunt supplere, ut
15 fideli filio patri debitum rependenti. Si enim nubes occultare solem uolet,
multo facilius temporalis percussio bonis enarrationibus obducere nouit
obliuionem. Ergo quomodo magister noster pastor et resonatus in orbe,
caelestium uirtutum collocator ac angelicorum ordinum comminister,
magniloquus ecclesiae praedicator, solida orthodoxorum dogmatum
20 culmina, naturam rerum existentium expressit; inimicum trinitatis
Iulianum apostatam deiecit; Valentis os blasphemum obstruxit;
arrianorum debellauit malam gloriam; christianorum plane corroborauit
rectam gloriam. Pastor adquisitus ecclesiae populi regale sacerdotium
circumornatus, ouium Christi aries, diuinae fidei doctor, gloriosus, et
25 uiuens et post transitum magnis splenduit miraculis et oratione eius, sicut
dictum est. Facta Iuliani Dei odibilis correptione extollentis in altum cornu
et loquentis aduersus Deum iniustitiam, quomodo Valens ipsius
auunculus^d apprehendens indigne imperialem purpuram et arrianorum
malae gloriae patronus uenit ad eam quae apud nos est caesaris inlustrem
30 ciuitatem conquirens, et per huiusmodi praesens tempus narrabo. Sed ad
propositum reuertamur et ex natiuitate eius usque ad finem uirtutes ipsius
enarrantes.

[Prologus] NS] ^{a-a} nouerat N; ^b incorum N; ^c loquor N; ^d auunculu N

APPENDIX I

1. DE TEMPORE QVO DOCTRINAE VACAVIT ET DE
 CONVERSIONE MAGISTRI SVIEVBOLI. Basilius itaque^a solus ut sic
 dicam in terra aequalem et decentem^b ostendit uitam, operibus uerbis
 5 diuina sapientia uitam componens, omnia Christo dans, sed et animam
 atque corpus necnon sermonum manus quibus gentilem errorem sicut
 araneae telam disruptit. Hic septenis factus datur^c a genitoribus litteris,
 uacans autem doctrinis, quinquennio factum adquisiuit multam
 philosophalem disciplinam dulcedini naturae. Deinde relinquens patriam,
 10 Cappadociis enim erat natione, apprehendit matrem uerborum Athenas.
 Castitate etiam et multa abstinentia ac continentia decoratus, adiit
 praeceptorem graecorum sapientiae Eubolum et sic se ipsum dedit
 doctrinis admirandus etiam et magistris. Factique sunt eius conscolastici
 Gregorius magnus Nazianzi, postea^d factus est episcopus qui et
 15 apostolicae sedis gubernacula in duo et decem annorum perfecte
 gubernauit tempora, Iulianus etiam a paruo christianus atque Libanius. Is
 autem ab omnibus uir admirandus posuit in corde suo nihil sumere panis
 aut uini donec superna prouidentia intellexerit diuinae sapientiae archana.
 Morans quoque in doctrinis quinque et decem annis, omnemque graecalem
 20 philosophiam percurrens in fine astronomiam ac optima quaeque
 colligens, et nullatenus inuenire ualens per ipsa omnium creatorem, in una
 noctium uigilante eo diuinus quidam splendor fidei accendit eum
 °perlustrare potius religionis scripturas.° Surgens ergo, abiit in Aegyptum
 et accedens uni archimandritarum^f Porphirio nomine, supplicauit dari sibi
 25 libros sacros^g ad comprehensionem diuinorum dogmatum. Quod
 consecutus, mansit ibi, delectans meditationi diuinorum sermonum, et
 aqua ac herbis enutriens annuali uero tempore ibidem commorans, et
 uerbum ueritatis fide considerans, permansit scrutans ueritatis sermonem;
 sicque postulauit se dimitti Hierosolimam orationis gratia et quae ibi sunt
 30 uidendi miracula. Isdem autem superans illum dimisit eum. Veniens
 namque ubi Graecorum philosophiam didicit, coepit persuadere multis
 philosophis et multitudini gentilium ut offerrent Christo, ostendens eis uiam
 salutis. Quaerebat nichilominus et suum praeceptorem Eubolum, erat
 enim opinatissimus uerbi, ad retributionem in ipsum laboris offerre
 35 immaculatae fidei sicut se, bene concurrentem ad eum, omnes etiam eum
 sicut magistrum sequebantur qui philosophiam sectabantur. Quaerens
 autem illum per omnia eruditoria, inuenit illum in suburbano
 conquirentem in sermone cum ceteris philosophis. Hoc autem erat apud
 illos festinabatur aut disci quid aut audiri plus noui. Disputante ergo,
 40 Reprehenderunt: ‘Quis, inquit, es, o philosophe?’ Ipse autem: ‘Aut

[c. 1] NS] ^a del. S; ^b ducentem S; ^c dator N, S corr. to datur; ^d postea postea N; ^{e-e} om. N;
^f archimanditerrarum N; ^g sacras N; ^h des N;

VITA BASILII

Deus,^h aut Basilius.’ Recognosci faciens igitur se Basilius, coessentes sibi
dimisit Eubolus et coheret Basilio. Tribusque diebus incibati permanentes,
conquirebatur ad inuicem. Interrogauit ergo Eubolus Basilio: ‘Quae est
45 definitio philosophiae?’ Qui ait: ‘Prima definitio philosophiae est meditatio
mortis.’ Ille admirans dixit: ‘Quis est mundus?’ Qui ait: ‘Qui est super
mundum, et dulces quidem sunt mundi sermones, amarus autem ualde illi
mundus qui eum continet uitiose. Et altera est uoluptas corporis, et altera
incorporeae naturae. Et simul haec coesse cuidam non licitum est, nemo
enim potest duobus dominis seruire. Verumtamen ut uirtus est frangimus
50 esurientibus panem scientiae, et per malitiam intectos pro uirtute ducimus
sub tectum. Si autem et nudum uidemus circumamictimusⁱ et ut proprii
seminis non despiciamus.’ Haec dicens et exacuens eum parabolice
saluatoris quae erga nos est per paenitentiam clementiae tres catinos menti
proposuit in uestibulis cogitationis, super liminare quidem portarum
55 uirtutem adducentem prudentiam, uirilitem, iustitiam, castitatem. Quae
autem sinistra parte suasionem in utraque uero parte eius intemperantiam,
libidinem, ebrietatem, inpudicitiam, segnitiam,^j criminationem,
linguositatem, incantationem, et quoddam talium examen, paenitentiam
autem decenter stantem et trementem, subridentem, lenem, aduersarios
60 quidem increpantem priorum autem indigentem populorum iuxta eam
uero abstinentiam, intellectum, lenitatem, uenerabilitatem, timorem,
clementiam, et multorum bonorum plebem.^k Ipsius historiae mens diuinis
cautela audientibus autem zelorum meliorum occasio. ‘Haec ipse ego
uidens benigne factus sum et isto ductus sum, o Eubole. Sunt enim in
65 nobis non imagines, neque aenigmata, sed ipsa plane ueritas ducens ad
salutem. Resurgemus et enim omnes in uitam aeternam et hi in
obprobrium et confusionem aeternam. Et adstabimus ante tribunal Christi,
sicut docent nos magniuoci prophetae Isaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Daniel,
et Dauid rex, atque diuinus Paulus post istos. Ipse etiam paenitentiae
70 dator et ipsius retributionum Dominus qui ouem quaesiuit perditam et
apostatam puerum ex patris sinu cum multis diuitiis, et se ipsum prodige
consummantem et postea reuertentem, fame afflictum, sincere amplexus
est. Et ueste splendida ornauit ac anulo induit pretioso suadetque nihil
peccanti puero saeuienti sicut fratri indulgentiam dare. Iste in inuido^l
75 praeualens Dominus benignitate, ^mqui aequalem^m mercedem circa
undecimam horam uenientibus tribuit, et nobis paenitentibus ac
suscipientibus ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto regenerationem dabit; ⁿquae
oculus non uidit et auris non audiuit,ⁿ et in cor hominis non ascenderunt,
quae praeparauit Deus diligentibus eum.’ His ex sensu factus Eubolus
80 dixit: ‘O Basili, caelestis demonstrator Trinitatis, per te credo in unum

ⁱ circumamittimus S; ^j segnitiam N; ^k plebem iis N (iis *er.*); ^l inuide MSS; ^{m-m} quae
qualem MSS; ⁿ⁻ⁿ quae oculus et auris non audiuit MSS;

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Deum, patrem omnipotentem, et deinceps usque expectans resurrectionem mortuorum et uitam futuri saeculi, amen. Ego autem in hoc fidem quae in me est ostendo tibi, quia omnia quae mihi sunt in manus dans, reliquum tempus uitae meae tecum ero, si placitum in conspectu Domini fuerit, suscipiens ex sancta aqua et spiritu regenerationem.’ Basilius dixit: 85 ‘Benedictus Dominus Deus noster, a modo et usque in saeculum, Eubole, qui splenduit lucem ueram in mente tua et transtulit te de multitudine errorum in agnitionem ipsius misericordiae. Quia uero ut dixisti mihi eius esse uis, ostendam tibi quomodo saluti nostrae prouideamus uinculis istius 90 uitae nos liberantes, uenundemus omnia quae nobis sunt et demus indigentibus et sic in sanctam ciuitatem abeamus ipsi uisuri quae sunt ibi miraculorum, et apud Deum adquiramus fiduciam.’ Et sicut uterque eorum erant dispensantes, ad sanctum baptisma indumenta tantum ex ipsis ementes Hierosolimam ibant, conuertentes ad Deum gentilium 95 multitudinem multam. Venientes denique Antiochiam ciuitatem, ducti sunt in stabulum quoddam, filius uero stabularii nomine Filoxenus sedebat ante portas in anxietate plurima. Erat hic discipulus Libanii sophistae. Acceperat enim ab illo uersus homericos transmissos ad rhetores, et in tribulatione multa manens degebat. Quem uidens, Basilius ait ad eum: 100 ‘Qua causa sic tristis es, o adulescens?’ Qui ait: ‘Quid mihi prodest si dixerero tibi?’ Insistente namque Basilio et promittente sibi proficere, dixit ei sophistam et uersus, et quia ‘Causa hac agonizo.’ Basilius denique accipiens eosdem uersus coepit dicere eorum translationem. Stupens autem adulescens et gauisus factus, scripto illos disponi deprecatus est. Qui scripsit eorum absolutionem in tribus translationibus. Puer autem suscepit 105 eos gaudens, et inde abiit ad Libanium et dedit ei uersuum transmissionem. Suscipiens uero Libanius, et expauefactus in translatione dixit: ‘Per diuinam potentiam, nemo qui nunc sunt sapientium quid tale interpretari possunt, unde ergo istorum nouus interpretator?’ Dixit puer: 110 ‘Peregrinus quis ueniens in stabulum meum promptissime discreuit mihi istorum absolutionem.’ Non neglegens igitur Libanius cursor uelocissimus stabulum aduenit, et uidens Basilium simul cum Eubolo et noscens, defectus factus est in insperato eorum aduentu, dignarique eos petebat diuerti in domum suam. Quod consequens praecabatur eos pretiosos cibos 115 sumere. Illi autem panis et aquae modicum percipientes secundum continuam consuetudinem suam gratias egerunt uniuersorum Deo et datori bonorum. Cognito ergo Libanius coepit percunctari eos et praetendere eis relationes rethorum, illi uero immittebant ei fidei sermonem. Libanius autem uim dictorum sentiens: ‘Nondum est tempus,’ dixit, ‘talis negotii, iubente uero prouidentia non est qui contradicat. Sed in maxima adiuuas 120 me, o Basili, si dicere et his qui apud me sunt iuuenibus ista non dedigneris.’ Qui festinanter coaggersans iuuenes docebat eos animae

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munditiam et impassibilitatem^o corporis, gressum, mitem, uocem,
mensuratam,^p uerbum bene ordinatum, escam et potum intumultuosum.
125 Ad seniores taciturnitatem, ad sapientiores auditionem, ad^q sublimes
subditionem, ad aequales et minores caritatem non fictam, parua dicere,
plurima autem intelligere. Non temerarios in uerbo, non superhabundare
sermonibus, non faciles esse ad risum, uerecundia ornari, cum mulieribus
130 inreuerentibus non disputare, deorsum uisum sursum habere animam,
fugere contradictiones, non magistralem usurpare dignitatem nihil
existimare omnes saeculi honores. ‘Si autem quis^r ex uobis potest et aliis
proficere apud Deum mercedem exspectet et aeternorum bonorum
retributionem in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.’ Haec dicens discipulis
Libanii Basilius et admiratus ab omnibus abiit uiam simul cum Eubolo.

2. QVOMODO BAPTIZATVS EST IN IORDANE. Adprehendentes
autem Hierosolimam et omne locum sacrum fide et amore requirentes et
ipsis locis, qui est super omnia Deus, adorantes manifestauit episcopo
ciuitatis^a nomine Maximino. Et se ei prosternentes postulabant consequi
5 diuinam regenerationem in Iordane fluuio. Quos uidens idem uir sanctus,
plenus cum esset benignitate, adimpleuit postulationem eorum et simul
cum fidelibus uiris uenit ad Iordanem. Basilius autem iuxta ripam factus,
proiecit se in humum et cum lacrimis ac clamore forti postulat signum
10 reuelari eius fidei, resurgensque cum tremore dispoliat se uestimentis suis,
et cum ipsis uere uetusto homine et descendens in aquam orabat.
Descendens etiam sacerdos baptizauit eum, et ecce fulgor ignis uenit super
eos et columba ex eodem fulgore uenit in Iordanem, et turbans aquam
reulauit in caelum. Adstantes autem in tremore facti glorificauerunt
Deum; baptizatus uero, Basilius exiit de aqua. Admirans quoque
15 Maximinus Basilius in Deum dilectionem orans uestiuit eum Christi
resurrectionis indumentis. Baptizauit autem et Eubolum, atque unguens
eos sancto crismate tradidit illis uiuificam communionem, postulauitque
Basilium Dei sacerdos post orationem sumere cibum. Quod et fecit dicens:
20 ‘Iesu Christe, Deus noster credo euangelicae tuae uoci^b et spero in tua
benignitate, comedens et bibens contra congregientem nos diabolum
cooperationem nobis tui Sancti Spiritus fieri.’ Stupens uero Dei sacerdos
in ‘fide eius^c reuersus est cum ipsis in ciuitatem. Annuali autem tempore
in ibi commorantes, communi sententia uenerunt Antiochiam.

3. QVOMODO DIACONI GRADVM ANTIOCHIAE SVSCEPIT ET
APVD CAESAREAM DIVINA REVELATIONE INNOTUIT. Et
Basilius sub Miletio tunc ibidem episcopo in diaconi ordine consecratus

^o passibilitatem N; ^p mensuram MSS; ^q ac N; ^r qui S
[c. 2] ENS] ^a the E fragment starts here; ^b uoce E; ^{c-c} eius fide E

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5 parabolicos^a sermones interpretans, ab omnibus admiratus est. Non multo post autem uenit simul cum Eubolo in Cappadocensium regionem, et debentes introire caesariensium ciuitatem, per uisionem noctis reuelata est^b tunc episcopo ipsius ciuitatis, Eusebio nomine, istorum praesentia et quia debet Basilius ei successor fieri. Is autem excitatus, aduocat principem ecclesiasticae ministracionis et quosdam reuerentium cleri et
10 misit eos ad orientalem portam ciuitatis, dicens eis uisionem. Abeuntes ergo ad portam ciuitatis obuiauere eis introeuntibus, quos uidentes et agnoscentes, postulauerunt adire episcopum. Et uidens eos intrantes sanctus episcopus stupefactus in similitudine uisionis, Deo gratias egit. Interrogauit etiam eos unde uenirent, et quo irent, et quae essent eorum
15 appellationes. Et edoctus dixit ministris quae ad refectionem sunt eis tribuere. Qui ducentes eos in insignem zetam, quae ad curam obtulerunt eis, in ipsa autem hora uocans sanctissimus electos cleri ac ciuitatis narrauit eis quae a Deo illi reuelata sunt. Qui una uoce dixerunt: ‘Vere et istud dignum est mundae uitae tuae diuino decreto reuelari tibi post te
20 debentem ierarchicam^c sedem ornare, unde nihil dubitans, fac quod tibi uidetur.’ Qui aduocans Basilium simul cum Eubolo coepit cum eis considerare scripturas, admirans autem pelagus adiacentis in eis sapientiae, et habens eos dextra leuaque sustentatores. Et^d non multo post transiit de uita episcopus.

4. QVOMODO EPISCOPVS FACTVS MISSAM COMPOSUIT ET SALVATOREM NOSTRVM CVM APOSTOLIS VIDIT. Conueniens ergo coetus episcoporum Sancti Spiritus cooperatione elegerunt Basilium ad episcopatus sedem et consecratus, gubernabat ecclesiam Dei
5 prouidentia. Post quoddam autem tempus postulauit Deum ut daret illi gratiam et sapientiam, atque intellectum, propriis sermonibus offerre in sanguineum sacrificium illi, et uenit super eum Sancti Spiritus aduentus. Post dies uero sex sicut in extasi factus in aduentu Sancti Spiritus septima die apprehendente, coepit ministrare Deo pro singulos dies. Et post aliquot
10 tempus, fide et oratione coepit propria manu scribere ministracionis mysteria, atque in una nocte adueniens ei Dominus in uisione cum apostolis propositionem panis faciens in sancto altari, excitauit Basilium dicens ei: ‘Secundum tuam postulationem repleatur os tuum laude, ut per proprios sermones offeras in sanguineum sacrificium.’ Qui non ferens oculis uisionem surrexit cum tremore, et accedens ad sanctum altare
15 coepit dicere scribens in carta sic: ‘Repleatur os meum laude, ut hymnum dicat gloriae tuae Domine Deus qui creasti nos et adduxisti in uitam hanc et ceteras orationes sancti ministerii.’ Et post finem orationum exaltauit panem sine intermissione orans et dicens: ‘Respice, Domine Iesu Christe

[c. 3] ENS] ^a parabolicas S; ^b sunt N; ^c ierarchiam S; ^d om. E

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20 Deus noster ex sancto habitaculo tuo et ueni ad sanctificandum nos, qui
sursum patri concedes, et hic nobis inuisibiliter coes dignare potenti manu
tua tradere nobis, et per nos omni populo sancta sanctis.’ Populus
respondit: ‘Vnus sanctus, unus Dominus Iesus Christus cum Sancto
25 Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris, amen.’ Et diuidens panem in tres partes unam
quidem communicauit timore multo, alteram autem reseruauit consepelire
sibi, tertiam uero inponens columbae aureae quae pependit super^a altare.
Eubolus siquidem et cleri princeps stantes ante portas templi uiderunt
lucem intelligibilem in templo, et uiros gloriosos candidas uestes habentes
et audientes uocem populi glorificantis Deum, Basiliumque cernentes
30 altari adstanti stupefacti in uisione caeciderunt in facies suas, glorificantes
Deum. Exeunte autem Basilio, prostrauerunt se ad pedes eius. Interrogauit
autem causam adorationis et praesentiae eorum, qui retulerunt ei
admirabilem uisionem quam uiderunt in templo. Tunc Basilius gratias
agens sine intermissione Domino propter eius admirabilia, uocauit auri
35 fabrum et fecit columbam ex auro puro atque in ipsam deposuit ut
diximus portionem, pendens eam super sanctam mensam in figura ipsius
columbae sanctae, quae apparuit in Iordane baptizato Domino. Hoc autem
facto, exorsus est sermonem consolationis dicere ad populum. Et
40 congregata est multitudo infinita in ecclesia, inter quos erat et magnus
abbas Effrem de quo postea narrabimus quomodo ex diuina ostensione
uisor factus est beatissimi patris nostri Basilii.

5. ^aDE HEBRAEO QVI VIDIT INFANTEM PARTIRI IN MANIBVS
BASILII TEMPORE SANCTI SACRIFICII.^a ^bDiuinum quidem
mysterium^b illo agente, hebraeus quidam se sicut christianus populo
commiscuit officii ministerium et muneris explorare uolens, uidit infantem
5 partiri in manibus Basilii et communicantibus omnibus uenit et ipse,
dataque est ei uere caro facta. Inde accessit ad calicem sanguine repletum
ut uere est, et ipsius factus est particeps, atque de utrisque seruans
reliquias. Abiensque in domum suam ostendit uxori suae ad
confirmationem dictorum, et narrauit quae propriis oculis uiderat. Credens
10 ergo ut uere quia horribile et admirabile est christianorum mysterium in
crastino uenit ad Basilium postulans se sine dilatione accipere, quod in
Christo est signaculum. Basilius autem sanctus non differens, sed
consuetam eucharistiam, uolenti omnes saluare, offerens baptizauit eum
cum omni domo credente Domino.

6. DE SCRIPTVRA QVAM MVLIERCVLAE FECIT. Et exeunti sancto
accessit ad eum muliercula prouidentiam sibi postulans fieri tamquam

[c. 4] ENS] ^a the *E* fragment ends here

[c. 5] NS] ^{a-a} num. IV in S; ^{b-b} diuino quidem mysterio N

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potentem alius^a regionis principem. Qui accipiens cartam, scripsit
 5 principi: ‘Haec muliercula pauper accessit ad me dicens posse me apud
 te. Si ergo possum, ostende.’ Et dedit mulieri cartam. Quae abiens dedit
 epistolam principi. Legens quoque eam princeps rescripsit haec: ‘Propter
 uos, o pater sancte, sancte uolui misereri mulierculae, sed non potui pro
 eo quod tributis subiacet.’ Sanctus uero rescripsit ei: ‘Siquidem uolens
 non potuisti, bene utcumque se habet. Si autem potens, non uoluisti, ducet
 10 te Christus ad indigentium chorum, ut quando uolueris non possis.’ Et
^bfactae sunt ei res.^b Non post multum namque imperiali indignatione
 temptatus, ducebatur uinctus reddens iniuste passis ab eo. Tunc fit
 postulator Basilii ut per orationem suam misericordem super ipsum
 imperatorem faceret, quod et factum est. Post sextam enim diem,
 15 descendit signum imperiale liberare eum de abductione. Ipse autem factam
 in se clementiam non ignorans, uenit ad Basilium gratias agens ei, et
 aduocans mulierculam restituit ei quod debebat in duplum de propriis.

7. DE MISTICA SATIS REVELATIONE ET MORTE APOSTATAE
 IULIANI. In illo tempore Iulianus impius imperator pergens aduersus
 persas uenit in partes caesariensium ciuitatis. Basilius autem simul cum
 coessentibus sibi obuiauit ei et uidens eum imperator dixit:
 5 ‘Superphilosophatus sum te o Basilii.’ Qui respondit ei: ‘Vtinam
 philosophareris.’ Et obtulit ei pro benedictione tres ordeaceos^a panes.
 Imperator autem iussit stipatores suos accipere quidem panes et reddere
 ei foenum dicens: ‘Hordeum enim pabulum est iumentorum quod dedit
 nobis, recipiat et ipse foenum.’ Qui suscipiens dixit ei: ‘Nos quidem, o
 10 imperator, ex quibus comedimus obtulimus tibi, tu autem ex quibus nutris
 irrationabilitatem naturae reddidisti nobis, uoluntaria quidquidem irridens,
 non uoluntaria uero nobis in pastum fecisti hoc foeno.’ Iulianus denique
 audiens et insania factus, dixit ad eum: ‘Pastio namque istius foeni sine
 ablatione dabitur tibi, quando autem persas subigens reuersus fuero,
 15 desolabo ciuitatem tuam et arabo eam, ut farrifera magis quam hominifera
 sit. Non enim ignoro audaciam populi a te suasum ut a me adoratam deam
 postquam eam statuerim, non ferens fascinationem, confringeret usque in
 finem.’ Et haec dicens pergebat ad persarum regionem. Regrediens autem
 ciuitatem Basilius et aduocans omnem multitudinem narrauit ei
 20 imperatoris uerba, atque consiliator illi fit optimus dicens: ‘Pecuniam
 fratres ad nihil reputantes, salutis uestrae prouidentiam facite, ut et si
 datum fuerit tempus tyranno imperatori muneribus eum placemus.’ Qui
 abeuntes in domos suas, quae habebant unusquisque eorum in manibus

[c. 6] NS] ^a aliud N; ^{b-b} facta sunt ei res carecteres MSS

[c. 7] NS] ^a ordeceos N;

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25 cum alacritate attulit ad eum, auri scilicet et argenti lapidumque
pretiosorum infinitam multitudinem. Qui uidens alacritatem et
obauditionem eorum posuit ea in thesaurario, superscribens uniuscuiusque
nomen et dicens eis: 'Quia praepositorum Dominus potens est et illum
attrectare, et uobis restituere propria.' Statim ergo praecipit clero et omni
30 in quo honoratur et adoratur Dei genitricis uenerabile templum, et tribus
diebus ieiunii sustinentes postulauerunt Deum dissipari iniqui imperatoris
sensum. Et adhuculantibus eis et uigilantibus in oratione cum contrito
corde, uidit Basilius in uisu multitudinem militiae caelestis hinc et inde in
monte et in medio eorum super thronum gloriosum sedentem quandam in
35 muliebri habitu et dicentem ad proxime sibi stantes magnificos uiros:
'Vocate mihi Mercurium et abibit interficere Iulianum, in filium meum et
Deum tumide^b blasphemantem.' Sanctus autem cum armatura sua
adueniens iussus ab ea uelociter abiit et aduocans quae erat in muliebri
habitu magnum Basilium dedit ei librum habentem in historia omnem
40 mundi facturam, dextrorsum uero hominem plasmatum a Deo. In
principio autem libri superscriptio erat: 'Dic.' In fine autem eius ubi
plasmatur homo: 'Parce.' Suscipiens autem librum in praesentia eius, legit
usque ad subscriptionem^c 'parce.' Et continuo absque somno factus est
sub timore et gaudio contentus. Similem uero uisionem mortis Iuliani uidit
45 ipsa nocte et Libanius sophista cum esset cum eo in Persida et quaestoris
dignitatem perageret. Expauens ergo uisione magnus Basilius cum Eubolo
solo euigilans uenit in ciuitatem. Adiensque martyrium sancti martyris
Mercurii in quo et ipse iacebat et arma eius conseruabantur, quaerens ea
et non inueniens uocauit custodem et sciscitabatur ab eo ubi illa fuissent.
50 Qui cum iuramento dicebat uespero ibi ea fuisse ubi perpetuo
conseruabantur, credidit ergo indubitanter sententiae memorabilis^d pater
noster Basilius quia uera est uisio et glorificans Deum qui non despicit
confidentes in se. In festinatione multa et gaudio inenarrabili recurrit in
montem adhuc omnibus dormientibus, quos excitans ad orationem
55 hortatus^e est et in uocem exultationis euangelizauit eis a Deo sibi
reuelationem factam, et quia ista nocte interfectus est tyrannus. Atque
cum omnibus gratias agens Deo, reuersus est in ciuitatem et ueniens ad
martyrium sancti Mercurii inuenit lanceam illius sanguine madidam, et
iterum cum omnibus gratias agens Deo imperauit cunctos uenire in
60 magnam ecclesiam, et participare diuinae ministracionis.

8. QVOMODO SANCTI SPIRITVS ADVENTVM VIDIT ET DE
QVODAM DIACONE ET DE LIBANIO SOPHISTA. Hoc autem facto
et sancta exaltante eo signum non fuit factum sicut erat solitum mouere

^b tumida N; ^c superscriptionem N; ^d memorialis N; ^e oratus N

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uidelicet columbam quae cum sacramento pendeat super altare dominico
 5 semper ad exaltationem sancti sacrificii ter moueri solens. Et cogitante eo
 quid^a hoc esset, uidit unum uentilantium^b diaconem innuentem mulieri
 inclinatae^c deorsum. Et transponens eum de altari infra ecclesiam iussit
 custodiri, et ita uidens Sancti Spiritus aduentum, hortatus est omnem
 10 populum septem diebus ibidem in oratione manere, diaconem autem
 ieiuniis et uigiliis remisit. Et quod ei abundabat ad postulantium inopiam
 dari iussit, sicque diuinitatem placare et sic audere ad sacram
 ministracionem accedere. Vela etiam statim iussit appendi instructoriis,^d
 praecipiens de mulieribus quae foris uelorum apparuerit inclinans se,
 15 diuinum ministerium peragente, foris poni mysterio et incommunicatam
 permanere. Populi autem omni plebe festiuitatem agente^e usque in finem
 septem dierum omnibus in ecclesia congregatis, ecce Libanius Iuliani
 quaestor fuga usus. Venit in ciuitatem et discens populi congregationem
 in ecclesia, eo aduenit annuntians impiam mortem Iuliani tyranni et dicens
 20 quia cum secus Eufraten fluuium esset et relicta nocte septimae excubiae
 militum custodirent eum, uenit quidam ignotus miles cum armorum uasis
 et lancea ualide et terribile impetu perfodit eum, et nusquam comparuit,
 subito abscondens. Ipse uero miserrimus diram atque horribilem emittens
 uociferacionem cum blasphemiae clamore exspirauit. Narrauit etiam et per
 25 ordinem uisionem quam ipse iamdicta uiderat nocte. Procidensque genibus
 principis sacerdotis postulabat se suscipere Christi signaculum; quod
 consecutus, contectalis factus est Basilii. Crastino quoque praecepit
 omnibus Basiliius magnus recipere pecuniam. Qui una uoce dixerunt ad
 eum: ‘Si haec mortali imperatori tribuere uoluimus ut non desolaret
 30 nostram ciuitatem, multo magis Christo inmortalis imperatori oportet
 offerri ea, quia tanto interitu nos redemit. Ecce ergo, in manibus tuis sunt
 omnia sicut tibi Deus iusserit age.’ Qui admiratus fidelissimi populi
 magnanimitatem, tertiam partem etiam nolentibus tribuit eis et de reliquo
 ordinauit omne presbiterium cum ciborio. Altare etiam auro puro et
 35 gemmis pretiosis decorauit et aduocans multitudinem habitantium ac
 sanctificans sanctam mensam tribus diebus iussit diem festum
 solemnizare.

9. DE QVIBVSDAM GENTIBVS ET INTERPRETATIONE
 EXEMERI. His itaque perfectis quidam in errore gentilium cum essent,
 accesserunt ad eum dicentes: ‘Ecce per orationem tuam ciuitatem nostram
 depopulandam redemisti et templum Dei tui amplissime decorasti.
 5 Superest ut et nos facias quae sunt uirtutes Dei tui.’ Ille autem per paucis
 sermonibus ostendens eis uiam salutis certosquae eos reddens et

[c. 8] NS] ^a quod N; ^b uentilatum N; ^c inclinante N; inclinantem S;
^d instructoris N; ^e agentes N

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catecizans, baptizauit illos. Veniente denique sanctissima quadragesima diuinam ^aillam exaimerii interpretationem^a populo enarrauit multam multitudinem hebraeorum etiam et gentilium offerens Deo.

10. QVOMODO DVCTVS EST ANTIOCHIAM ET DE FILIO VALENTIS. Ceterum quidam ^ade derelictis^a gentilibus sed et ex arrianis accusauerunt eum ad Valentem imperatorem, quia omousii fidem glorificans abominabatur et respuebat arrianorum haeresim. His credens, uana quadam sententia Valens misit deduci eum Antiochiam ciuitatem. Anastasio uero protectore adueniente Caesaream ciuitatem et manifesta Basilio faciente praecepta ei ab imperatore, dixit illi Basilius: ‘Et ego, fili, ante paucos dies cognoui quia imperator credens absque intellectu a uiris tres calamos contriuit, uolens exilium meum describere et ueritatem obscurare. Insensibiles^b autem calami non sustinerunt instabilem eius impetum, confringi magis eligentes quam ministrare iniquo eius decreto.’ Et adprehendens Antiochiam ad praefectorum ducitur iudicium. Interrogatus autem cuius rei gratia non imperatoris complectatur fidem, respondit: ‘Non mihi fiat ueritatis derelinquere uiam, et erraticam arrianorum malam gloriam uel salutare, omousii enim fidem de patribus accepi.’ Quia autem praefectus mortem ei minatus fuerat, dixit Basilius: ‘Fiat mihi pro ueritate emitti de uinculis corporis, hoc enim ex multo desiderabam, iam uos nolite deficere in promissione.’ Praefectus namque beati uiri instantiam et inmutabilem sententiam notam fecit imperatori dicens: ‘Victi sumus imperator, uicti sumus, altior minis est uir, inflexam et inadulatum habens prudentiam.’ Imperatore ergo feruente furore et cogitante qua morte illum attrectaret, conuenit filium suum Teilatum in aegritudinem cadere et disperari a medicis. Mater autem eius imperatori resistens dicebat: ‘Sicut male disposuisti quae a Deo sunt et puer moritur propter in Basilium Dei sacerdotem factam iniuriam.’ Haec audiens imperator uocauit Basilium et ait ad eum: ‘Si uera sunt dogmata tua et Deus in his gaudet, filii mei aegritudinem per orationem tuam elimina.’ Qui ait: ‘Si credis, imperator, orthodoxae fidei ut coaduneris Dei ecclesiae, uiuet filius tuus.’ Ipso autem sic promittente, non differens sanctus Basilius in praesentia eius facilem pueri fecit aegritudinem. Maliglorii autem episcopi confusionem inuictoriae suae non ferentes, persuaserunt imperatori non cadere de sensu suo, sed religiositati eorum concurrere et per ipsos puero sanitatem recipere. Et continuo puer in manibus eorum obiit. Ista uidens protector post obitum Valentis adnuntiauit imperatori Valentiniano uirtutes uiri. Ille autem admirans glorificauit Deum dans ei multam pecuniam per ipsum protectorem in

[c. 9] NS] ^{a-a} om. N

[c. 10] NS] ^{a-a} derelictis S; ^b insensibilis N

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opus egentium et dimisit eum. Qui magnanimitatem imperatoris suscipiens, aedificauit domos beneactionales in ciuitate, et in unaquaque prouincia praefecturae ad refectionem aegrotorum. Et clausit
40 multitudinem uirorum et mulierum seu puerorum multam curam et refectionem tribuens eis. Haec audiens imperator, oblationes multas dedit ad nutrimentum eorum cultum paternum tribuens sacerdoti Christi.

11. DE NEGANTE CHRISTVM SCRIPTO. Elladius autem ipsius sanctissimae memoriae uisor, et minister factus ab eo perfectorum miraculorum et successor sedis post obitum iamdictae memoriae apostolicae Basilli, uir mirabilis et omni uirtute decoratus enarrauit mihi,
5 quia senator quidam fidelis nomine Proterius adiit ad sancta et uenerabilia loca, et ibi filiam suam consecrare ac in uno de beneactionalibus domibus monasteriorum mittere, atque sacrificium Deo offerre uolens. Sed ab initio homicida diabolus inuidens diuinae uoluntati, mouit unum de suis seruis et incendit ad puellae amorem. Is autem cum fuisset huiusmodi
10 inchoationis indignus et non audens adpropinquare ad propositum, alloquitur unum abominandorum incantatorum promittens se, si meruerit, dominari ipsius puellae, multam ei retribuere auri quantitatem. Maleficus uero dixit ad eum: ‘O homo, ego in istud non praeualeo, sed, si uis mitto ad meum procuratorem diabolum et ipse perficiet tuam uoluntatem.’ Qui ait ad eum: ‘Quaecumque dixeris mihi faciam.’ Et ait ad eum:
15 ‘Abrenuntias Christo in scripto?’ Dixit ei: ‘Etiam.’ Iniquitatis autem operator dicit ei: ‘Si in isto paratus exstiteris, cooperatores tibi fiam.’ Qui ait ad eum: ‘Paratus sum, tantum consequar desiderium meum.’ Et faciens malignitatis minister epistolam ad diabolum, misit ad illum habentem sensum istum: ‘Quamquidem mi domine et procurator oportet festinare me a christianorum religione abstrahere et tuae adducere uoluntati, ut multiplicetur pars tua misi tibi hunc, qui praesentes meas defert litteras, cupiditate in puellam exarsum. Et postulo eum actionem istam consequi, ut et in isto glorier et cum multa alacritate congregem placitiores tuos.’ Et
20 dans ei epistolam dixit: ‘Vade secundum talem horam noctis, sta super monumentum gentilis et exalta cartam in aera, et astabunt tibi qui debent ducere te ad diabolum.’ Qui alacriter hoc faciens iactauit miseram uocem inuocans diaboli auxilium, et continuo adstiterunt ei principes potestatis tenebrarum spiritalia nequitiae, et adprehendentes errantem cum gaudio magno duxerunt eum ubi erat diabolus et ostenderunt ei ipsum sedentem
30 in sede alta et in circuitus eius malignitatis spiritus stantes. Et suscipiens missas a malefico litteras, dixit ad miserum: ‘Credis in me?’ Qui ait: ‘Credo.’ ‘Et negas Christum tuum?’ Qui respondit: ‘Abnego.’ Dicit ei

35 diabolus: ‘Perfidi estis uos christiani, et quandoquidem opus mei habetis
 uenitis ad me, quandoquidem consequimini desiderium uestrum, negatis
 me et acceditis ad Christum uestrum qui est benignus ac clementissimus
 et suscipit uos. Sed fac mihi manuscriptam Christi tui et baptismatis
 40 abrenuntiationem uoluntariam, et quae in me est in saecula uoluntaria
 professione, et quia mecum sis in die iudicii condelectans mihi in
 praeparatis aeternis tormentis et ego statim desiderium tuum adimpleo.’
 Qui disposuit propria manu scriptum sicut quaesitus fuit. Statim autem
 animarum corruptor draco tortuosus misit qui sunt super fornicationem
 daemones, et inflammauerunt puellam in amorem iuuenis. Quae proiciens
 45 se in terram, coepit acclamare^a ad patrem: ‘Miserere mihi, miserere pater,
 quia dire torqueor propter talem nostrum puerum. Miserere uisceribus
 tuis. Ostende in me unigenitam tuam paternum amorem, et coniunge^b me
 puero quem amo. Si autem hoc non uis facere uidebis me post modicum
 morientem amara morte, et sermonem dabis pro me in die iudicii Deo.’
 Pater autem cum lacrimis dicebat: ‘Heu mihi peccatori, quid conuenit
 50 miserae meae filiae? Quis meum thesaurum furatus est? Quis meam
 inquinauit^c filiam? Quis dulcem lumen oculorum meorum extinxit? Ego
 caelesti te uolebam nubere sponso Christo et angelorum cohabitatricem
 constituere, et in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus canere Deo
 festinabam, et per te saluari sperabam, tu autem in amore lasciuietatis
 55 insanisti. Sine me, sicut uolo, desponsare te Deo, non ducas^d senectutem
 meam cum tribulatione ad inferos, neque nobilitatem parentum tuorum
 confusione operias.’ Illa autem ad nihilum reputans quae a patre
 dicebantur, instabat clamans: ‘Pater mi, aut fac desiderium meum, aut
 post modicum morientem uidebis me.’ Pater ergo in magna defectione
 60 factus, ac inmensurabilitate tristitiae absortus et amicorum consiliis
 credulus, hortantium ei deferre uoluntatem eius aut se ipsam exponere.
 Concredens pater, praecepit fieri desiderium puellae ne exitiali se traderet
 morti. Et adduxit quaesitum puerum ac propriam filiam, dansque eis
 omnem substantiam suam, dixit filiae suae: ‘Vale filia, uere misera,
 65 multum enim planges penitens in nouissimo quando nihil habes proficere.’
 Iniquo ergo coniugio facto et diabolica facinorositate completa, ac modico
 transeunte tempore designatus est a quibusdam puer non introire in
 ecclesiam neque appropinquare immortalibus et uiuificis mysteriis. Et
 dicunt miserae coniugi eius: ‘Scis quia uir tuus quem elegisti non est
 70 christianus sed peregrinus fidei et alienus?’^e Tenebrarum ergo et dolorum
 plaga repleta,^e prosternit se illa in humum, et coepit discerpere se ipsam
 unguis et percutere pectus, ac clamare: ‘Nemo non obediens parentibus
 saluus fuit umquam. Quis annuntiabit patri meo meam confusionem?’^f Heu

[c. 11] NS] ^a om. N; ^b coniuge N; ^c iniquauit N; ^d iudicas N; ^{e-e} tenebrarum ergo et dolorum plagae repletus MSS (plaga *after corr.* S); ^f confu N;

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75 mihi, miserae, in quantam profunditatem perditionis descendi? Cur nata sum? Et nata continuo rapta non fui?’ Ista^g ergo lamentari eam discens erratissimus uir eius cucurrit ad eam contendens non haberi ita ueritatem. Illa autem, consolationem^h ueniente suadibilibus eius uerbis, dixit ad eum: ‘Si uis mihi satisfacere et miserere animae meae crastina ego et tu unanimiter eamus ad ecclesiam, et coram me participa incontaminatorum
80 mysteriorum et sic satisfacta ero.’ Tunc coactus dixit ei sententiam capituli. Continuo ergo deponens illaⁱ muliebrem infirmitatem et consilium bonum consilians illi, currit ad pastorem et discipulum Christi Basilium aduersus impietatem clamans: ‘Miserere mihi, miserere sancte Dei, miserere mei discipule Domini, quae cum daemonibus causam egi.
85 Miserere mihi miserae,^j proprium patrem non obaudiente.’^k Et docet eum rerum gestarum ordinem. Sanctus autem Dei uocans puerum, sciscitatus est ab eo si ista in hunc modum se habent. Qui ad sanctum cum lacrimis ait: ‘Etiam sancte Dei, si ego siluero opera mea clamabunt.’ Et enarrat ei etiam ipse a principio usque ad finem consequentem diaboli malam
90 operationem. Tunc dicit ei sanctus: ‘Vis reuerti ad Dominum Deum nostrum?’ Ad quem puer: ‘Vtique uolo, sed non ualeo.’ Dicit ei: ‘Et quare?’ Respondit ei puer: ‘Scripto abnegauit Christum, et professum diabolo.’ Dicit ei: ‘Non sit tibi cura, benignus est Deus noster et recipiet te paenitentem; compatitur enim maleficiis nostris.’ Et iactans se puella ad pedes sancti euuangelice deprecata est eum dicens: ‘Discipule Christi Dei nostri, quantum potes adiua nos.’ Dicit ad puerum sanctus: ‘Credis saluari?’ Qui ait: ‘Credo, domine, adiua incredulitatem meam.’ Et continuo adprehendens manum eius faciensque Christi signum in ipso et orans reclusit eum in uno loco interioris sacri peribuli et dans ei regulam
100 collaborabat ei per tres dies, post quos uisitauit eum et dicit ei: ‘Quomodo habes, filii?’ Dicit ad eum: ‘In magna sum, domine, defectione. Sancte Dei non fero clamores eorum et terrores ac iugulationes, seu lapidationes eorum, tenentes manuscriptam^l meam causantur me dicentes: “Tu uenisti ad nos, non nos ad te.”’ Et dicit ei sanctus: ‘Noli timere filii, tantum crede.’ Et dans ei modicam escam faciensque super eum Christi iterum signaculum ac orans, reclusit eum. Et post paucos dies uisitauit eum et dicit: ‘Quomodo habes filii?’ Dicit ei: ‘Pater sancte, a longe clamores eorum audio et minas, sed non uideo eos.’ Et iterum dans ei escam et orans claudensque hostium, abiit et quadragesimo die rediit et dicit ei:
110 ‘Quomodo habes frater?’ Respondens dicit ad eum: ‘Bene habeo, sancte Dei, uidi enim te hodie in uisu pugnans pro me, et uincens diabolum.’ Mox ergo sanctus secundum consuetudinem faciens orationem eduxit eum, in dormitorium suum. Mane autem facto uocauit sacrum

^g in ista N; ^h consolatione S; ⁱ om. N; ^j miserere N; ^k obaudientem MSS; ^l manuscripturam S;

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115 clerum et^m monasteria, et omnem Christo amabilem populum et dixit eis:
‘Filioli mei dilectissimi, omnes gratias agatis Domino. Ecce enim ouem
perditam debet pastor bonus in humeris reportare, et offerre ecclesiae.
Quapropter debitum est et nos uigiliam facere nocte hac et postulate eius
benignitatem, ut non uincat nos corruptor animarum etiam in hoc facto.’
120 Et alacriter populo coaggerato, per omnem noctem postulauerunt Deum
cum bono pastore cum lacrimis clamantes pro eo, ‘Kyrie eleison.’ Et
mature cum omni multitudine populi accepit sanctus puerum et tenens
dexteram manum eius ducebat illum in sanctam Dei ecclesiam cum
psalmis et hymnis. Et ecce diabolus omnium fascinans in tristem uitam
cum omni pernitiōsa uirtute aduenit et inuisibiliter apprehendens puerum
125 conabatur rapere eum de manu sancti. Et coepit clamare puer: ‘Sancte Dei
adiuua me.’ Et tanta improbus instantia eum aggressus est, ut etiam
memorabilem uirum compelleret trahens puerum. Conuersus ergo sanctus
ad diabolum dixit: ‘Improbissime et animarum corruptor pater tenebrarum
et perditionis, non sufficit tibi tua perditio qua te, et eos qui sub te sunt,
130 affecisti, nisi etiam et Dei mei temptes plasma?’ⁿ Diabolus autem dixit ad
eum: ‘Praeiudicas me Basilii.’ Ita ut multi ex nobis audirent uocem
daemonum haec dicentium. Clamante populo, ‘Kyrie eleison,’ sanctus
autem Dei ait ad eum: ‘Increpet te Dominus, diabole.’ Qui respondens, ait
ad eum: ‘Basilii, praeiudicas me, non abii ego ad eum, sed ipse uenit ad
135 me. Abnegauit Christum et professus est mihi. Et ecce manuscriptum
habeo et in die iudicii ad communem iudicem eum duco.’ Sanctus dixit:
‘Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, non deflectet populus iste manus de
altitudine caeli, donec reddas manuscriptum.’ Et conuertens se dixit
populo: ‘Erigite manus uestras in caelum clamantes cum lacrimis,
140 “Christe, Kyrie eleison.”’ Et stante populo in horam multam extensas in
caelum manus et ecce manuscripta pueri per aerem delata et ab omnibus
uisa uenit et imposita est manibus memorabilis nostri patris et pastoris.
Suscipiens autem eas et gratias agens Deo gauisus factus est ualde, et
coram omni populo dixit ad puerum: ‘Cognoscis litteras has frater?’
145 Qui ait ad eum: ‘Etiam sancte Dei, manuscripta mea est.’ Et dirumpens
manuscriptam,^o Basiliius sanctus perduxit eum ad ecclesiam, et dignum
fecit sancto ministerio et communioni mysteriorum et munerum Christi.
Et faciens susceptionem magnam refrigerauit omnem populum et docens
puerum, ac instruens^p seu dans ei regulam decentem reddidit eum mulieri
150 eius, intacibili^q ore glorificantem et laudantem Deum.

12. ^aDE ANASTASIO SPIRITALI PRESBYTERO.^a Enarrauit mihi
praedictus beatus uir Elladius quia in una dierum splendore diuino

^m ad S; ⁿ palma N, palmam S; ^o manuscripta MSS; ^p instruans N; ^q intacibili N
[c. 12] NS] ^{a-a} om. N;

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5 inlustratus, sanctus pater noster et magnus Basilius exiuit de nostra
 ciuitate, nemini dicens quo^b deberet pergere. Et egrediens coram omnibus
 dixit nobis: ‘Filii mei, sequimini me ut uideatis unam mecum gloriam Dei,
 et admiremur de discipulis magistrum.’ Postquam ergo exiuit de nostra
 ciuitate communis noster pater, cognouit et hoc uirtute Sancti Spiritus
 presbyter Anastasius et dicit nominatenus mulieri sorori autem suae usu:
 10 ‘Ego uado agricolari domina soror, tu surge et orna domum tuam. Et circa
 horam nonam accipiens turribulum et cereos, obuia sancto Basilio
 archiepiscopo. Venit enim diueri in domum nostram peccatorum.’ Illa
 autem contremiscens in admirabili dictu fecit quod didicit. Erat enim ipsa
 uirgo uenerabiliter conuersans quadraginta pertransiens annos cum
 15 cohabitatore suo et custodiens mysterium et quasi uidua ostendebatur
 hominibus. Obuians autem nobis cum decente uenerabilitate, et debitam
 adorationem tribuens primo quidem benedicitur a sancto patre nostro, et
 postea dicit ei: ‘Quomodo habes domna Theognia?’ Quae expauens in
 uocatione nominis sui, dicit ei: ‘Bene sancte Dei.’ Dicit ei sanctus pater
 noster: ‘Vbi est dominus Anastasius presbyter frater tuus?’ Dicit ei: ‘Vir
 20 meus est domine, et abiit agricolari.’ Qui dixit: ‘In domo tua est, noli
 turbari.’ Expauescens ergo mulier in uerbo isto et in uocatione nominis sui
 sed et quia dixit eam deifer noster pater mulierem quidem esse nomine
 sororem autem usu, et in stuporem facta, tremore etiam comprehensa,
 25 cecidit in terram clamans et dicens: ‘Sancte Dei ora pro me peccatrice
 quia magna et admirabiles uideo in te causas.’ Et faciens super eam
 orationem coram omnibus dixit ei: ‘Extende pannum inter brachia tua.’
 Et cum extendisset, iussit effundi carbones de turribulo in pannum et
 superponens incensum ambulabat praecendens nos. Et uenientibus in
 30 domum presbyteri obuiauit nobis et ipse, et osculatus est honoratos pedes
 nostri patris dansque ei in Domino salutem. Dicit presbyter: ‘Vnde mihi
 hoc ut ueniat sanctus Domini mei ad me?’ Et dicit ei pater noster: ‘Bene
 te inueni discipule Christi, uade faciamus sanctum mysterium Dei.’ Erat
 enim et ipse presbyter ieiunans per singulos dies extra sabbatum et
 35 dominicam nec tangebatur quicquam, nisi panem et aquam. Et abeuntibus
 nobis ad ecclesiam praecepit presbytero ministrare. Qui ait ad eum: ‘Sicut
 didicisti sancte Dei minor a maiore benedicitur.’ Dicit sanctus noster
 pater: ‘Domine Anastasi cum omnibus uirtutibus tuis habe et
 obaudientiam.’ Et satisfactus stetit ad sanctum ministerium, et tempore
 40 exaltationis uiuifici corporis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, uidit sanctus Dei
 et quidam de dignis Spiritum Sanctum descendantem in uisione ignis et
 circumdantem presbyterum ac sanctum altare. Communicantibus autem
 nobis, et gratias agentibus Domino, abiimus in domum presbyteri
 accipientesque escam. Dixit ei sanctus Dei: ‘Enarra^c mihi unde tibi

^b quod N; ^c enarrare N;

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45 thesaurus iste et quae^d est uita tua.’ Dicit presbyter: ‘Ego sancte Dei sum peccator, subditus publicis tributis habens bouum iuga duo. Vnum quidem ego mino, alterum uero mercenarius meus, et unum est ad ministracionem^e peregrinorum, alterum uero ad ministracionem^e uectigalium. Et est coancilla mea ista mulier mea ministrans pauperibus et mihi.’ Dicit ei sanctus: ‘Voca eam sororem tuam, sicut et est. Et dic mihi uirtutes tuas.’
50 Dicit ei presbyter: ‘Non possideo quicquam boni super terram, et alienus sum ab omni uirtute.’ Tunc dicit ei communis noster pater: ‘Surge et abeamus simul.’ Et duxit eum ad unam de cellulis domus eius, dicitque ei: ‘Aperi mihi ostium.’ Et dicit ei presbyter: ‘Non sancte Dei, non iubeas introire, quia necessaria sunt domus.’ Dicit ei sanctus: ‘Et ego in ista necessaria ueni.’ Nolente ergo presbytero aperire clauē ostium, sermone aperuit eum memorabilis pater noster, et introiens inuenit ibi uirum leprosum, defluxum pluribus corporis membris, et nemo eum sciebat ibi esse nisi presbyter et eius soror. Dicit sanctus pater noster presbytero: ‘Cur uoluisti occultare thesaurum tuum istum?’ Dicit ei presbyter:
60 ‘Furiosus est domine, et iniuriosus, ideoque timui ne forte labatur^f in sermonem.’ Dicit sanctus: ‘Bene certasti in illum, sed sine me nocte ista ministrare ei, ut et ego per te mercedem suscipiam.’ Et sinentes sanctum cum leproso in cellula, neque uocem habentem^g ad loquendum temptatione passionis, claudentesque ostium abiimus. Medicus autem cicatricum faciens super eum orationem per totam noctem postulans Deum, qui omnem infirmitatem et omnem languorem sanat, sanauit eum. Dicit ergo nobiscum degens presbyter: ‘Gloria tibi Deus qui fecisti uoluntatem timentium te deprecationem eorum exaudiens, ecce enim medicus infirmum fecit sanum.’ Et continuo sanctus Dei clamauit ad ostium et educens leprosum sanum non habente maculam in corpore, loquentem
65 expresse, et glorificantem Deum. Hoc autem facto miraculo reuersi sumus in ciuitatem nostram cum gaudio glorificantes Deum et benedicentes Dominum.^h

13. DE BEATO PATRE NOSTRO EFFREM. Fratres, enarracionem uolo facere de Basilio memorabili^a et Effrem Syro quae sunt apud Deum de patre nostro uisore, quae etiam de sancto et non mentiente eius ore audiui. Est autem sic. Effrem memorabilis cum esset in heremo quodam splendore
5 Sancti Spiritus inlustrante, uidens quendam de amatoribus suis et interrogatione discens mirabilia opera beati patris nostri Basilii, sine intermissione postulabat reuelari sibi qualis esset magnus Basilius. In extasi ergo factus, uidit columnam ignis cuius caput pertingebat caelum et uocem de super dicentem audiuit: ‘Effrem, Effrem, quemadmodum

^d qui N; ^{e-e} om. N (*haplography*); ^f libatur N; ^g habente N; ^h om. N
[c. 13] NS] ^a memoriali N;

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10 uidisti columnnam ignis talis est magnus Basilius.’ Et continuo accipiens
 interpretem eo, quod nesciebat loqui graecam linguam, uenit ad magnam
 ecclesiam magni nominis Caesariae perueniensque in ipsa sancta
 festiuitate sanctae Theophaniae et intrans clam^b uidit procedentem in
 15 ecclesia magna Basilium et dicit sequenti se: ‘Inuanum laborauimus ut
 suspicor frater, iste enim in tali ordine cum sit, non est quemadmodum
 uidi.’ Vidit enim eum indutum stola candida, et qui circa eum erat, sacrum
 clerum candidiferum, et procedente eo, stans in loco ecclesiae desperabat
 pro huiusmodi materia, dicens secum: ‘Nos qui portauimus pondus diei
 20 et aestus nihil consecuti sumus, et hic, in tali cum sit stipatione^c et honore
 humano, columna ignis est? Miror.’ Ista igitur eo sic perloquente, mittit
 sanctus archidiaconem suum dicens: ‘Vade circa portam occidentalem et
 in angulo ecclesiae inuenies abbatem habentem cucullam, cum altero
 quodam cum parua barba pusillum.’ Et cetera de uultu eius indicauit ei.
 25 ‘Et dices ei: “Iube^d intra in presbyterium, uocat te pater tuus
 archiepiscopus.”’ Et discens beatus Effrem per interpretem quae
 dicebantur, respondit dicens: ‘Errasti frater, nos peregrini sumus.’ Et
 abiens archidiaconus retulit beato ista. Magno autem Basilio sacros libros
 legente uidit sanctus ^eEffrem linguam igneam loquentem per os eius. Et
 30 dicit sanctus archidiacono: ^e‘Vade et dic ei: “Domne Effrem, iube intra in
 sanctum presbyterium.”’ Obstupuit ergo in istis sanctus glorificans Deum
 et genuflectens respondit dicens: ‘Vere magnus Basilius, uere columna
 ignis Basilius, uere Spiritus Sanctus loquitur per os eius.’ Postulauit
 autem archidiaconem excusare se,^f et ut magis post ministerium in
 35 secretario salutaret eum. Intrans itaque post completionem ministerii,
 Basilius magnus in secretarium uocauit sanctum Effrem et in Domino
 salutationem reddidit, ei dicens: ‘Bene uenisti, o pater filiorum heremi,
 bene uenisti qui multiplicasti discipulos Christi in ipsa et daemones
 40 eminasti in Christo. In quibus labor tuus pater? Venisti uidere hominem
 peccatorem, det tibi Deus mercedem secundum laborem tuum.’ Et
 respondens ei honorificentissimus Effrem et praedicens ei omnia quae in
 corde eius erant colenda, simul cum coessente suo abbate communicauit
 de sanctis manibus eius. Et faciente eo caritatem, dixit sanctus Effrem:
 ‘Pater honorificentissime, unam^g postulo gratiam apud te, annue eam dari
 45 mihi.’ Qui ait ad eum: ‘Iube, dic quae uidentur tibi, multa enim tibi debeo,
 maxime pro labore tuo ad meam praesentiam.’^h Dicit ei
 honorificentissimus Effrem: ‘Scio pater sancte, quia quantacumque
 postulaueris a Deo tribuet tibi et uolo ut depreceris Deum quatenus loquar
 graece.’ Qui ait: ‘Super uirtutem meam postulasti sed quia fideliter petisti,
 ueni pater honorificentissime et heremi magister, postulemus Dominum.

^b *om.* N; ^c in stipatione N; ^d iuue N; ^{e-e} archidiaco *om.* N; ^f *om.* N; ^g *corr. from* uno MSS;

^h *sentiam* N;

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50 Potensⁱ est enim facere uoluntatem tuam, scriptum est enim: Voluntatem
timentium se faciet et deprecationem eorum exaudiet et saluos faciet eos.^j
Et faciens^j orationem in multam horam,^k resurgentibus eis, dixit magnus
Basilius: ‘Cur, domine Effrem, non accipis ordinationem presbiterii quia
deceat te?’ Dicit ei per interpretem sanctus Effrem: ‘Quia peccator sum.’
55 Respondit ei sanctus: ‘Vtinam peccata tua ego habuissem.’ Et dicit ei:
‘Flectamus genua.’ Et iacentibus eis in humo posuit manum in sanctum
Effrem magnus sacerdos, et dixit quae sunt diaconi. Et dixit ei: ‘Iube,
surgere nos fac.’ Aperta ergo lingua eius dicit sanctus Effrem graeca
lingua: ‘Suscipe, salua, miserere, et custodi nos Deus gratia tua. Tunc
60 impletum est quod scriptum est: tunc saliet sicut ceruus claudus et aperta
erit lingua mutorum.’ Et loquente eo graece in ipsa hora, glorificauerunt
Deum omnipotentem et exaudientem postulationem deprecantium et
timentium se. Et spiritualiter laetantes per tres dies, atque ordinans sanctus
sacerdos interpretem diaconem ipsum uerum presbyterum, dimisit eos in
65 pace glorificantes Deum in omnibus quae audierunt et uiderunt, sicut
locutum fuit ad eos.

14. DE VALENTE DEO ODIBILI. Post a nobis profectionem Valentis
Deo odibilis^a auus apostatae Iuliani cum adiret gloriosam
Constantinopolin et transitum facere per Niceam ciuitatem accesserunt ad
eum ^barrianae haeresis exarchi,^b postulantes persequi fidelissimum Dei
5 populum de sancta eius catholica et apostolica ecclesia tyrannice et dari
illis. Tyrannus itaque et indignus purpura, abominandae eorum cum
fuisset haeresis patronus, ad istud annuit eis et manu militari eiciens
fidelem populum dedit ecclesiam arrianis. In defectione ergo cum fuissent
omnes pii deprecabantur Deum nocte et die, non fieri ecclesiam eius
10 conlatorium haereticorum. Quapropter apprehendit ipsam Nicensium
ciuitatem communis suffragator ecclesiarum Basilium, et abiit ad eum
omnis multitudo orthodoxorum, clamans et adnuntians fictam in eos
iniquitatem imperatoris. Qui ait ad eos: ‘Nolite flere, filii karissimi, non
enim dimittet Dominus hoc in fidem fieri sed longanimes estote, et
15 expectate misericordiam eius.’ Intrante igitur eo Constantinopolin, ut uidit
Valentem, dixit ad eum: ‘Imperator, scriptum est honor regis iudicium
diligit et Sapientia dicit, iudicium regis iustitia. Et cur tuum dignatum est
imperium eicere orthodoxos de ecclesia eorum et constituere in eos
maligloriosos?’ Dicit ei Valens: ‘Iterum ad contumelias reuerteris Basillii?
20 Non deceat te.’ Dicit ei sanctus: ‘Decet me pro iusto et pro bono etiam
mori.’ Et cum conloquerentur ecce Demostenes epularum imperatoris
familiaris praefectus patrocinebatur haereticos, et loquens blasphemias,

ⁱ potest N; ^j facientes N; ^k horum N
[c. 14] NS] ^a idibilis N; ^{b-b} arriane eresiarchi MSS;

APPENDIX I

fecit barbarismum. De quo ait sanctus: ‘Vidimus et Demosetenen sine
 litteris.’ Cui adhuc insistenti: ‘Tuum est, inquit, de pulmentariis cogitare,
 25 non dogmata diuina decoquere.’ Qui mox confusus obticuit. Dicit autem
 sancto imperator: ‘Vade iudica inter eos, sed non secundum inmoderatum
 amorem populi tui, quia non decet.’ Et dicit imperatori^c sanctus: ‘Si
 reprehenderis iudicium meum iuste, et me in exilio et orthodoxos eice, et
 da ecclesiam uincentibus.’ Abiens ergo in Niceam cum litteris Valentis,
 30 praecepit arrianis et dixit eis: ‘Ecce, imperator praecepit mihi dicens ut
 iudicem inter uos et orthodoxos gratia ecclesiae quam rapuistis.’ Dicunt
 ei: ‘Iudica, sed secundum iudicium imperatoris.’ Dicit ergo sanctus:
 ‘Venite uos et orthodoxi et claudentes ecclesiam utrique signate eam, et
 35 primum uos orate tribus diebus et tribus noctibus et post haec ite ad
 ecclesiam, et si per orationem uestram aperitur^d uobis ecclesia, habete
 eam in saecula. Sin autem uigiliam agemus unius noctis et psallentes cum
 letania ibimus ad ecclesiam et si aperta nobis fuerit habeamus eam in
 aeternum. Si uero non fuerit nobis aperta sic, iterum uestra sit, et
 apprehendite eam.’ Placuit igitur sermo eius in conspectu arrianorum.
 40 Orthodoxi autem contradixerunt ei dicentes non iudicare^e iuste sed timore
 imperatoris. Et facta est clausura multa ex utrisque partibus postulantibus
 custodire cum omni cautela sanctam ecclesiam, et ita secundum iudicium
 sanctissimi patris, orantibus arrianis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus et
 uenientibus eis ad sanctam Dei ecclesiam et facientibus ibi a mane usque
 45 ad horam sextam clamantibus quoque, ‘Kyrie eleison,’ non aperta fuit eis
 ecclesia. Lassatis autem eis, abierunt inacti. Et dicit eis sanctus Dei
 Basilius: ‘Secundum praeceptum uobis fecistis, et sicut didici non aperta
 est uobis ecclesia. Faciemus modo et nos unam noctem et cum letania
 ibimus et si non aperitur ecclesia nobis apprehendite eam secundum
 50 iudicium meum.’ Et accipiens sanctus pater ac praestans ecclesiae
 orthodoxorum populum cum mulieribus et pueris exiit foras ciuitatem in
 templum sancti martyris Diomedis. Et cum faceret uigiliam et matutinales
 orationes, admouit populum cantans, ‘Sanctus Deus sanctus fortis,
 sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis.’ Et intrat in uestibulum ecclesiae quo
 55 et arriani intrauerant et dicit populo: ‘Eleuate manus uestras in
 altitudinem caeli ad Dominum, et clamate excelse, “Kyrie eleison.”’ Et sic
 faciens omnis multitudo, sanctus pater, signans populum, iussit silentium
 facere. Et signat ter hostia ecclesiae et dicit: ‘Benedictus Deus
 christianorum in saecula saeculorum amen.’ Et populo simul dicente:
 60 ‘Amen.’ Per orationem contriti sunt uectes et ceciderunt clauis cum
 pessulis et apertae sunt portae cum uento uehementi, et cum impetu
 appulerunt portae parietibus. Praecinens^f ergo memorabilis et Dei uisor
 pater ait: ‘Tollite portas principes uestras et eleuamini portae aeternales

^c imperator N; ^d operitur N; ^e iudicarent MSS; ^f praecinentes N;

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65 et introibit^g rex gloriae.' Et intrauit in sanctam Dei ecclesiam cum omni
orthodoxo populo, et perficiens diuinum ministerium dimisit populum cum
laetitia et pace glorificantem Deum, qui non despicit confidentes in se.
Innumerabilis autem multitudo arrianorum certifacti in perpetrato
70 miraculo abrenuntiauerunt malae gloriae et translati sunt ad nostram
christianorum orthodoxam fidem. Imperatore autem audiente quod factum
fuit, spreuit quidem arrianorum malae gloriae, uoluntatem nihil potest
reprehendere iudicii Dei et deiferi patris nostri Basili. Per multos^h autem
mente mutatus, et obscuratis oculis cordis nec sic uenit conuertens ad
Dominum, sed mansit inflexibilis et durus reddens in bello cum magna
75 inuictoria. Spiritum in paleario igni concrematus apud Traciae partes et
sic traditus est aeterno igni in saecula cruciandus.ⁱ

15. DE MULIERE CVIUS PECCATA PER ORATIONEM DELEVIT.

Mulier quaedam diuitiis et nobilitate ornata, et ceteris uite istius uanis
ministrationibus omnibus superleuata, quasi uiduitatem complectens
indecorose usa est potestate castrimargiae et prodigetati inseruiens, nihil
5 placiti Deo possidens sed porcorum more se coeno uoluptatis inuoluens.
Sero quandoque secundum dispensationem Dei ad mentem rediens
immensurabilitatem suorum delictorum inluminata, silenter sola cogitabat
et multitudine peccatorum suorum flebiliter suspirans, dicebat: 'Eu mihi
peccatrici et prodigae, quomodo me excusabo de actis meis delictis,
10 templum spiritus corrumpi et animam in corpore habitantem pollui. Eu
mihi abiectissimae putas, dicam me sicut meretricem an peiorem aut
publicanum. Sed nemo sicut ego peccaui maxime post sanctum
baptismum. Quomodo ergo certa ero quia paenitentem suscipiet me
Deus?' Et haec cogitante ea, qui omnis uult saluari et ad agnitionem
15 ueritatis uenire in mentem ei misit de iuuentute usque in senectutem sua
peccata scribere in carta. Quae per scripta nouissime omnium scripsit
quod ei erat maximum peccatum et plumbo sigillauit eam. Considerans
autem tempus oportunum quando sanctus Basilius ad consuetas orationes
ibat in sanctam ecclesiam cucurrit clam, et proiecit cartam secus pedes
20 eius et super faciem iactans se ipsam clamabat dicens: 'Miserere mihi,
sancte Dei super omnes peccatrici.' Stans autem, beatus Christi famulus
sciscitabatur ab ea causam doloris. Quae ait: 'Ecce domine, omnia
peccata mea scripsi in ista carta et iniquitates meas et sigillauit eam. Tu
autem, sancte Dei, sigillum ne amoueas sed tantum per orationem tuam
25 ea dele, qui enim dedit mihi talem cogitationem omnino exaudiet te pro me
postulantem.' Magnus autem Basilius tollens cartam, et respiciens in
celum ait: 'Domine tibi soli est opus istud, qui enim mundi peccatum tollis

^g introibi N; ^h praemultos N; ⁱ crematurus N
[c. 15] *no app. crit.*

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et unius animae istius facilius delere potes peccatum. Omnia enim nostra
 delicta numerata sunt apud te, misericordia autem tua innumerabilis et
 30 inuestigabilis est.’ Et haec dicens intrat sanctam ecclesiam, tenens cartam
 et prosternens se ipsum et ponens cartam secus altare mansit per omnem
 uigiliam orans, et crastino per omnem sanctum ministerium deprecans
 Deum. Et post completionem sanctorum mysteriorum uocauit mulierem,
 secreta adstantibus paucis clericis et ostendens ei cartam dixit ad eam:
 35 ‘Audisti mulier quia nemo potest dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus?’ Quae
 dixit: ‘Audiui senior, et per hoc admoui te ad intercessionem
 misericordissimi Dei.’ Et haec dicens, soluit cartam et inuenta est tota
 inscripta. Mansit autem magni peccati scelestum opus non deletum.
 Videns autem mulier pusillanimis effecta est et percutiens manibus pectus
 40 ad pedes eius clamans. ‘Miserere mei serui Dei altissimi et quemadmodum
 per omnibus meis iniquitatibus certasti et exauditus es sic, et pro isto
 postula ut omnino delebitur.’ Archiepiscopus autem lacrimatus est propter
 indulgentiam dicens: ‘Surge mulier quia et ego peccator sum indigens
 45 indulgentia, qui deleuit tua peccata quando uoluit potens est tollere et
 istud a te qui tollit peccata mundi si custodieris a modo non peccare, et
 uias Domini ambulaueris, non tantum indulgebit tibi sed et gloria digneris.
 Vade ergo ad heremum et inuenies uirum sanctum nominatum in omnibus
 nomine Effrem, isti da cartam et postulans placabit Deum pro te.’ Mulier
 autem concite a sancto ad heremum cucurrit, et transiens longitudinem
 50 uiae ad praedictum sibi locum magni heremetae peruenit et pulsans ostium
 clamabat dicens: ‘Miserere mei, sancte Dei.’ Qui praesciens causam
 propter quam astiterat dixit ei: ‘Vade a me mulier quia homo sum
 peccator indigens et ipse auxilii.’ Illa autem proiecit cartam dicens:
 55 ‘Archiepiscopus Basilius misit me ad te ut orans a Deum deleas meam
 iniquitatem, quae in ista carta conscripta iacet. Ceteras enim ipse sanctus
 deleuit orans, tu autem pro uno noli pigritari deprecari Deum, ad te enim
 missa sum.’ Sanctus autem dixit: ‘Non filia, non, qui enim pro multis
 praeualuit placare Deum et pro uno poterit plus me. Vade ergo et noli
 60 stare ut comprehendas eum ante transitum.’ Mulier autem concite a sancto
 reuersa est Caesaream et intrante in ciuitatem obuiauit corpus portantibus
 sancti Basili. Et uidens coepit clamare, uoluens se in humo et causabatur
 cum sancto dicens: ‘Heu mihi miserae, heu mihi, sancte Dei propter hoc
 me misisti ad heremum ut immolestatus a me transires. Et ecce inacta
 reuersa sum inuanum pertransiens pelagus uiae. Videat Deus et iudicet
 65 inter me et te, quia potens Deum placare pro me ad alterum me misisti.’
 Et haec clamans proiecit cartam super feretrum, subtiliter enarrans de
 causa omni populo. Vnus autem de clero uolens uidere quale peccatum
 esset tulit cartam et absoluens inuenit eam super totum inscriptam, et
 clamauit uoce magna dicens ad mulierem: ‘Inscripta est cartam, o mulier
 70 quid laborans nesciens in te factam clementiam?’ Multitudo ergo populi

uidens admirabile miraculum, glorificauit Deum qui dedit potestatem super terram dimittere peccata. Dans etiam gratiam seruis sui et post mortem sanare omnem infirmitatem et omnem languorem, sed et peccata fide accedentium dimittere.

16. DE IOSEPH HEBRAEO. Hic Ioseph egregius in arte medicinalis disciplinae ualde probatus simul et inlustris cum fuisset in ipsa peritia summam scientiam habebat in tactu eius uenae praescire caute ante tres, uel quinque dies, si quis deberet de his transire tumultibus ad meliorem
 5 stabilitatem. Inuidiosum autem a multitudinem medicorum, deifer pater noster Basilius ex diuino splendore praesciens quod deberet dari ei diuini baptismi donum ualde amabat eum et assidue ad colloquium uocabat illum, docens eum regiam uiam salutis et ueritatis ambulare. Postulabatque illum ut discederet e polluta religione et per baptismum
 10 indueret Christum. Qui non adquiescebat, dicens: 'Quia in fide in qua natus sum in ipsa et finiam.' Sanctus autem Dei dixit ei: 'Crede Ioseph ne tu nec ego de istis transibimus tumultibus donec renouet te Dominus meus per aquam et spiritum, sine istis enim impossibile est introire in regnum caelorum. Numquid et patres tui non baptizati fuerunt in nube et in mari,
 15 et biberunt ex spiritali sequenti eos petra? Petra autem erat Christus, qui in nouissimis diebus ex uirgine incarnatus pro nostra salute humanatus et mirabilia agens passus ac pro patribus tuis crucifixus, et sepultus et tertia die resurgens in caelum ascendit et sedet ad dexteram patris, et ueniet in gloria multa cum angelis suis iudicare uiuos et mortuos, et reddere
 20 unicuique secundum opera sua. Impossibile est ergo, sicut dictum est, omnem hominem in regnum Dei introire nisi per aquam et spiritum, et participationem uiuificorum et incontaminatorum mysteriorum corporis et sanguinis Christi.' Et talibus hortationibus probatus operarius Dei conloquebatur cum eo ipse autem non audiebat eum. Quando prosperauit
 25 Deus qui segregauit eum ex utero matris suae, suscipere eum Sancti Spiritus gratia debens sanctus Dei de his transferri tumultibus, duxit eum ad se occasione medicinalis disciplinae. Et dicit ei: 'Quomodo uides quae erga me sunt?' Ille autem ad tactum uenae sentiens uirtute eius mortem imminere, dixit ad domesticos eius: 'Quae ad sepulturam sunt indumenta
 30 praeparate ei, iste autem, inquit, bene moritur.' Dicit ei magnus Basilius: 'Nescis quid dicis.' Dicit ad eum Ioseph hebraeus: 'Crede, domine, sol cum sole occidet hodie.' Et dicit ei sanctus: 'Et si non moritur usque ad matinum, quid?' Dixit hebraeus: 'Non est possibile fieri hoc domine, uix enim una hora erit anima tua in te. Sed dispone iam ecclesiam tuam et res
 35 tuas, non enim obscurabitur dies hodie in te.' Dicit ei sanctus: 'Et si uenero in crastinum usque ad horam sextam, quid facies?' Qui ait: 'Ego

[c. 16] *no app. crit.*

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moriar.’ Dicit ei sanctus: ‘Etiam ut moriaris peccato, uiuas autem Christo
 tuo.’ Dicit ei hebraeus: ‘Scio quid dicis et facio iussionem tuam, si sicut
 dicis fit.’ Cum iuramentis horribilibus promittens, quia si uixerit Dei
 40 discipulus omnino accipere se Sancti Spiritus gratiam. Dei cultor ergo
 pater noster postulauit Deum additionem uitae dari sibi, ut illum saluaret.
 Misit ergo sanctus mane et uocat hebraeum qui diffidens aduenit putans
 eum omnino mortuum. Et uidens illum uiuentem in stupore factus, et
 proiciens se ad pedes eius dixit. ‘In uero corde dico non est Deus magnus
 45 sicut christianorum et non est Deus amplius eo. Nego ergo Christo odibile
 religionem iudaeorum, et accedo fideliter ueritati. Iube ergo sine dilatione
 dari mihi in Christo signaculum et sanctum baptismum et totae domui
 meae.’ Dicit ei sanctus Christi: ‘Ego manibus meis baptizabo te, et
 omnem domum tuam.’ Procedens ergo iterum medicus, et tangens
 50 dexteram manum eius dixit ei: ‘Lassae factae sunt uirtutes tuae, domine,
 et natura defecit.’ Dicit ei sanctus: ‘Habemus naturae creatorem
 confortantem nos.’ Et surgens uenit in sanctam Dei ecclesiam, et coram
 omni populo baptizauit eum cum tota domu eius uocans nomen eius
 Iohannem. Communicans autem cum uiuificis mysteriis assumpsit eum et
 55 duxit in dormitorium suum dans ei escam et docebat eum quae sunt
 aeternae uitae adiciens ouili suo cum mulieribus et filiis nouiter electum
 militem. Medicus autem sequentibus diebus pertransibat beneactionales
 domus et dabat donatam sibi de medicina pecuniam, et quod erat ei
 residuum. Et circa horam nonam stetit magnus pater noster Basilius ad
 60 ministerium missae in sancta ecclesia simul cum electis clericis et ciuitatis
 capitaneis, et iterum percipiens cum ipsis panem dimisit eos, instruens et
 osculans eos in oscula sancta, et nouum Christi militem commendans
 etiam et omnes Domino atque depositam sibi consepelire sumpsit tertiam
 partem, quae ad mandata fuit ei communionis et recumbens in lecto
 65 gratias egit extense Domino et Deo nostro in peregrinatione a corpore et
 fide medici. Et adhuc gratiae cum essent more eius reddidit Domino
 spiritum et addictus est principibus sacerdotum principes, sacerdotum
 praedicatoribus, quoque magnis magnum uerbitonitruum. Videns autem
 ex hebraeis fidelis medicus quia sicut dixit Dei homo et magnus princeps
 70 sacerdotum Basilius sic et requieuit, cadens super pectus eius cum
 lacrimis dicebat: ‘Vere serue Dei Basilii, si non uoluisses nec modo
 mortuus fuisses.’ Crastino autem congregata est multitudo et duxit
 honorificum corpus eius qui uicit materialem in stationem in sanctam
 ecclesiam cum omni oblatione aromatum et timiamatum sepelientium.
 75 Audiens autem et Gregorius Nazianzi episcopus currens et ipse aduenit
 et uidens honorificum corpus procidit super illud et lamentans multum
 adorationem hortabatur populum in hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cum
 decenti honore gloriosam memoriam magni sacerdotis facere. Simulque
 concurrentibus duodecim episcopis et multitudine ciuitatis deposuerunt

VITA BASILII

- 80 eum in archaismum marmoreum in templo sancti et gloriosi martyris
Isichii ubi et Leontius ante eum episcopus cum ceteris dormit. Requente
autem uitam angelicam in terra agens magnus Basilius mense ianuario die
prima quinto anno imperii Valentis et Valentiniani memoriae suae uitae
85 dereliquens ecclesiae quae est secundum operationem Sancti Spiritus
conscripta cum eo in caelesti libro in gloriam et laudem Domini nostri
Iesu Christi, cui cum Patre est gloria simul et Sancto ac uiuifico Spiritu
nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum, amen. EXPLICIT VITA
SANCTI BASILII EPISCOPI.

Appendix II

SPELLING VARIANTS

This Appendix provides a list of spellings from LB (cited by line numbers) which do not occur elsewhere outside the manuscripts in which LB survives. All three manuscripts contain some unique spellings.

I have included in addition those variant spellings which occur only one other time in the Old English Electronic Corpus (whole word search) indicating the Cameron number in brackets (Frank and Cameron, *A Plan*).

J

8, 12, 22, 41, 45, 131, 209 uðwyt- / uþwyt-	(B9.5.5) 161 sæp (3rd sing. pret.)	364 scyncræfte 377 myldheort, myldelice
11 bremost	163 ætæwode	391 gefræfrian
21 worhta (3rd sing. pret., B1.3.3)	171, 182, 451, 454, 549, 654 gewryt (B8.5.1)	394 gefærredena 401 æhtam 420 tæhta
21 wyrdwryteres (nom. pl.)	177 gemyltsian (B1.3.5)	430 gehyra (1st sing. pres.)
32 bliðlice (B3.5.13)	189 casera (nom. sing.)	442 hetolice 462 geblyssod
63 gewylnodon	209 uðwytegunge (B1.3.3)	471 wytodlyce 476 onlocoden
67 gewylnode (B1.3.23)	211 hlafes (acc. pl.)	488 sprecande
70 ræf (B17.9)	226 gebygdum (B3.3.9)	505, 548 basiliuus 510 tyðige (B13.1.1.2)
75 basileus	235 tæmpl	512 tyða
78 gehalgudum	248 tællice (B10.4.1)	521 æffrem
99 bylewitta	262 ætewod	544 myldheortlice (B1.3.8)
101 awrygennysse	269 wycode	547 myldheortnys
107 lyflican	280 dædlicam	547 unasmægendlic
121 onbyrgede (C9.1)	298 smæda	577 axude (B1.3.3)
124 onsundor (C8.2.4)	340 ærnemærien	610 aterod
146 hefegra	349, 617 messode	

SPELLING VARIANTS

634 adylogode
641 ymlan

O

21 wyrdwreteras
22 fiftine (B21.6)
26 cnyhte
 (B8.5.4.1)
29 minegunge
 (B1.2.11)
32 besilius
61 lycgende
64 flowwendan
70 genealahte
83, 115 afilled
 (B8.1.4.1)
99 bylewyta
103 wysunge
105 getrimde
 (B10.4.1)
107 lyflican
118 liflycan
123 bebyrgene
128 deoweorþan
163 ætoweode
166 blyþlice
210 forgeaue
220 gebismriende
223 gewurce (3rd
 sing. pres.,
 B14.26)
334 geinseglodan
345 hludere
347 scittelsas
 (C7.5)
366 driman (C7.5)
381 agenræ
384 stiriað
384 galnisse
392 sarnisse

V

11 brymest (D16.1)
21 wyrdwryteras
88 geswutoled
185 milsian
191 basilæ

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