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TWO OLD ENGLISH APOCRYPHA:
THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW
AND
THE VISIO PAULI,
EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

BY

ROBERT MACDONALD DICKINS

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University February, 1971
This is to certify that I have acknowledged all the sources used in this thesis, and that the thesis is my own composition.

Signed: R. M. Doebis

Date: 19th Feb. 1971
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<td>PG</td>
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<td>PMLA</td>
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<td>PrmGmc</td>
<td>Primitive Germanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.P.C.K.</td>
<td>Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge</td>
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<td>WS</td>
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INTRODUCTION
DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS

The texts here edited are based on all the known MSS,\(^1\) which are listed as follows, together with the sigla used throughout to represent them.

The first part of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew exists in three MSS, of which Bodleian MS Hatton 114, ff. 201\(^r\) - 212\(^r\) (H; Assmann's\(^2\) J) forms the basis of the present text. Variant readings are supplied from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 367 Part II, ff. 11\(^r\) - 16\(^v\) (C), which, however, ends imperfectly, and from Bodleian MS 343 ff. 30\(^r\) - 33\(^v\) (B; Assmann's N). The second part of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, dealing with the Flight into Egypt, is based on the unique MS at Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, ff. 54\(^v\) - 56\(^r\), the Vercelli Book (V). The Visio Pauli is also based on the unique MS, Bodleian MS Junius 85, ff. 3\(^r\) - 11\(^v\).

The Hatton and Bodleian versions of the Pseudo-Matthew have been edited by Assmann in parallel columns.\(^3\) His

\(^1\) With the exception of the text from the Vercelli Book, microfilm of all MSS was used. The Vercelli text is based on the facsimile reproduction in M. Förster, Il Codice Vercellese con Omelie e Poesie...Riprodotto in Fototipia (Rome, 1913).


\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 117-37.
Bodleian text is merely a transcript of the MS, without corrections or expansion of MS abbreviations; there is a brief apparatus. The Corpus Christi text was not known to him.

The Vercelli text has been printed by Max Förster,¹ and was later reprinted by him with some alterations and with fuller notes.²

The Visio Pauli has not previously been edited; although an edition was planned by Rudolph Willard in 1935,³ the text is listed by Ker in 1957 as unpublished,⁴ and I have not been able to discover any subsequent edition.

MS HATTON 114⁵

The MS (no. 331, art. 72 in Ker) is bound together with Hatton 113; the two were originally a single volume, but were later separated. That the separation is 'at least as old as the early thirteenth century' (Ker, Catalogue, p.391) is shown by a table of contents added in the margins of

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5. For a further description of the MS and its contents, see Ker, Catalogue, pp. 391-99, on which I have based much of the present description.
Hatt. 114, ff. 9V, 10, which is dated from that period (ibid).

The MS contains a large number of homilies in OE, some with accompanying Latin; the main groups are a collection of homilies from Christmas to Pentecost, sixteen of which are from the two series of Ælfric's *Sermones catholici*, and fifteen homilies for saints' days from 1st May to 1st December. Our homily is among this series, but is the only one not taken from the *Sermones catholici*. Ker lists eighty-five articles in Hatton 113-114, and suggests that the original single MS was 'probably intended as a continuation of the volume of ecclesiastical institutes' in MS Junius 121 (Catalogue, p.391). The main hand covers MS 113 ff. 1-144 and MS 114 ff. 9-230, though 'there is perhaps a change of hand at the beginning of article 72' (Catalogue, p.399), i.e. the present text; there are also a number of nearly contemporary additions in different hands. An 'attractive and unusual hand' in MS 114 ff. 230-35V, 242-46V suggests a date after 1062,¹ as do a number of other hands of the late eleventh century (Ker, Catalogue, p.399), and Ker (p.391) suggests the third quarter of that century as the probable date of the MS.

The MS is certainly of Worcester provenance;¹ it is one of 'the famous Worcester group of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the Hatton collection,'² and is confirmed in this provenance by the presence of hands which may be attributed to Worcester scribes. Hatt. 113, fol. 78v, contains a note signed by Coleman,³ who also wrote and signed notes in other MSS of Worcester provenance: Camb., Corpus Christi College MS 178, p.229, Camb. University Library MS Kk. 3. 18, fol. 8v.⁴ 'Since these are all Worcester MSS, he is probably the monk Coleman who composed the life of St. Wulfstan and died in 1113' (Ker, Catalogue, p. lvi). Hatt. 114, fol. 246v, contains a script which may be that of the scribe Hemming: 'Hemming, monk of Worcester, is well known as the compiler at the end of s.xi of the later of two Worcester cartularies bound together... [in Brit. Mus. MS Cott. Tib. A. xiii]: that he was himself the scribe of parts of... [Hatt. 114, fol. 246v] is probable, but not certain.'⁵ Finally, Ker (p.398) notes that 'the script of the leaves covered by the original entries in the table of contents (MS 113, ff. 1-144, MS 114, ff. 9-230) is of a type which occurs also in ... other

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Worcester manuscripts.

There are numerous glosses and alterations throughout, some in the well known 'tremulous' hand, and there are nearly contemporary alterations in several hands. Running titles were added in the late eleventh century (see Ker, *Catalogue*, p.391).

The subsequent history of the MS can be traced in some detail. That its Worcester provenance was known in the sixteenth century is shown by the partially-erased inscription from that period on MS 113 f.ii 'Liber ecclesiae Wigorn,' (Ker, *Catalogue*, p.399), and it no doubt remained in the cathedral at Worcester until its removal by Lord Hatton in the seventeenth century. It was used and annotated by Joscelyn, and its contents are noticed in Young's catalogue of Worcester MSS as *Sermones saxonici*. The MS was referred to by Ussher as being from Worcester in 1638 (Ker, *Catalogue*, p.399), and had tables of contents added to it by Dugdale in 1644. Lord Hatton removed it, together with other MSS, before August, 1644, though 'it is clear that Lord Hatton had no right to retain them in his keeping;' and on his death they went to his son Sir Christopher Hatton, who in

1. See below, Appendix IV, pp.203ff.
4. Young, *op. cit.* p.14
5. Young, *op. cit.*, p.17
1675 gave them to the Bodleian.¹

**Script.** The present text is written in a clear, neat hand with very few alterations or erasures, so that it is clearly legible throughout. Three forms of s are used: insular s (long below the line) is by far the most common, and is used initially, medially and finally; high s (long above the line) is used occasionally, in all positions; round, caroline s appears rarely, and is only used initially, as a large capital. Insular r (long below the line) is used almost exclusively, in all positions; a large capital R is used occasionally; the small caroline r is used in the abbreviation scūrum (=sanctorum) 289 (but insular r in scūrum 282), while the common Latin abbreviation of a '2' - shaped r with a bar through it is used in scūr (=sanctorum) 295. Insular g is used throughout to represent the voiced plosive [g], the voiced fricative [ɣ] and the voiced palatal spirant [j]; the caroline form is not used. Two forms of z occur, both with a point above: in the first, the right-hand branch curves in to the left; in the second, it curves outwards. The latter is used rarely. The voiceless plosive [k] and the voiceless affricate [tʃ] are represented by z;

1. Ker, *Catalogue*, p.399. The previous press-mark of the MS as Junius 22 is due to the fact that, shortly after the Bodleian's acquisition of the MS, it was lent to Junius, and was returned to the Bodleian as part of his collection after his death in 1678.
k is not used. f represents the voiceless [f] and (usually) the voiced [v] spirants, though the latter is written u in Dauides 44 and cauertune 69. Gk. φ is represented in the name Ioseph, by ph in uninflected cases (280, 312, etc.; but cf. Iosep 353, 394) and by p in inflected cases (Iosepes 300, etc.; Iosepe 308); f is used once (Cafarnaum, 354). Two types of g are used: the first, in which the second element projects above the line, is used initially and medially; the second, with both elements of equal height, is used initially, and is slightly more common. q and p are used initially and medially, but q alone is used finally. sc represents [ʃ] throughout and cg [dʒ]. w is represented by wynn.

Punctuation. 1 The MS is punctuated, but not in a consistent manner. A high point is used to indicate a strong stop at the end of a sentence, e.g. after acenned 21, and also to indicate a weaker stop between clauses (= comma), e.g. after syllan 65. Medial and lower points are used similarly, though the lower point is less common and generally indicates a weak stop. The inverted semi-colon 2 is also used, and may be written on the line or slightly above it; it usually indicates a weak stop, e.g. after gleo 334, dyde 367, though it is sometimes used with even less force, e.g. after ar 14, se 15. It is less common than the point.

1. See A. Campbell, OE Grammar (Oxford, 1959), §.28
Capitals. The initial letter of a sentence is commonly a large capital, e.g. Nu 19, We 22, but occasionally a small letter is found, e.g. of 28. The initial letter of a main clause is generally a large capital, e.g. Min 63, Ne 83, but a small letter is sometimes found e.g. hwat 93, and a capital is (infrequently) used where not necessary, e.g. Er 197. The initial letter of proper names is usually not a capital (the only exceptions are Sephira, Susanna, Abuza, Sehel 327-28). Sancta Marian 3, 187, is written in small capitals, as is Maria 173, but elsewhere it is usually in minuscule.

Accents. The acute accent is used in the MS to mark vowel length, but is not common; only about forty-six words are marked with it. With five exceptions (wýriçean 224, gýrde 281, gýt 298, spréc 364, horofät 409) it indicates a long vowel in native words; it is also used in some foreign names: Acháres 42, Lúdan 276, 277, Dathán 316, María 343, 349.

Abbreviations. The common scribal abbreviations are used: Þ = Ænd, also as the first element of a word, e.g. andwyrd 248; Þ = Ænt; a macron over a letter indicates a following m, usually final (mannum 11), but sometimes medial (gedemdon 256); once Ponñ is used for Ponna (269). Of the Latin words, sçã = Sancta 3, sçã scorum = Sancta Sanctorum

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 367, PART II

The MS (Ker's no.63) is misbound, and consists of 'fragments of six quires of a collection of homilies muddled together' (Ker, Catalogue, p.108). Ker distinguishes ten articles, of which our text is art. six, forming part of a series of homilies for Saints' days between the period 15th August - 29th September. The present text begins at the top of fol. 11r, and ends imperfectly at the bottom of fol. 16v, with the words of Pœm slaepæ swyPe ge- (380-81). The MS is short (twenty-seven leaves); seven of its ten items are from the Sermones catholici of Ælfric, and one is from his Lives of the Saints.

MS CCCC 367 is made up of five MSS bound together for Archbishop Parker about 1575. Part II also contains Ælfric's translation of Bede's de Temporibus, and an OE Vision of Leofric (listed in Ker as separate MSS, nos. 62 and 64 respectively). The whole of Part II is among the oldest part of the complete MS, and is dated by Turner at 'about 1100 A.D.; and by Ker as twelfth century (Catalogue, pp. xviii, 108). Only the section containing the Vision of Leofric can be assigned to Worcester; the provenance of

2. Turner, op. cit., p.lviii
3. Ibid.
the remainder is uncertain. It was in Parker's possession in the sixteenth century, and was among the MSS bequeathed by him to Corpus Christi, Cambridge.

The text of the Pseudo-Matthew is written throughout in a neat, clear hand, less spacious, however, than H; there are no glosses or additions, and very few alterations.

**Script.** Insular $s$ is used initially and finally, but very rarely medially. High $s$ is the most common type, in all positions; the round, caroline $s$ is found medially and finally, but is only used initially as a large capital. Insular $r$ is generally used in all positions; caroline $r$ is not used. The '2' shaped $r$, intersected by a bar, is used for the Latin abbreviation of -orum (Sanctorum, 282, 289, 295). Insular $g$ is used exclusively for the sounds [g], [γ], and [j] as in H. The two forms of $z$ are used, both pointed: the first, with the right-hand branch turning left at the top, is more common, being used medially and finally; the second is used initially and sometimes medially. $c$ represents [k], though $k$ is common (kinne 8, gekyPeG 10); [tʃ] is represented only by $c$. $l$ represents [f] throughout, and usually [v], though $u$ is sometimes found (Dauides 9). Gk. φ is represented by $ph$ in the uninflected form Ioseph 280, 312, etc., and in Capharnaum 354; and by $p$ in inflected cases (Iosenes 300, 326). $P$ and $q$ are used indifferently, though $p$ is the more common of the two. $sc$ and $cg$ are used as in H; wynn is
used throughout.

Punctuation. A point on the line is the most common method of punctuation, and indicates a strong stop, e.g. after *lyfgenne* 35, *Israhelum* 38, a weaker stop (= colon or semi-colon), e.g. after *cwan* 74, to 102, or a weak stop, e.g. after *Pus* 36, *Anna* 41. The medial point is rare, but is used as a strong stop after *byfgenne* 68. The high point is not used. The semi-colon is rare, and is occasionally used for a weak stop; the inverted semi-colon is equally rare, but indicates a slightly stronger stop. A hyphen is regularly used in words divided onto two lines.

Capitals. Capitals are used as in H, with the exception that the words *Sancta Maria(n)* and *Maria(n)* are always written in small capitals, as is *Ruben* 51. The initial letter of proper names is frequently a capital.


Abbreviations. The same abbreviations are used as in H, with the following exceptions: *Pōn* = *Ponne*; *cō* = *cwač*; *scā scōr* = *Sancta Sanctorum*; *Sept* = *Septembris* (incipit).
The MS (205 leaves) contains a large number of OE homilies, forty-eight of which are from Ælfric's two series of *Sermones catholicici*, and several from his *Lives of the Saints*. The MS also contains a number of Latin hymns, sequences and short homilies. The present text is part of a group of five homilies for saints' days from August to November; the bulk of the MS is arranged in order of the church year; otherwise 'there is no obvious arrangement' (Ker, *Catalogue*, p.368). There are occasional glosses in the main hand,\(^2\) and numerous fifteenth-century glosses.

The main hand (ff. 1-170) is 'skilful, small but clear, fluent and well-spaced' (Ker, *Catalogue*, p.374); there are few alterations or erasures, and the MS is dated by Ker (*Catalogue*, p.368) to the second half of the twelfth century, and by Napier\(^3\) to the third quarter of that century. It is probably of West Midlands provenance (Ker, *Catalogue*, p.375) and was among the collection of Sir Robert Cotton in the early seventeenth century; it was given by him to the Bodleian, probably in 1601.\(^4\) Nothing is known of its earlier history; Ker (p.xliv) considers it one of 'the three dozen...

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2. For these glosses, see below, Appendix IV, p.203,n.1.

3. Napier, *ibid*.

principle Old English manuscripts, the medieval history of which is either quite unknown - to me at least - or very uncertain.

Script. Insular $g$ is not used. High $g$ is the most common type, used in all positions; it sometimes descends slightly below the line, especially before $t$ and when double ($ss$). Caroline $g$ is used only initially, as a large capital. The most common form of $r$, in all positions, is the caroline $r$; the '2-shaped' $r$ is used medially, but rarely; insular $r$ does not appear. Insular and caroline $g$ are carefully distinguished, the former representing [g] and the latter [j] and the fricative [ɣ]. $v$ is always pointed. $st$ is written as a ligature, both letters being high and joining at the top; elsewhere, the normal $t$ is used. $c$ and $k$ are both used to represent [k], the latter being less common. $c$ also represents [tʃ], but $ch$ is sometimes found; $f$ represents both [f] and [v], while $u$ is sometimes used for [v]. $ø$ is represented without exception by $mh$ in uninflected, and $p$ in inflected cases. $a$ and $p$ are used indiscriminately in initial and medial positions, but $ā$ is used almost exclusively finally (cwæp 83 is an exception). $ā$ is written for $d$ in geðyrstig (=gedyrstig) 13l, and $d$ is written for $ā$ in de 30l, cwæd 370. Note also Dapán 316 (cf. Dathán H). $sc$ and $cg$ are used as in H; wynn is used throughout.

Punctuation. The medial point is the most common means of punctuation, and indicates a weak stop, e.g. after cynne 43,
eorcæan 67; the low point usually indicates a strong stop, e.g. after wite 18, but may indicate a weak stop, e.g. after Marie 20. The upper point is not used. The inverted semi-colon is rare, but indicates a weak stop, e.g. after middaneardes 17, gehyrde 98.

**Capitals.** As in H and C, large capitals are frequently, but not invariably, used for the initial letter of a sentence, or a main clause (Min 63, Drihten 74). Proper names are written without capitals (except for Susanna, Abugea, Sehel 327-28).

**Accents.** The acute accent is used more frequently than in H or C. Its uses are the same as those in C, with the addition that it usually marks the prefix i- (=weakened ge-).

**Abbreviations.** 7 = and; P = Pat; Ponne; cw = cwæg; a macron may indicate a following m (temple 81), or n (weron [=waron] 225). Note also Driht 70 for Drihtne; heofen 285 for heofenum (see Textual Variants, ad loc.); brohtn 267 for brohton. Ioachī is commonly used for Ioachim. e is frequently represented by a small e-loop attached to the preceding letter. The Latin contractions are as in H and C.
The Vercelli Book consists of six (or five) verse pieces, and twenty-three prose homilies. All the items are of a religious nature, and in fact the MS reveals a marked interest in apocryphal matter, among the verse, for example, in Andreas, Soul and Body, Elene, and, among the prose, the fourth (on the day of judgment) and fifteenth (Gospel of Thomas) homilies. There is no unifying principle apparent in the order of the texts, so that the collection appears to have been put together on no other plan than the religious nature of the texts. There are possibly some internal groupings (e.g. the eighth and ninth homilies, for the first and second Sundays after Epiphany, are placed together); and there is a large number of penitential homilies: a frequent theme is the contrasting of the joys of heaven with the pains of hell. On the whole, as Förster remarks, the

1. See Ker, Catalogue, pp. 460-64; a facsimile edition of the MS has been published by Förster, Il Codice Vercellese introduction to which contains the fullest description of the MS; see also the facsimile edition (verse only) of R.P. Wulcker, Codex Vercellensis: Die angelsächsische Handschrift zu Vercelli in getreuer Nachbildung (Leipzig, 1894). A full description of the MS, together with an edition of some of the homilies (including the present text) will be found in Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 20-179.
5. Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 65.
outlook exhibited is that which might be expected from a tenth-century cleric.

The first known reference to the MS, suggested by Förster, may be in a catalogue of 1602 in the library at Vercelli, where there is mentioned 'liber Gothicus sive Longobardus, (eum legere non valeo). The first certain reference, however, occurs in a letter from Giuseppe Bianchini of Verona, in 1748; this letter contains a transcription of a passage from ff. 85v-86r of the MS. The MS remained little-known until Friedrich Blume examined it at Vercelli in 1822, describing it as containing 'Legenden oder Homilien in angelsächsischer Sprache.' The MS became widely known, and in 1832 the German historian Lappenberg wrote to C.P.Cooper (Secretary of the Record Commission), advising him of Blume's discovery; the result was that in 1833 C. Maier was sent to Vercelli to make a full transcription of the MS, which he completed in 1834. The editions of

1. Förster, Il Codece Vercellese, p.40
2. Ibid., p.41.
4. For the subsequent history of the MS, see especially Förster, Il Codece Vercellese, pp.43ff., and Gradon Elene, pp.7-9.
5. The transcription, which Förster refers to as 'La copia del Maier, che del resto dev' essere stata molto buona e suppone in lui notevole cognizione dell'anglosassone' (Il Codece Vercellese, p.44), is at present in Lincoln's Inn, together with a copy; see N.R.Ker, 'C.Maier's Transcription of the Vercelli Book,' Medium Ævum XIX (1950), 17. The transcription is particularly valuable for its recording of many readings which have since become illegible.
Thorpe, Kemble, Grein and Wülcker of the poetry of the MS were all ultimately based on Maier's transcription.

The question of how the MS originally came to Vercelli has been the subject of debate ever since its rediscovery. Wülcker's once widely held theory was that since Vercelli was on the route for English travellers to Rome, it may have found its way through some such pilgrim to 'ein Hospiz für angelsächsische Pilger,' and thence to the cathedral library. This view was partially supported by Turner, but is based on the purely hypothetical existence of such a hostel, and receives little support from modern scholars. Cook suggested that the MS was taken to Vercelli by Cardinal Guala, who was in England for three years (1216-18), and on his return to Italy founded the monastery of St. Andrew at Vercelli. Apart from the 'inherent improbability' of this theory, Sisam points out a fragment of Ps. 26:9 written on fol. 24v, with neums above, in 'a small Caroline minuscule,' and establishes that 'there is reasonable certainty that this entry was made in the eleventh century and in Northern Italy.'

1. Wülcker, Codex Vercellensis, p. vi
2. Turner, op. cit., p. lix
3. A. S. Cook, 'Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book,' University of California Library Bulletin no. 10 (Sacramento, 1888); see also Cook, 'Supplementary Note to "Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book,"' MLN IV (1889), 212.
5. Ibid., p. 115
If true, this means that Guala could not have removed the MS to Italy in the early thirteenth century, and would also disprove Förster's theory that it came to Italy in the sixteenth century as a curiosity. As an alternative view, Förster suggests that the MS may have come to Italy between 1000 and 1175. It should be noted also that Herben suggested it was brought to Vercelli by the Norman prelate Ulf, bishop of Dorchester 1049-52. In 1050 he was examined by a papal synod at Vercelli, as being unfit for his episcopal duties, but retained his see by means of bribery, for which purpose he took the Vercelli Book (inter alia) to Vercelli, where it subsequently remained. There is, however, no evidence at all to connect the MS with Ulf, and it may be questioned, as Sisam points out, whether such an MS would interest Ulf. Although finely written, it is scarcely a lavish work, and its value as bribery is doubtful; its usefulness in Italy must certainly have been non-existent.

There remains the possibility that the MS may have reached Vercelli via several European monasteries, but in

5. Suggested by Förster, Il Codece Vercellese, pp.34ff.
this case 'the course of its travels cannot now be followed.'

Perhaps the most satisfactory theory is that of Sisam, who suggests the MS may have been taken by an eminent English ecclesiastic as reading matter on the long journey to Rome; the psalm verse on fol. 24 will then have been added, probably at Vercelli, as the English party was still on its way, and the book finally left at Vercelli due to a chance happening either on the outward or the return journey.

The MS is dated by Ker (Catalogue, pp. 460, 464) to the second half of the tenth century, and by Turner to between 950 and 1025. Förster also suggests the second half of the tenth century, and, as evidence for the beginning of this period, he points out that the Latin words are written in insular script, and not in Frankish cursive, 'come divenne sempre pul d'uso verso la fine del secolo x.' Förster's association of the MS with Worcester, though half accepted by Turner, is not now generally accepted.

On the whole, the MS is clear and easily legible, though, owing to the thin parchment used, writing often shows through the pages. The present text (ff. 54⁵ - 56⁷) has no glosses and no significant marginalia; a number of small holes, especially on fol. 55, have been avoided by the scribe. There is considerable staining throughout the entire MS, which is partly due to the use of reagents.¹ The worst of these stains is on fol. 5⁴⁷, which shows through to the verso, making the first part of the present text difficult to read. Other bad stains occur at the bottom of fol. 5⁵⁰.

**Script.** 'The script is a square Anglo-Saxon minuscule... which varies somewhat in appearance, but is almost certainly in one hand throughout' (Ker, Catalogue, p.464). Insular (low) and round forms of ǝ are used initially, medially and finally, but high ǝ is used only initially and medially. Insular (low) ɭ is used exclusively, as is insular ɡ. A straight ɣ is used commonly, but a rounded ɣ appears sometimes, though it is not used finally; ɣ is rarely pointed. ɬ is not used; ɭ represents the voiced [v] and unvoiced [f] spirant throughout. Greek ɸ is represented by ɭ in Iosep(e) (81, 83, etc.). A high ǝ is frequently used, though the low ǝ is more common;² the second element of ǝ is sometimes high, though a low ǝ is usual initially. ǝ and ɭ are both

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¹. Förster, Il Codece Vercellese, p.8 n.2, and Ker Catalogue, p.460, attribute the use of some, at least, of these reagents to Maier in 1834.
². On the two types of ǝ, see Sisam, Studies in the History of OE Literature, p.111, n.1.
used, but only ǎ appears finally. A tall i is sometimes used, especially before n; wynn is used throughout.

Punctuation. The high point is not used. A medial point is rare, but appears after gefeonde 92, where its exact nature is unclear, owing to the fact that the previous part of the sentence is lost. The low point is common, and may indicate a strong stop, e.g. after Peowiað 21, or a weak stop, e.g. after eode 45. A semi-colon is used occasionally, to indicate a strong stop, e.g. after willan 76.

Capitals. The initial letter of a sentence is only occasionally a capital; small capitals are used for the f of forœan 17 and for on 72. Capitals are rarely used for proper names (but a small capital is used for Maria 86).

Accents. Accents are rare, the only examples being gefseah 49, mánum 67.

Abbreviations. The common MS abbreviations appear; also the Latin abbreviations dōi = domini 2, nōi = nostri 2, ihū xīi = Iesu Christi 2.

MS JUNIUS 85

This MS (Ker's no. 336) contains a collection of homilies and homiletic fragments. The original MS was at

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1. A number of readings in the present text were confirmed by Dr J.J. Alexander of the Bodleian Library, in a letter dated February, 1970; these are indicated throughout the Textual Notes to the Visio Pauli.
some stage broken up into two parts which were rebound separately as the present MSS Junius 85 and Junius 86; the latter begins at fol. 32r of the original single MS.¹ One homily in MS 85 is by Ælfric, but most of the others are anonymous and many are unique. The fragmentary condition of the MS is due to loss of leaves and misbinding: evidently it was rebound, and in the process a whole quire, ff. 3r - 11v, containing the present text of the Visio Pauli, was misplaced. The Visio is now bound in the middle of another homily, and separates the beginning of that homily (fol. 2v) from its conclusion (ff. 12r - 17r). Wanley regarded these two sections as separate pieces, but Willard has shown conclusively that they are one homily: 'It ought to be pointed out, in addition, that they are in the same hand, writing on the same soft, greyish white vellum, while... the Apocalypse of Paul is in a different hand, on a more yellowish, slightly stiffer, vellum.² The abrupt transition from fol. 2v to fol. 3r was apparent in OE times, as a later scribe has erased the last few lines of fol. 2v and has substituted a phrase connecting that text with the beginning of the Visio (fol. 3r). Due to lack of space, he has run this connecting phrase on to the bottom of fol. 3r (see

² R. Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body', PMLA L (1935), 959. Willard discusses this part of the MS in detail, and prints (961-63) part of the divided homily.
Textual Notes to 1.13). Again, in the bottom margin of fol. 11v (the end of the Visio), a connecting phrase has been inserted to effect a transition to fol. 12r (see Textual Notes to 1.211). The foliation is later than the misbinding, as it is consecutive. Jun. 85 belonged to Junius, and was acquired by the Bodleian with Junius' MSS in 1678. It is dated by Ker (Catalogue, p.409) to the middle of the eleventh century.

The condition of the MS renders much of the text difficult to read. Fol. 3r has suffered staining, probably from mildew, while in other folios the rebinding has damaged words near the margin. The text also suffers from numerous corrections and additions made in several hands throughout. The first of these hands appears to have gone through the whole text making minor corrections, e.g. correcting geunrosige to geunrotsige 125, and hin to hine 211; this hand seems to be identical with the main hand. Another, early, hand has added explanatory glosses and additions up to fol. 6r (see Textual Notes, passim). This hand is distinguished from the script of the text by its use of ç, e.g. the addition cwam svo yrPe (see Textual Notes to 1.25), which is rarely used by the main hand (see below, Script); and by its use of high s, which is not used by the main hand (see below, Script). This hand is very faded, and has been retouched in many places by a third hand from fol. 3r to fol. 5r (and possibly fol. 5v), which has also retouched many words in the text (see
Textual Notes, *passim*. This retouching often obscures words; sometimes the traces of the original letters can be made out beneath the retouching (see Textual Notes to ff. 11, 16, 17). The connective phrases added on ff. 3r and 11v are probably the work of yet another scribe. In the Textual Notes to the *Visio Pauli*, no attempt has been made to distinguish between the various hands other than the description 'another hand', since it is usually impossible to make any certain distinction.

Script. The script of the *Visio Pauli* is different from that of the adjacent folios. Insular ȝ (long below the line) is used exclusively; insular r (long below the line) is used almost exclusively, though the '2-shaped' r is used in a few cases; insular ȝ is always used. ȝ is pointed, and the rounded type is not used. k is not used; ɹ represents both [v] and [f]; wynn is always used; apart from the abbreviation ɹ (=frst), ɹ is rarely used, ȝ appearing throughout (*Pa* 47, 61 is the only exception).

Punctuation. Punctuation consists of the medial and the high point: the former, and more common, point generally indicates a strong stop, e.g. after *gecyrre* 28, but sometimes a weak stop, e.g. after *a gas* 16; the latter generally indicates a weak stop, e.g. after *willan* 31.

Capitals. Capitals are used occasionally, at the beginning of sentences and major clauses; in a few cases

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1 Willard, 'Address of the Soul to the Body', 958 attributes this hand to Junius.
they are redundant (MS Ac 8).

**Accents.** Long vowels and diphthongs are frequently marked with the acute accent; less often a short vowel is similarly marked (stéfen 12½).

**Abbreviations.** Apart from the common MS abbreviations the following are also found: ṹ = men þa leofestan; ṳnisce = mennisce; ǣfter = æfter; Paulu', Paul' = Paulus.
THE RELATIONSHIP OF MSS H, C AND B

A comparison of H, C and B shows that, where variations occur, H (the oldest MS) and C most frequently, and in the most important cases, agree against B. In numerous cases C and B agree against H, but rarely in important details; while H and B very rarely agree against C. In other words, the MSS fall into two groups, HC and B, with C occupying an intermediate position between the other two MSS, slightly closer to H.

The close connection of H and C is clear in a number of passages where they seem to preserve a better, less corrupt text than B, e.g. Nu wille we eow secgan 19 (HC) is in B Peonne magen we nu hwylen seogum wordum seacen, where the reading is not only radically different, but is obviously corrupt (seogum, for feogum?). The passage and he wear... Nazareth 24-26, which appears in HC, is omitted in B, and this passage seems unlikely to be an OE interpolation, but rather to come from the Latin prototype (see below, p.65 ). The same is true of the passage hyre cynn was on Pare byrig Bethlehem 41-42, omitted in B only. Again, by reading Pu sealdest 74-75 where B has ðu pe sealdest, HC give a much
smoother than, and obviously superior reading to, B:

HC: 'O Lord, you almighty God, you have given offspring to every creature, and they rejoice in that, and I now thank you that...' (74-76)

B: 'O Lord, you almighty God, you who have given offspring to every creature, and they rejoice in that, and I now thank you that...

At the end of ch. III, the sense shows that HC are to be followed in reading to frofre 95 rather than toeforen B, an obvious corruption. In several significant passages, the sense is destroyed in the reading preserved by B, and we must rely on the less corrupt texts of HC. In the phrase gif he forægewiten is, Ponne ne gegeawere ic him byrgene 67-68, the negative particle, preserved in HC, is omitted in B, and as the sense demands it, B is clearly inferior here. Again, B omits Hy ða gePeahtodon Pæt hi Israhela folc gelaðodon to ğam Godes temple 257-58, which is found in HC, and which is shown to be the correct reading by the fact that only by including it does the passage make sense, since it explains the following Da Pa by Pider gesamnod wæron 259, found in all three MSS. The inferiority of B as against HC is again clearly demonstrated in a later passage. HC (with minor differences) both read:

Ne forhycge ic na Godes willan, ac ic hy gehealde ðæ-Pæt ic ongyte Godes willan on hyre, and God Ponne gecyPeð hwilc iungra manna on minum cynne hyre wurðe bið. (318-21)
For this passage, B has:

Ne forhoge ic na Godes willam on hire,  
and God Ponne cyæp hwylc geongræ monnæ  
on minne cynne hire wurpe bið.

The scribe of B has copied as far as the first Godes willan,  
and has then continued on from the second Godes willan,  
thereby omitting a whole phrase, which must therefore have  
occurred in the original version, just as it occurs in HC.

There are many examples of agreement of HC against B  
in passages less conclusive than those above, but which, in  
the light of those passages, have some significance, e.g.  
Nu is (4) HC, and B; Da mid Pam (35-36) HC, forPan B;  
onsegedynsse (49) HC, heora lác onsegednesse B; betweenan ne  
ferde (60-61) HC, ne ferde betweenan B; gefean (169) HC,  
blisse B.

The numerous agreements of CB against H are nearly all  
of this nature, and have little significance in themselves as  
regards the reliability of the texts of CB. Examples are:  
Pam mannum (52-53) H, Pam CB; his gemæcca wepende (62) H,  
hyre gemæccan bewenan CB; wendon (142) H, cwædon CB; ne æfter  
hyre vldrum ne murnde (181) H, ne taltrade æfter hyre  
vldrum ne myrde (sic C; rynde B) CB; fægniende and swyðe  
brláe (307) H, swipe gefeonde CB, etc. These variations,  
although giving satisfactory readings, do not improve on the  
readings of H, and this is characteristic of the agreements
between CB against H. There are, however, some examples where CB preserve a better text, e.g. *after* (118) H, *after cyma* CB (see Literary and Linguistic Notes, *ad loc.*); *forpam svf* (134) H, *forPam Pe* CB (see Literary and Linguistic Notes, *ad loc.*); possibly also the following passage, which H seems to have simply expanded: *Da clynode se biscop mid mvcelre stefne hine and cydde him Paet, and he ða sona onfeng Pa ra gyrda of ðæs bischeones handum 302–04, Pa cleopode se bisceon mvcelre stemne hine and hine cigde and him his gyrde seald CB.* In some places, however, CB agree where H has a different, and superior, reading. H correctly preserves a subjunctive in *gegearwic* 68 (cf. Latin *fecissem*), where CB have the indicative *gegearwode*. In ch. IV, H alone includes the phrase *after Pan waron gezylde nigan monaĥ hire gecacenunge 171–72*, which is found in all the Latin MSS. Despite some corruption, H also seems to be closer to the Latin MSS (which differ little here, *Dentur aliquae ex soladibus eius virgines*) in ch. VIII: *Ac svle Pa*[re] (MS *Pam*) cleman fæman fultum 321, *Ac ic onfó Pære cleman fæman CB.*

HB very rarely agree against C, and then usually in cases of little importance, e.g. *ne begeaton* (46) HB, *on worulde ne begeaton* C; *ne Pearft Pu ðe ondradan* (376) HB, *ne ondråd Pu Pe* C. In one passage, however, HB agree in a reading which is inferior to that of C: *feondum* (194) HB, *feonda* C (see Literary and Linguistic Notes to 11. 190–194). It is notable that this whole passage is preserved free from corruption.
only in C.

As the above comparisons will show, B is the least reliable text. C gives a better text, but shares many of the faults of B, and, even though it often gives (with B) an acceptable alternative reading to H, it rarely gives a definitively superior reading. The scribe of C is not particularly accurate and the affinity of C to B suggests that C may share some of B's inaccuracies; it is, moreover, incomplete as it stands in the MS. H and C between them give a far more reliable text than B, and for the reasons just outlined, H seems preferable to C; it is, therefore, taken as the basis of the present edition.

That the MSS are all at several removes from the original version is shown not only by their relationship to each other, but by the corruptions in their texts. Thus, C has *he hit hi man* for *he hit heom* B (H 145), *dauidtidiscum* for *dauidiscum* 221, *warlicre* for *wretlicre* 221, and *seggendlicere* for *unaseggendlicre* 347. B has *wretlicre* (H 221), *seggendlicre* (H347), and *andwealdes* for *onwelges* 362, while in H we find MS *dauidtidiscum* for *dauidiscum* and MS *setest* for *secest* 300. H itself is at least two removes from the original version, if the suggestion offered below (p.137) for the corruption *&a mundbyrdum* 195 be accepted.
This section discusses the language of the texts edited from MS Hatton 114, the Vercelli Book and MS Junius 85. It does not attempt to be comprehensive, but to point out the main differences of the MS forms from regular WS, with particular attention being paid to those forms most likely to suggest the date and dialect of the texts.

The works referred to throughout are the following:

Long vowels are not so marked in words quoted from the texts except in a few cases where this has seemed desirable for the sake of clarity. In words quoted from sources other than the texts, they are marked as long.

The three texts are distinguished here as A, B and C, for the sake of cross-references. A list of grammatical abbreviations is given below, pp.213-14.
A. *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, part one (Hatt. 114)

I Phonology (Stems)

(a) Vowels

1. æ > e e.g. *onsagednyssë* 49, 53, etc. (but *onsagednyssë* 134, 288, etc.). Cf. raising of æ to e, common in Kentish and (some) Mercian texts from an early period (Campbell §288, Sievers §151 [1]).

2. e > æ were (mdats) 273 (elsewhere ver). Possibly due to Kentish influence, since æ was raised to e in Kentish, and as a result æ was sometimes written where we might expect e (Campbell §288).

> y e.g. *sylfa* 190, *sylfra* 192. A development of the group sel peculiar to WS: *self > *sielf > sylf* (Campbell §§325, 326, Sievers §339).

3. o > æ e.g. *manigsteawa* 355. This spelling may be due to i-mutation of PrmGmc a to æ before nasals, and the resultant æ spelling is common in some 1WS MSS (Campbell §193 [d]). However, the æ form may be simply a peculiarity of 1WS, comparable to the maccs *Pene* (Campbell §380, Sievers §65 n.2).

> e e.g. *merzen* 92, 277. o > e by i-mutation (Sievers §93 [1]); the form is characteristic of 1WS MSS (Campbell §193 [a] n.6).
4. *eo* > *u* e.g. *wurpode* 122, etc. (also *woe-*) This is due to the WS tendency for *w* and short vowel/diphthong + *r* (unless followed by a back consonant) to develop into *wur-* (Campbell §§320, 321, Sievers §72).

5. *ea* > *e* e.g. *onwelges* 362. An example of Anglian smoothing, by which *ea* and voiced liquid (l, r) and back consonant (c, g, y) was smoothed to *e*, which was later smoothed to *e*: *ea* and *lg* > *elg* > *elg* (Campbell §222).

(b) Consonants

6. *ng* > *ncg* e.g. *cyninc ges* 44, *encgel* 125, etc. (also *cyninges*, *engle*). For the intrusion of *c* into the combination *ng* medially and finally, see Sievers §215; note the development of the palatal fricative *[dʒ]* (cf. modern English *angel*).

7. *c* [tʃ] > *gc* e.g. *ingcer* 154, 155.

8. The form *middaneard* (rather than *middangeard*) is used regularly. Owing to a shift in stress, WS texts frequently drop *g* before *eo*, *ea* (Sievers §§212 n.2, 214[7]).

II Phonology (Accidence)

(a) Nouns

9. *-es* > *as* *mgens*, e.g. *heofonas* 7, 351 (elsewhere *-es*)
This is due to the eleventh century falling together of unaccented e and a (Campbell §379, Sievers §237 n.1).

10. -e > a fdat, e.g. idelnyssa 336, faccs haliznyssa 406, neutdats lofa 229 (elsewhere -ə). Compare the preceding, and also the WS extension of -a to the feminine acc, gen and dat of abstract nouns in -ung, e.g. fdat bletsunga 415 (Campbell §589 [8], Sievers §255 [1]).

11. -a > e fnompl, e.g. magœ 169. Due to a late weakening of the unstressed final vowel.

12. -u > a neutaccpl, e.g. hloata 275. This inflexional form is common in 1WS MSS (Campbell §§49, 377).

(b) Adjectives

13. -a > e fnompl, e.g. forhtê 339. See A.11.


15. -ra > re genpl, e.g. godcundre 397 (elsewhere -ra). Cf. A.11

(c) Verbs

16. -an > on infin, e.g. acerron 194, forlœton 373
(elsewhere -an). This is due to WS (and some Kentish) confusion of final -an and -on (Campbell §377).
17. -ēō > aē 3prs, e.g. syllaeō 159 (elsewhere -ēō). Weak verbs class I in the 3prs (-ēō) often take -aē on the analogy of class II, especially in northern texts (Sievers §§358 [1] n.2).

18. The lack of syncope in 3prs sylæō 157, līhteō 345 suggests Anglian influence, as the 3prs of weak verbs class II is usually syncopated in southern dialects, but rarely in Anglian (Campbell §§733 [a], 734, 751 [1], Sievers §358 [2]).

19. -on > an 3prpl, e.g. witan 421, 3ptpl (elsewhere -on), e.g. cwadan 245, feddan 391, etc. Cf. A.16.
   >en 3ptpl, e.g. ahōfen 141, waren 398 (elsewhere -on). Late weakening of the vowels of unstressed syllables.

20. -odon > edon 3ptpl, e.g. halsedon 161 (elsewhere -odon). A late weakening, in which unstressed vowels were reduced to e, especially in the pts and ptpl of weak verbs class II: -ode, -odon > -ede, -edon (Campbell §§385, 757).

21. -en > on 3ptsubipl, e.g. Purhwunedon 228. -on is by analogy with the preterite indicative, and 'usual in 1WS' (Campbell §735 [g]).
(d) Personal Pronoun

22. **faccs** Regular OE *hi* is usual, but *hv* occurs three times (a typical 1WS form: Campbell §703, Sievers §334 n.1), and *hig* (*f > ig*) once.

23. **nompl** Regular OE *hi* is usual, 1WS *hv* occasional, *hio* once. This form is probably a development of eo> Io (Campbell §296); **nompl** *hio* is found in Anglian and Kentish texts (Sievers §334 nn. 2, 3).


25. **datpl** OE *him* occasionally, 1WS *heom* more common (Campbell §703).

(e) Definite Article (Demonstrative, Relative Pronoun)

26. **maccs** Usually *Pone; Pene* once. The change of unaccented o > æ, a, in the pronominal accusatives is typical of 1WS (Campbell §380).

27. **genpl** Regular OE *Para* is usual, but the later form *Para* is common; *Pare* and *Pare* occur with weakening of the final vowel.

28. **datpl** The late form *Pam* is used regularly; this form is peculiar to WS (and rare Kentish), Campbell §708, Sievers §337 n.1.
B. Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, part two (Vercelli, Bib. Cap. CXVII)

I Phonology (Stems)

(a) Vowels

1. \(a > a\) e.g. sagæg 3, a form not characteristic of WS
   (Sievers §416 [1] n.3).

2. \(i > æ\) e.g. Péder 99, a 1WS variant spelling (Campbell §678).

3. \(o > e\) e.g. græmergen 37. Cf. A.3.

4. \(a\) for \(ea\) e.g. wældend 18 (but wealdendra 18). Lack
   of breaking before 1d (Campbell §139) is typical of
   late Anglian texts (Campbell §143, Sievers §158 [1],
   [2], Brook §2.33).

5. \(eo > io\) e.g. siofon 30, a WS and Anglian form
   (Campbell §296).

6. \(ie > ŭ\) e.g. Prv 36, a 1WS form (Campbell §683, Sievers
   §33).

(b) Consonants

7. Loss of \(t\) in gyrsandæg 43, 47 (cf. below, p.150).

8. cwom 99, but comon 93. cwom is an earlier form: \(u\) (w)
   was preserved later after consonants than initially
   or after vowels (Campbell §60).

10. hs is written for the later x, e.g. betwiohs 120 (see Sievers §221 [2]).

11. The lack of syncope in sagað 3 suggests an Anglian form (see A.18).

12. Loss of initial g in eorne 117, due to change of stress (cf. A.8).

II Phonology (Accidence)

(a) Adjectives


(b) Verbs

14. -odon > edon 3ptpl, e.g. sideden 24, a gatedon 27, locedon 91. See A.20.

15. -en > on 3ptsubipl, e.g. waron 67, 69. See A.21.

(c) Personal Pronoun

16. nompl accpl Usually hie; hy is less common.

17. genpl Regular OE hira is usual; hiorsa (an eWS form, Campbell §703, less often Kentish and Anglian, Sievers §334 nn. 2, 3) less common; LWS hyra occurs once.
(d) Definite Article (Demonstrative, Relative Pronoun).

18. **maccs Pone, Panne** (see A.26) and **Panne** (see A.26)
each occur once.

19. **mis Pe** (beside **Pv**).

20. **datpl Pam** regularly (see A.28).

C. **Visio Pauli** (Jun. 85)

I Phonology (Stems)

(a) Vowels

1. **e > æ** e.g. *gewandan* 9, *fremdan* 19, *gebrængæn* 42.
   (but *gewendon* 87). Cf. i-mutation of PmGmc a > æ
   before nasals; 'in a limited south-eastern area' the
   æ remained, being very common in some 1WS MSS, but
   was raised to e in Kentish (Campbell §193 [d]; see
   also Sievers §89 [4]). Possibly Kentish influence
   is apparent, in that æ and e fell together in that
dialect, and were largely interchangeable (Campbell

> y e.g. *hylware* 65, *cwyændre* 170 (but *cweænde* 119,
   124, etc.).

2. **o > æ** *mænaga* 68. See A.3.


> e *merigen* 43, 97, 159 (meregen). See A.3.

> y e.g. *wyrolde* 209 (elsewhere wor-). eWS worold
(cf. OHG weralt) developed by back mutation to weorold, and this eo after w developed into u in 1WS, subsequently often written v (Campbell §§210 [1], 323, Sievers § 72, Wright §§52, 94).

3. a for ea e.g. alne 92 (but ealne 98). This is probably an Anglian form (lack of breaking before ln). See B.4.

4. ŭ > ū e.g. svo (verb) 126. Perhaps on the analogy of the MS form svo (def art, fnoms), from seo, since eo is characteristically written vo in the MS. sio (verb) is found in both Kentish and Mercian texts (Campbell §768, Sievers §§427 nn. 2, 3, 4). The form gehvörde (for gehyrde) also occurs in the present text (193).

>ē e.g. gehernesse 8, gelédon 50, etewdon 118 (but gehyrde 107, 166, etc.).

5. ea > æ, eax e.g. gescéft 35, gezærwige 26, gesceæfta 14. The forms gescéft, gezærwige show the regular 10E monophthongization of ea to æ (Campbell §§329 [2]), while gesceæfta shows the same development but with an æ included probably to indicate the quality of the preceding consonants [\].

6. eo > ea e.g. eam (verb) 14, 199, a form found in Kentish and Mercian texts (Campbell §768).

ēo/eo > ū, y/yo, y e.g. lūoman 5, dūofla 190, 198, hrūve 9, 56; wvorcum 46, vorčan 115, 171 (but
eorðan elsewhere), yrðe 12, wyrc 42, 158. eo > yo may be due to a shift of stress (cf. ON liðma, iorðe), with the o sometimes assimilated into the following consonant, as in hrywe; or i-mutation:

\[ eo > ie > y. \]

\[ eo > \acute{e} \] e.g. hrewe 31. Cf. northern and Mercian approximation of the second element of êo before y, hence forms such as cnēwas for cnēowas 'knees' (Campbell §279).

(b) Consonants

7. hl is written l in léahtrum 23, a late simplification (though it is not unknown in early MSS), Sievers §217 nn. 1,2.

8. The loss of initial n in vorxnewanges 128 may be due to a shift in stress in the first syllable, but is perhaps only a slip confusing the final n of on which precedes the word in the MS.

9. Metathesis of r in gewrihtum 134. Metathesis of r from behind to before a vowel is comparatively rare, and is generally limited to r before ht, in late texts. (Campbell §459 [3]).

10. geodest 153, geode 181, gyodan (for geodan) 73. These forms may be the result of assimilation of the vowel of the ge prefix, standing for geeodest, etc.
However, the single form eode 145 is used in the same sense as these forms, and is therefore their equivalent. This suggests that the initial g is merely an attempt to represent the late pronunciation of 5o. The addition of g to initial 5a, eo is not unknown in 10E (Sievers §212 n.2), e.g. seagean, Battle of Maldon 52; see Gordon’s note on this word in his edition of the poem.¹

11. Parasiting in merigen 97, etc. < mergen. In later texts especially, i often appears after the vowel of an accented syllable between r or l and a consonant (Campbell §360, Sievers §213 n.).

II Phonology (Accidence)

(a) Nouns

12. -as > es maccpl, e.g. domes 133 (elsewhere -as). A 1WS weakening of the unstressed vowel; see Sievers §237 n.3.

13. -a > e mgempl e.g. angle 130 (elsewhere -a). A late weakening.

>o mgempl e.g. ðusendo 130 (elsewhere -a). This is a 1WS (also found in Kentish) form, owing to the

confusion between final u, o and a: Campbell §377,
Sievers §237 n.4; see also Fr. Klaeber (ed.), Beowulf
and the Fight at Finnsburg (3rd ed., Boston, 1950),
p.lxxxi.

14. -e > a fnoms sunna 2, fgens manöwearnyssa 81, anlicnyssa
120 (elsewhere -e). See A.10.

15. Confusion of declension in muña 73. The weak masculine
noun muña 'mouth (of a river)' is substituted for the
strong noun muna.

(b) Adjectives

16. -um > an mdats, e.g. gōdan 188, mis anigen 160, mdatpl
écan 165 (but ësum 2, halgum 2, etc.). A change
characteristic of 1WS (rarely other dialects,
Campbell §378 n.1), in which m > n, and u, not foll­
owed by m, > o (Campbell §377, 378).

17. -re > -ra fdat, e.g. anra 170. Cf. A.10.


19. -ra > re genpl, e.g. soōfæstra 85 (but soōfæstra 89).
   See A.15.

(c) Verbs

20. -an > en infin, e.g.été 140, drīncen 140 (elsewhere
   -an). Late weakening; cf. A.16.
21. -að > eð 3prpl, e.g. gehereð 8, rangeð 67, 86 (elsewhere -að). These forms are also due to late weakening of the unstressed vowel.

22. -on > an 3prpl, e.g. syndan 74, 185 (but syndon 75), 1ntpl scylan 53, 3ptpl cóman 45, 48, wéran 79, etc. In the later period, a common form in WS, owing to the confusion between unstressed -on and -an. See A.16, 19.

>en 3prpl, e.g. synden 133. Due to late weakening.

23. -en > an 3prs subjpl, e.g. wéandan 9, willan 31, etc. A common 1WS form (Campbell §735 [f]).


(d) Personal Pronoun

25. nompl Usually hi, less often hige.

26. accpl Usually hige, less often hi.

27. genpl Usually 1WS hyra; here once.

(e) Definite Article (Demonstrative, Relative Pronoun)


29. mis  Dön, abilité. The unrounding of ð to þ (þi) is rare in eWS but common in 1WS (Campbell §§316, 317).
30. fnoms seo, svq. For the latter form (possibly for sig, with y written for i), see C.4.

31. fgens ēare and ēare are used most commonly, but ēara is also found; this form appears in a number of northern and Anglian texts (Sievers §337 n.4).

32. fdat S see preceding.

33. datpl ēam is usual; ēem once. The latter form is probably due to late weakening.
Apocrypha

The earliest records of the life of Jesus are the four canonical gospels. These leave much unsaid, however, as it was not the aim of the evangelists to be comprehensive, but simply to record what they considered to be the most important events in the life of Jesus. The two great events in the eyes of the evangelists were the death and resurrection of Jesus; his birth and infancy received less notice, being described only in Matthew and Luke, and even in these documents the narrative is restrained and brief: the promise of the birth of Jesus (Matt. 1:18-25*, Lk. 1:26-38), the birth (Matt. 1:25, Lk. 2:6-7), the circumcision and presentation (Lk. 2:21-38), the events leading up to the flight into Egypt, the flight and the return (Matt. 2:1-23), and the twelve-year old Jesus in the temple (Lk. 2:41-52). These details, few as they are, catered to the natural desire of the first Christians to know something of the early part of Jesus' life, and it can even be said that 'the motives for the fixation of this material are partly the same as those which gave rise to the apocryphal infancy gospels'.

The apocryphal gospels sharply differ from the canonical gospels in their extravagance, but they are nevertheless dependent on them for their basic narratives and methods. Many of the apocryphal gospels were prompted by the desire to express certain theological convictions, not least in the case of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, and this motive finds its origin in the canonical accounts. Thus the theological emphasis on the christological aspect of the birth of Christ, 'made flesh of the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary' (Nicene Creed), is echoed in the peculiar concern of the Pseudo-Matthew with the perpetual virginity of Mary (ch. XIII); the typological affinity of Jesus with the Old Testament (cf. the genealogies in Matt. 1 and Lk. 3) is paralleled in the Pseudo-Matthew, where Anna and the birth of Mary find Old Testament precedent (see below, p.63); and the gospel appeal to the fulfilment of prophecy - for example, Matt. 2:6 - is found in ch. IV of the Pseudo-Matthew. From such models is derived the characteristic method of the authors of apocrypha: 'the typical linking of different legends into large groups of material ... and ... the endeavour to make interesting in themselves figures which, in the older gospel tradition, are important solely by reason of their relation to ... Jesus Christ'.

Under such conditions developed the apocrypha of the early Christian era, and, particularly in the case of the birth and infancy narratives, they filled in the details of those periods of Jesus' life about which the evangelists were intriguingly silent. Strauss' comment, reporting Bauer on the canonical gospels, is perhaps even truer of their apocryphal counterparts:

As after the decease of celebrated personages, numerous anecdotes are circulated concerning them, which fail not to receive many and wondrous amplifications in the legends of a wonder-loving people; so, after Jesus had become distinguished by his life ... his early years, which had been passed in obscurity, became adorned with miraculous embellishments.¹

The gradual fixing of the New Testament canon, while limiting the basic materials that could be used by the writers of apocrypha, imposed no restraint on their imagination within these broad limits, and as a result we find the transparently fabricated series of miracles with which the Gospel of Thomas fills the infancy of Jesus, the ascription of Joachim and Anna as parents of Mary in the Protevangelium Jacobi, and the embroidery of the flight into Egypt in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, among numerous other examples.

On the whole, these productions are of a low literary
and imaginative standard, with a few exceptions, such as the
Gospel of Nicodemus. The use of the angelic messenger in the
Pseudo-Matthew (cf. below, p.134, note on 1.88f.) is so
extravagant as to be almost a parody of the same device used
with more restraint and literary skill in Tobit; the later
Acta Apostolorum are little more than popular romances; and
occasionally, in their zeal, these writers lapse into
questionable taste, such as the miracles ascribed to Jesus
in the Gospel of Thomas chs. III and IV, and the birth of
Jesus in the Protevangelium ch. XX (Pseudo-Matthew ch. XIII),
which has often been criticized.¹ The apocryphal gospels have
been heavily condemned for their 'absurdities, their coarseness,
the barbarities of their style, and the inconsequence of their
narratives',² and although this is not entirely just, it does
suggest some of the weaknesses of these writings. The superior­
iority of the canonical gospels, however, was defended at
length by the early Fathers, especially Irenaeus,³ Justin

¹ E.g. Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 373. See G. Miegge,
The Virgin Mary: the Roman Catholic Marian Doctrine,
who quotes (p.45) Jerome, De Perpetua Virginitate E. Mariae
Adversus Helvidium XVIII:
'Junge si libet et alias naturae contumelas, novem
mensibus uterum insolescentem, fastidia, partum,
sanguinem, pannos...Non erubescimus, non silemus.
Quanto sunt humiliora quae pro me passus est, tanto
² See J. Crr (ed.), NT Apocryphal Writings (2nd ed.
Philadelphia, 1923) [Temple Bible Series], p.ix.
³ Irenaeus, Contra Haer. III. iii (PG 7:879-92).
Martyr and Origen, who remarks that he has 'learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the church of God under heaven'. Nevertheless, apocrypha played an important part in the early Church; for a time I Clement was accepted as belonging to the canon of the New Testament, while the Shepherd of Hermas was recognized by some. The early Fathers frequently made use of these writings, e.g. II Clement, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus and Epiphanius all quote the Gospel of the Egyptians, Irenaeus refers to the Gospel of Thomas, while Eusebius makes constant references (often critical) to apocrypha. The forms these writings took generally followed the literary forms of the New Testament, giving rise to apocryphal Gospels (Hebrews, Ebionites, Pseudo-Matthew), Acts (Paul, Peter), Epistles

1 Justin Martyr, Apol. I 66, 67 (PG 6:428-31); on the attitudes of early writers, see Orr, NT Apocryphal Writings, p.vi.
6 Irenaeus Contra Haer. I. 20 (PG 7:653)
(Paul and Seneca), and Apocalypses (Paul, Peter). The Gospels fall into several types, nativity, infancy and passion gospels: the Protevangelium is a nativity gospel, narrating the births of Mary and Jesus (followed by an account of the death of Zacharias, which probably does not belong to the original text); the Gospel of Thomas is an infancy gospel, telling the deeds of Jesus from his fifth to his twelfth year; while the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew combines both these sources. It contains an account of the births of Mary and Jesus (chs. I-XVII), based on the Protevangelium, the flight into Egypt (chs. XVIII-XXIV), and an account of Jesus' infancy (chs. XXV-XLII), based on the Gospel of Thomas. The first and second of these parts form the basis of the OE versions of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.

The 'Protevangelium'

The Protevangelium Jacobi is the basis of all the vast

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1 James, Apocryphal NT, p. 38.
later literature constituting the apocryphal infancy'. Since the **Pseudo-Matthew** is based very closely on the earlier part of the **Protevangelium**, an examination of the nature of that work will have close application to the **Pseudo-Matthew**.

The **Protevangelium** was originally written in Greek, and is not later than the fourth century, as is shown by numerous patristic references. Peter of Alexandria (d.311) is among the first to relate the massacre of the innocents to the death of Zacharias (cf. **Protevangelium** chs. XXII-XXIII); Epiphanius (d.403) refers to the widowhood of Joseph (**Protevangelium** ch. IX). The book was apparently known to Justin (d.165), who refers to the cave in which Jesus was born (**Protevangelium** chs. XVIII-XIX), while Clement of Alexandria refers to the virginity of Mary *post partum* (**Protevangelium** ch. XX). Origen mentions a *biblos Iakobou* to show that the brothers of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former marriage (**Protevangelium** ch. IX).

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1 Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 369.
4 Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph. LXXVIII.5 (PG 6:657-60).
5 Clem. Alex., Strom. VII. 16 (PG 9:529).
Thus the date of the book falls after the fixing of the New Testament canon and the acceptance of four inspired gospels, on which it relies, and before about the middle of the second century. This is supported by the state of the earliest Greek text known (edited by de Strycker, see above, p. 52 n. 2), and most authorities date the original form to the mid-second century, and the present form to the third century.¹

Part of the aim of the *Protevangelium* was to set forth certain theological convictions: 'the whole work is written for the glorification of Mary';² and, with some change of emphasis, these views are also characteristic of the *Pseudo-Matthew*. For apologetic considerations³ the writers were anxious to demonstrate the Davidic descent of Jesus. The gospel account of the immaculate conception of Jesus (Matt. and Lk.) was felt to endanger the idea of the Davidic descent through the paternal line, even though Matt. (1:16) and Lk. (3:23) both use formulas which permit the adoptive paternity of Joseph, who was of the royal line. The need was felt,

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¹ Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 372; Orr, NT Apocryphal Writings, p.xv; de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apócrifos, p.129; James, Apocryphal NT, p.38. The statement of Miegge, The Virgin Mary, p.47, that the *Pseudo-Matthew* is a fifty-century compilation 'of not very ancient materials that show numerous affinities with the legends that were going to appear about the same time, the *Protevangelium of James*', is difficult to understand.
² Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 373.
therefore, particularly in view of the inconsistencies between the genealogies of Matthew (1:2-16) and Luke (3:23-38),¹ to demonstrate the Davidic descent of Jesus through his mother as well;² the lineage of Mary is therefore explained in the Protevangelium (ch. X) and made even more explicit in the Pseudo-Matthew, where both her parents are said to be of the (royal) tribe of Judah (ch. I, OE 24, 42-44). The Protevangelium was also no doubt designed partly to counter popular slanders regarding the birth of Jesus,³ and for this purpose a fuller nativity narrative was thought necessary. Both the Protevangelium and the Pseudo-Matthew were even more strongly aimed at demonstrating the perpetual virginity of Mary, and, as a consequence, showing the 'brothers and sisters' of Jesus (e.g. Matt. 12:46; Mk. 3:31; Jn. 2:12; Acts 1:14; I Cor. 9:5, etc.) were sons of Joseph by a former marriage (Protevangelium ch. IX, Pseudo-Matthew ch. VIII, OE 313-15), Joseph being, therefore, an 'old' man (OE 280).⁴

² This view was widely held in the second century; see Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 367.
³ For example, the suggestion (Talmud) that Jesus was the son of a Roman soldier named Panther or Panthera; see Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 367; Craveri, Life of Jesus, p.31. Cf. Celsus, in Origen, Contra Celsum, trans. H. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1953), 1.32, p.31, and especially p.31 n.3.
⁴ A more moderate view of the perpetual virginity of Mary was held earlier (Tertullian), which allowed the 'brothers' of Jesus to be real brothers. The later belief in the perpetual virginity resulted in the brothers being seen as half brothers, sons of Joseph by a former marriage.
In fact, in these two books, 'all the themes of future Mariology are propounded'. In particular, the virgin birth is recorded, and it is understood to imply the perpetual virginity of Mary ante partum, in partum, post partum; this is summarized in the Pseudo-Matthein (ch. XIII) in the phrase virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit. The main emphasis of the Protevangelium and the Pseudo-Matthew chs. I-XIII is in fact the ideal of virginity, of which Mary is the type; de Santos Otero suggests that the Protevangelium was intended 'primordialmente propugnar la virginidad de María contra las calumnias de paganos y judíos'. In this connection, the book seems to counter the gnostic-docetic denials of the reality of Christ's body by stressing his actual birth, (Protevangelium ch. XIX; Pseudo-Matthew XIII). The Pseudo-Matthew is more restrained, but the Protevangelium, in describing the miraculous appearance of Christ out of a cloud of light, seems itself to lean towards doceticism; in

(Protevangelium, Clement of Alexandria, Origen); this was attacked by Jerome, who considered that they were not related to Jesus at all, a view which later found strong support from the popes. See A. Meyer and W. Bauer, 'The Relatives of Jesus' in Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, I, 424-25.

1 Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 373.
2 Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p. 78.
3 de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apócrifos, p. 130.
4 This is probably derived from the Christian part of the Ascension of Isaiah (c. 88-100 A.D.): 'while they [Joseph and Mary] were alone,...Mary straightway...saw a small child, and she was amazed. And when her amazement wore off, her womb was found as it was before she was with child' (11:8-9); English translation in Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, II, 661; see also E. Tissierant (trans.), L'ascencion d'Isaie: traduction de la versionne éthiopienne (Paris, 1909).
de Santos Otero's view however, these elements appear more to suggest the virginity of Mary in partum than to suggest the corporeal unreality of Christ.¹

By the time of the Pseudo-Matthew, such immediate needs had largely disappeared, and the cult of Mary was well-enough established for her praise to be an end in itself. Because of its exaltation of virginity, the Protevangelium became extremely popular in the aesthetically-minded east (hence it survives only in Greek), and even though it was heavily criticized by Jerome and, later, the popes (see above, p.55 n.⁴), it was nevertheless 'a powerful factor in the development of Mariology...[and] its doctrinal importance in the narrower sense in connection with recent developments of catholicism cannot be sufficiently emphasized.'² In all these things, the Pseudo-Matthew is its direct heir.

The 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', Part One

The immense popularity of the Protevangelium led to a large number of versions and rescensions (see above, p.52 n.²), at first in the east, and later in the west, and as a result a Latin version developed, combining the infancy elements of the Gospel of Thomas with the nativity story of the

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¹ de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, p.129.
² Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 374.
Protevangelium. This was the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. The secondary nature of the work places it probably not earlier than the fifth century, though Cullmann places it as late as the eighth-ninth centuries. James at first placed it at a similar date, but later considered it to be not earlier than the fifth century, and probably not later than the sixth. de Santos Otero dates it from the middle of the sixth century. This date is suggested by the sixth-century Gelasian Decree, which condemns a liber de nativitate salvatoris et de Maria vel obstetrice as apocryphum, and it finds support from numerous critics. A shortened version of the Pseudo-Matthew, the gospel de nativitate Mariae was made later, which includes only the births of Mary and Jesus; two English MSS, of the thirteenth

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2 Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', 406.

3 Apocryphal NT, p.70.


5 de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, p.177.

6 See ibid., p.20; Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, I, 47; James, Latin Infancy Gospels, p.xiii.


and fourteenth centuries, preserve a different version of the Pseudo-Matthew, which leans more heavily on the Protevangelium, but which is pronouncedly docetic in character.¹

The Pseudo-Matthew was extremely influential in the medieval period, giving rise to a large number of associated texts such as the gospel de nativitate Mariae, and the Arabic Evangelium Infantiae.² The legends of the book had a powerful effect on art,³ and found their way (via the gospel de nativitate Mariae) into the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century. In England, the Pseudo-Matthew was perhaps known to Ælfric, and the three surviving MSS suggest some popularity; in the ME period it gave rise to many literary works, of which as Lydgate’s Life of Our Lady⁴ is one of the longest.

In 325 the veneration of Mary received great impetus when the Council of Nicaea accorded her the title theotokos, 'mother of God', and numerous feasts, such as those of the Annunciation, the Purification, the Dormition, developed in her honour, especially in the east. From the earliest times, Mary

¹ Latin texts in James, Latin Infancy Gospels, pp. 2-95; extracts (with Spanish trans.) in de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apócrifos, pp. 260-75; Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, I, 413-14 (English trans.). On the docetic nature of the texts, see James, Latin Infancy Gospels, p. xxv.
³ For reproductions of paintings, mosaics, etc., see de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apócrifos, plates 2, 8-23.
had been considered 'full of grace', and consequently more free from sin than other human beings, but not until 1546 at the Council of Trent was this taken to its full extent and the Immaculate Conception proclaimed. This became an article of faith in 1854. Although the Pseudo-Matthew is not primarily concerned with demonstrating the sinlessness of Mary and the Immaculate Conception, her state of grace is made sufficiently clear in ch. VI, and indeed the Armenian version of the Protevangelium actually says that she was born 'pure, without any stain'. The perpetual virginity of Mary, with which it is more specifically concerned, was suggested as early as Origen (see above, p. 55n.4), and became church dogma at the Lateran Council of 649.

The attitude of the OE church towards apocryphal writings was a mixed one, often straying from the official condemnation of the Church, and often depending on the personal bias of clerics. Despite frequent official censure, that apocryphal works were immensely popular in England, as throughout the whole Christian east and west, is amply attested by the large number of homilies either wholly or partly depending on apocrypha, which survive in OE MSS. The gospels of

1 E.g. Augustine, De Natura et Gratia XXXVI, 42:...
Thomas, Nicodemus and Pseudo-Matthew were all translated into OE, many homilies contain fragments of apocryphal works, and a large amount of the OE poetry extant is based on apocrypha (Elene, Andreas; see above, p. 16). Bede, Aldhelm and Ælfric 'all protest against the wide-spread popular use of some of these works',¹ while Bede in particular pronounced 'vehement denunciation of some of the apocryphal literature relating to the Blessed Virgin'.² Together with this, however, we find in the Hatton MS of the Pseudo-Matthew the marginalia apocrifum, ueneremur (see below, p. 206), and it may be of some relevance to this fact that the church of Worcester, where the MS was written, was dedicated to Mary.

Even the attitude of Ælfric to apocrypha, and Marian apocrypha in particular, is somewhat self-contradictory. In a passage which may refer to the Pseudo-Matthew, he implicitly criticizes such extravagant legends, and at the same time the very 'facts' he accepts as true are derived from that work:

Hwæt wylle we secgan ymbe Marian gebyrdtíde, buton Pæt heo wæs gestryned Purh fæder and ðurh moder swa swa oðre men, and wæs on ðam dæge acenned Pe we cwæða sæxta idus Septembris?

Hire fæder hatte Ioachim, and hire moder Anna, eawfaste men on ðære ealdan æ; ac we nêllað be ðam na swiðor awritan, þy-læs ðe we on ænigum gedwylde befeallon.¹

The OE text of the first part of the Pseudo-Matthew consists of a fairly close, though often abbreviated, translation of a Latin version which must have been close to, but not identical with, the text given in Tischendorf (see above, p.58 n.1). The part used by the OE translator consists of chs. I-XII of the Pseudo-Matthew, that is, the birth and upbringing of Mary. It stops short at ch. XIII, in which the birth of Jesus is narrated, and omits the two spurious letters of commendation, one from 'bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus', and one from Jerome, which accompany the Latin versions. The translator has in fact adapted the somewhat cumbersome Latin narrative into a homily in praise of Mary, specifically designed for the feast-day of the virgin, September the sixth, as the rubric indicates. He has added a short prologue (1-21), praising Mary and setting forth the aims of the treatise, and an epilogue (407-25), commending Mary as the mediatrix between Christ and men.

It will be seen from the OE version that the story of Mary is largely based on OT types, adapted to different circumstances. Joachim, the father of Mary, bears certain

¹ B. Thorpe (ed.). The Homilies of the AS Church, (London, 1846) [Ælfric Society], II, 466.
similarities to Joachim, the husband of Susanna (Daniel 13, Vulgate), and Anna, her mother, is clearly modelled on Hannah the mother of Samuel, even to the name. Both women are childless (I Sam. 1:5, OE 44-46), both pray for a child (1:11, OE 74ff.), both give birth (1:20, OE ch. IV), both dedicate the child to God (1:28, OE 79-81), and utter a prayer of thanksgiving to God (2:1ff., OE ch. V). Anna also recalls the prophetess Anna in Lk. 2:36ff. These borrowings were recognized as early as Gregory of Nyssa.¹ The birth and childhood of Mary is similarly based on that of Christ in the canonical gospels. Both births are announced by angelic messenger (Matt. 1:20, Lk. 1:27ff., OE 82ff., 114ff.), and both are brought about by the special providence of God. Just as Christ was conceived by a virgin, Mary was conceived without sin, and even the bringing of Jesus to Jerusalem (Lk. 2:22) finds its parallel in the history of Mary (174-76).

The translator of the OE version is unknown,² and the style is on the whole less awkward than the OE Visio Pauli, though it lacks the polish and variety of Ælfric and Wulfstan. Divergences from the Latin are often consistent, falling into types which suggests something of the translator's method, rather than the use of a Latin original other than that given

² See Assmann, Angelsächsische Homilien, p. 260.
by Tischendorf, especially when the OE omits or adds something contrary to all the MSS collated by Tischendorf. The main characteristic is the translator's frequent abbreviation of the Latin, particularly in the lists of items, people, etc. Thus, where the Latin has *sive in agnis sive in ovibus sive in lanibus sive in omnibus rebus suis quascumque possidere videbatur*, the OE has simply *his ahta* 31. Again, the OE contracts *iumentis et serpentibus et piscibus et volucribus* to *eallum gesceachtum* 75, and the *godweb* made of *seolce and of mislicum hivum* 329 similarly stands for a fuller list in the Latin. The *diebus festis* of the Latin becomes simply *sume dage* 47, while the Pharisees' seemingly arbitrary decision (256) becomes clearer in the Latin equivalent:

> *et esset occasio quae Pharisaeos faceret dicere, iam consuetudinem adesse, feminam in templo dei non posse morari.*

The angel's address to Anna at the end of ch.III is only reported in the OE (165ff.), while it is given in direct speech in the Latin, and the whole scene of Joachim's return (165-70) is greatly reduced in the OE. Numerous unimportant phrases are omitted from the OE, and suggest that the translator was compressing his material, e.g. *at ille adoraverunt dominum* (cf. 160), *et lento gradu pascentes eamus* (cf. 162), *et facto magno silentio* (cf. 261), etc. This attempt to shorten the Latin account is most obvious in ch. XII, which narrates the testing of Mary and Joseph after the pregnancy of Mary is described. Here the translator has
simply omitted the long and confusing account of the \textit{aqua potationis domini}, summarizing the whole of the second to fourth sections of the chapter with a brief reference to \textit{unarímdum godcundre geryna} 397.

The OE additions to the Latin are usually expansions or glosses of a minor nature, e.g. of \textit{çam pelan cynne Davides Pæs cynincges} 43-44, \textit{Da Pæs on morgen} 92, \textit{faran him on oðer land} 373 for \textit{ex genere David}, \textit{Post haec} and \textit{occultare se} respectively. Glossarial expansions are common, e.g. \textit{haligra hallignys ealra} 290, glossing \textit{Sancta sanctorum}, \textit{Iacobes sunu 276 glossing tribum Iuda. on Pissum dæge} 172-73 (H) is an obvious gloss, referring to the feast-day on which the homily was delivered. \textit{Sancta Marian moder} 187 (H) is another explanatory gloss, for \textit{Anna}. Some passages in the OE, however, appear to be more significant than this.

In ch.I H and C both contain passages not found in any of Tischendorf's Latin MSS. After stating that Joachim belonged to the tribe of Judah (as in the Latin), the OE adds

\begin{verbatim}
and he wearð geboren on Galileiscre scire on Pære byrig Pe is gehaten Nazareth 24-26
\end{verbatim}

The same two MSS add another passage not found in the Latin, when they state that Anna's \textit{cynn wæs on Pære byrig Bethlehem} 42. This phrase is simply a means of stating the Davidic descent of Anna (and, through her, Mary and Jesus), since Bethlehem was a Davidic (Judean) city, and, although Nazareth, in which Joachim is said to have been born, was not a Davidic city,
his royal descent is stressed elsewhere (Iudan cynne 24). The aim appears to be the strengthening of the Davidic descent of Jesus through both his parents (see above, p.54). This is only implicit in the Protevangelium, where Joachim and Anna are not described as ex genere David, and Mary is not said to be of the royal line until ch. X, but becomes explicit in the Pseudo-Matthew where both Joachim and Anna are of the house of David (24, 43-44). The addition, in the OE version, that Anna was born in Bethlehem emphasizes this even further.

Another addition of some interest, found only in H, occurs when Elijah is said to have ascended to heaven mid lichaman and mid sawle 253, rather than simply on lichaman (CB; Latin in carne). The expansion and mid sawle is probably in the nature of a gloss added by the translator or a corrector for the sake of theological soundness.

The Latin version from which the OE is translated was fairly close to Tischendorf's text, apart from the divergences already noticed. However, none of the Latin MSS corresponds exactly with the OE; Tischendorf's MS B, for example, has a quite different reading for the first part of ch. II, and a comparison of Tischendorf's textual variants with the OE will show the extent of the differences. All three OE MSS include the phrase Pa wæs Pæra manna Preo Pusenda 292, which occurs only in the Latin MS C, but the description of Mary as gelic wynsuman men Pe hafde XXX wintra 183, which occurs
in ch. IV of the OE (HCB), is found in ch. VI in all the Latin MSS, including C. Any comparison, therefore, of the OE with Tischendorf's text must take into account the fact that the Latin does not represent exactly the text from which the OE was translated.

The 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', Part Two

The second part of the Pseudo-Matthew, as found in the Vercelli Book, consisted in its original form of a translation of chs. XVII - XXV of the Latin Gospel; however, the loss of a leaf from the MS has resulted in the disappearance of most of ch. XVIII, all of chs. XIX - XXI, and the first part of ch. XXII (see below, p.147).

In the OE version, the Pseudo-Matthew has been incorporated into a homily by the addition of a preliminary section (3-72), partly original, and a final section (115-21). While the first part of the Pseudo-Matthew (chs. I-XII) is in praise of Mary, the second half (chs. XIII-XLII) celebrates the birth and infancy of Jesus, and chs. XVII-XXV are chosen by the homilist to mark his birth (to Pyssum dage 3, todeg 10). These chapters are not derived from the Protevangelium, and appear to be original to the Latin Pseudo-Matthew, probably due to 'o a tradiciones populares más o menos documentadas

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1 Text and trans. as above, p.58 n. 1. The Latin text is given below, Appendix II, pp.187-89.
o al simple afán de ofrecer un marco al cumplimiento de ciertos textos del A.T. ¹

The influence of the legendary details of the flight into Egypt was considerable. The fall of the idols (95-97) is mentioned as early as the Byzantine Akathistos Hymnos,² and numerous paintings and carvings from the middle ages and later depict Jesus' sojourn in Egypt.³ Ch. XVIII (missing from the OE) describes Christ triumphing over the dragons which suddenly issue forth from a cave (89-90):

Iesus...pedibus suis stetit ante dracones; illi autem adoraverunt eum, et cum adorassent abierunt⁴ (cf. Ps. 148:7 [Vulgate]).

With this account might be compared the large panel on the Ruthwell Cross⁵ which shows Christ triumphant with his feet resting on two identical beasts, accompanied by the

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¹ de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, pp. 216-17 n.58; see also James, Apocryphal NT, p.74. On the apocryphal legend of the flight into Egypt, see W. Bauer, Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neuesten Apokryphen (Tübingen, 1909; repr. Darmstadt, 1967), pp.83-85.
³ See de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, plates 7, 25, 26.
⁴ Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.85.
Latin inscription:

\[
\text{IhS XPS IVDEX AEQUITATIS BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVUNT IN DESERTO SALVA[T]OREM MVNDO.} \]

Another panel shows the flight into Egypt. A similar panel, displaying Christ and the beasts is found on the Bewcastle Cross, and another on an early twelfth-century stone cross in Sussex.

The actual method of translation in the OE version is again to abbreviate where possible; this is clear when details attested by all the Latin MSS are omitted from the OE. Thus, for example, the first part of the OE version of ch. XVII is very much reduced by omitting the details of Herod's anger, the order to kill all children aged two years and under, and all mention of the magi. Again, in ch. XXII, the names of the region (Hermopolis) and the city (Sotinen), together with the number of the idols, are omitted; and in ch. XXIII, the quotation from Isa. 19:1 is omitted from the OE, although it appears in all the Latin MSS.

The Protevangelium was composed largely for doctrinal reasons, reflected in the first part of the Pseudo-Matthew, but the episode of the flight into Egypt has little theological

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1 Dickins and Ross, The Dream of the Rood, p.3.
2 Ibid.
3 Stone, Sculpture in Britain, p.13 (dating it to c.700), and plate 4A.
4 Ibid., p.47, and plate 29B.
content apart from a crude exposition of the miraculous powers of Christ and the evils of idolatry; rather, it is a romantic 'explanation' of an episode touched on only briefly by the canonical gospels (Matt. 1:14-15). The first half of the OE homily is similarly based on apocryphal material of an extravagant nature, but is not derived from the Pseudo-Matthew. OE 3-21 may well be original, but the following section (22-72) is taken from an obscure source; the incipit, as Förster remarks, is taken directly from this source, as it is strictly relevant to the first part (22-72) only, and not to the Pseudo-Matthew, which relates wonders after and not before the birth of Christ.

The whole homily, therefore, would seem to be an amalgam of two or more apocryphal sources, with a small amount of original composition included.

1 Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.131 n.1a
Possibly the earliest reference to the *Visio Pauli* occurs in a passage from Origen found only as a quotation in the Syriac writer Barhebraeus (thirteenth century), in which Origen claims the work was accepted by the early church. There is also a possible reference to it in the *Homil. V in Psalmos* of Origen, and these two references suggest that the *Visio* may date from as early as the first half of the third century. Towards the end of that century, the *Cathemerinon* of Prudentius, V 125 ff., describes the respite given to sinful souls, recalling the *Visio* ch. 44, but the first definite mention of the work occurs in Augustine, who criticizes

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1 The chief Latin text is in M.R.James (ed.), *Apocrypha Anecdota, Texts and Studies* II no.3 (Cambridge, 1893), pp.11ff. References to the 'Latin' text refer to this text, unless otherwise indicated. A shorter, but similar, Latin text from a MS at St. Gall, is in Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, pp. 131-47. Greek version in C. Tischendorf (ed.), *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866; repr. Hildesheim, 1966), pp. 34-69. An important Syriac version was translated into English by J.Perkins, 'The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* VIII (1866), 183-212. I have been unable to consult this article, and have used instead the relevant parts of Perkins' translation as reprinted below the Greek text in Tischendorf's *Apocryphae Apocryphae*. The *Visio* is translated into English (with variant readings from the more important versions) in James, *Apocryphal NT*, pp. 526-55, and Hennecke, *NT Apocrypha*, II, 759-98. The relevant parts of the Latin, Greek and Syriac versions are given below, Appendix III, pp.190-202.


4 PL 59:827ff.; see Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 28.
it heavily:

Qua occasione vani quidam Apocalipsim Pauli, quam sana non recipit Ecclesia, nescio quibus fabulis plenam, stultissima praesumptione finxerunt.¹

Sozomen refers clearly to the work in his Historia Ecclesiastica 7:19,² while the sixth-century Gelasian Decree³ proscribes the book as apocryphal, as does the seventh-century Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books.⁴ The Visio, which may date from as early as Origen, cannot be later than the fourth century, and is dated by James to the end of that century.⁵

There are constant references to the work throughout the literature of later periods,⁶ all of which serve to demonstrate its continuing popularity. Besides the versions already mentioned (above, p.71 n.1), there exist numerous versions in other languages,⁷ Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavic, Old Russian, Armenian, and in particular, a Coptic version of the tenth century,⁸ while in the later middle ages the Visio was

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1 Augustine, In Ioh. Tract. XCVIII. 8 (written 416), PL 35:188-; see Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 29; James, Apocryphal NT, p.525.
2 PG 67:1477-80; see Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 29; James, Apocryphal NT, p.525.
3 de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, p.21; Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, I, 48.
4 de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos, p.23; Hennecke, NT Apocrypha, I, 52.
5 James, Apocryphal NT, p.525; see also Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 31.
6 Ibid., 30-31.
7 Ibid., 4-5.
translated into almost every vernacular European language.\textsuperscript{1} It was perhaps the single most influential apocryphal work in the middle ages, in England no less than elsewhere; so innumerable are the various versions and redactions from the earliest Christian centuries onwards that it has been said that 'the apocalypse [of Paul] in its present condition is a small literature in itself rather than a single document'.\textsuperscript{2} The reasons for the enormous popularity of the Visio are described by Silverstein thus:

The Apocalypse is both ill-proportioned and full of repetitions... These considerations are, however, irrelevant. The world to which the work appealed cared neither for its artistic proportions nor for its author's originality. What it did care for were the contents... Moreover, since it was alleged to consist of the apostle's own inspired words the fact that its contents were similar to those of other current apocrypha can only have been an additional guarantee of its truth. Finally, not the least important reason for its wide appeal was its preoccupation with those conditions in the otherworld which face the soul immediately after death and are therefore a matter of imminent concern to the living...[it embodied] beliefs and legends already familiar to its readers from other current writings, and [gave] information as to the fate of the soul, in a relatively straightforward exposition which avoided the subtleties of theology, and stressed with a concreteness that was readily comprehensible the justice of God, Christ's mercy, and the simple relationship between earthly morality, and the rewards and punishments of the life to come.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2} Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 5.
\textsuperscript{3} Silverstein, \textit{Visio Sancti Pauli}, p.5.
The original language was undoubtedly Greek, although the present Greek version in Tischendorf is little more than a summary of a fuller version. A strong eastern influence is obvious, especially in the body and soul elements, and suggests that it originated in the near east, probably Palestine or Egypt.\footnote{See Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 31 and especially Kraeling, 'Apocalypse of Paul', passim.} It takes as its starting-point the words of Paul in II Cor. 12:2-4, and proceeds to describe a series of visions of heaven and hell as seen by Paul; these are often based on Judaic-Christian works such as the \textit{Apocalypse of Zephaniah},\footnote{E.g., James, \textit{Apocryphal NT}, pp. 530 nn. 1, 3; 534 n.1; 538 n.1; 540 n.1.} the \textit{Apocalypse of Elias},\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.527 n.l.} and the \textit{Testament of Job}.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.552 n.l.}

In its fullest form, the \textit{Visio} consists of a story describing the discovery of the book (chs.1-2), then, in the \textit{Visio} proper, the appeal of creation against the wickedness of man, the angels' reporting of the sins of man to God, a vision of the deaths of a righteous and two wicked men (chs.3-18), a vision of Paradise (chs.19-30), and of hell, where Paul obtains respite for the damned (chs.31-44), and a second vision of Paradise (chs.45-51). The OE version as it is preserved deals only with the second of these (chs.3-18), in a reduced form. Together with the vision of the torments of hell, the description of the deaths of righteous and wicked men, and the fate of their souls, became the most pop-
ular part of the Visio, and, from the dialogue between the
angels and the souls (e.g. OE 100-05, 112-15) developed the
wide-spread legend of the debate between the soul and the
body at the moment of death.\textsuperscript{1} Directly or indirectly, it
inspired a whole visionary literature in Europe,\textsuperscript{2} influencing
Dante\textsuperscript{3} and Chaucer: \textsuperscript{4} 'Thus it linked the other-world lore of
the first Christian centuries with that of the twelfth to the
fifteenth centuries...[its importance]...increased from the
eighth century, so that it became one of the chief formative
elements in the development of the later legends of Heaven
and Hell which culminated in the Divina Commedia of Dante.'\textsuperscript{5}

The Visio became widely known in two forms, the 'Long
Version' containing the full text, represented by James' Latin
text (see above, p.71n.1), and numerous redactions, usually
based on the description of the pains of hell (chs.31-44).

\textsuperscript{1} There is a large literature on this subject, particularly
on its OE and ME aspects. See especially T. Batiouchkof,
'Le débat de l'âme et du corps', Romania XX (1891), 1-55,
513-78; J.D. Bruce, 'A Contribution to the Study of "The
Body and the Soul" Poems in English', MLN V (1890), 193-
201; L. Dudley, 'An Early Homily on the Body and Soul
Theme', JEGP VIII (1909), 225-53; E.K. Henningham, 'OE
Precursors of the Worcester Fragments', PMLA LV no. 1
(1940), 291-307.
\textsuperscript{2} See A.B. van Os, Religious Visions (Amsterdam, 1932), passim.
\textsuperscript{3} See T. Silverstein, 'Dante and the Visio Pauli', MLN XLVII
(1932), 397-99.
\textsuperscript{4} See M.A. Stanford, 'The Summer's Tale and Saint Patrick's
Purgatory', JEGP XIX (1920), 377-81; T. Spencer, 'Chaucer's
Hell', Speculum II (1927), 177-200.
\textsuperscript{5} Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p.3.
From the eighth century on, eight different redactions developed, and were especially popular in England: 'Of the forty-seven extant manuscripts of the Redactions twenty-one, or nearly one half of the total number, are English; which points, if not to the origin of the abbreviated versions, at least to their special popularity in England.' These redactions have been incorporated into many OE and ME homilies and poems, and into the writings of Rolle and Chaucer among others.

The first form in which the Visio became widely known is the 'Long Version', and the oldest MS, edited by James, dates from the eighth century, though it is not the archetype. The shorter version of this text, in a MS from St Gall (hereafter called St G; see above, p.71 n.1 ), is closely connected with the main Latin MS. It is probably derived (via an intermediary, which would account for its omission of the complaint of creation to God, chs.4-6) from the source of that MS, rather than from the MS itself. It is to this, the

1 Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p.40.
2 Ibid., p.10.
4 See Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, pp.66, 117 n.4.
6 Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, pp.34-35,39 (giving a stemma)
Long Version tradition, that the OE version belongs, as a comparison of the OE with the Latin, Greek and Syriac versions shows, and in this form the Visio began to exert its influence on English literature as early as Bede: 'He [Bede] likes to give whole series of homogeneous narrations, the miracles of Oswald (HE III 9-13), of Aidan (ibid 15-16)...or the sequence of some visions of the other life (ibid, V 12-14), showing the influence of the wide-spread Visio Pauli.'¹ Bede, in his treatise on the building of the temple,² also makes reference to the Sabbath respite of souls, an idea derived from the Visio Pauli, ch.⁴⁴.³ A little later Aldhelm refers to the Visio in de laudibus virginitatis.⁴ The existence of the Long version in England is suggested by Aldhelm's knowledge of it in particular, and by numerous passages drawn from it in OE writers and homilists,⁵ who often 'quote the Apocalypse as if it had the authority of Scripture',⁶ e.g. Paulus on Pare tyrenan bille gesæh,⁷ hit sægā hēr on ōisum halgum gewīte (OE 1-2), cwē Sanctus Paulus (OE 37). Two passages in a homily formerly attributed to Wulfstan are derived from parts of the Visio which are consistently reduced or omitted in

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¹ W. Levison, 'Bede as Historian', in Thompson, Bede, p. 144.
² De Templo Salomonis, PL 91:735-808.
³ See Jenkins, 'Bede as Exegete and Theologian', p. 177.
⁴ PL 89:121-22: nonne ob purae...decretalibus sanxerunt; see Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p. 6.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Morris, The Blickling Homilies, p. 45.
the redactions, and which come therefore from a full version. The first is the equivalent of the Latin Propterea ergo... siue bona siue mala (see below, p. 191), and the OE 37-43 (abbreviated). The second passage is longer, and corresponds to the Visio Pauli ch. 15 and the first part of ch. 14.

Ælfric, however, takes the 'more orthodox position', in rejecting the Visio:

Humeta rædað sume men þa leasan gesetnyssæ, ðe hi hatað Paulus gesihðæ, nu hé sylfe sæde ðæt hé ðæ digelan word gehyrde, ðæ nán eorðlic mann sprecan ne môt? 5

Ælfric possibly refers to the Visio elsewhere in a sermon, but this has been disputed. In any case, if Humeta rædað sume men suggests that Ælfric himself had not read the book, 'he knew at first hand of its circulation among the more credulous of his countrymen.' 7

The Visio clearly has a history in England far older than the date of the Junius MS; the OE text in that MS is not the archetype, as the errors in copying show, and the state of the MS, with its corrections and additions (see above, p. 24)

1 See Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p. 7.
2 Napier, Wulfstan, p. 233 11. 2-12: ṣonne is hit receweder...
   and eac to yfele.
3 Napier, Wulfstan, pp. 235 1. 6-237 1. 3: Sanctus Paulus
   apostolus was spreçende...gebletsige eall hire weorc
   almhtig dritten.
4 Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p. 9.
5 Thorpe, Homilies, II, 332.
6 Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p. 97 n. 43.
7 Ibid., p. 9.
suggests a continuing interest in it. It is probably the earliest European vernacular version extant, and as such has considerable interest for the comparative study of the versions of the *Visio*. In the episode of the departure of the soul at the moment of death, in ch.14 (97-106), Silverstein notes some confusion in the OE between the psychopomps and the angels who challenge the soul on the way to heaven, similar to the confusion between these two groups in 'Wulfstan' (see above, p.78n.3): the OE 'follows the Apocalypse closely, except for its confusing the psychopomps and spirits as in "Wulfstan". It is, therefore, intermediate in character between the Long Latin texts of *Paul* and the English homilist.'¹

A more surprising and significant feature of the OE version, however, is the fact that in some important aspects it appears to be closer to the Syriac version than to the Latin; this agreement has not been remarked upon by Silverstein, the only critic who comments on the OE version.² The exact value of the Syriac version in determining the nature of the lost Greek original has been debated. Kraeling correctly considers it, in conjunction with the full Latin version, to be superior to the extant Greek version: 'the Greek form preserved is severely abridged, and ... the Syriac and Latin, when cautiously compared, will often give a better

¹ Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p.96 n.41.
² Ibid., pp.96-97 n.41.
impression of the original than the existing Greek.\textsuperscript{1} He also considers it to be frequently superior to the Latin: 'where they [the Syriac and Latin versions] fail to coincide, the Syriac seems to be the better source.'\textsuperscript{2} This view of the Syriac has been criticized, especially by Casey, who remarks that the Syriac 'is a valuable witness, but is in many ways a rescension rather than a version, and requires strict control.'\textsuperscript{3} However, the Syriac at least in some parts preserves a more accurate version than the Latin, for example in the complaints of nature against man (cf. OE 3-28). The Latin has five complaints (sun; moon and stars; sea; waters; earth), while the Syriac has only four (sun; moon and stars; sea and waters; earth; the OE is much reduced, having only the sun and the earth). The Syriac version is here supported by all the chief full versions,\textsuperscript{4} and also by the fact that in the Latin the extra complaint (of the waters) is merely a repetition of the complaint of the sea.

The relationship between the Syriac and OE versions is so close as to clarify certain difficulties in the OE account of the righteous soul in ch.14 (97ff.), and this can best be demonstrated by a detailed comparison of this passage as it occurs in the Latin, Greek, Syriac and OE versions.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} Kraeling, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 211, also 237-38.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., 238.
\textsuperscript{3} Casey, 'Apocalypse of Paul', 3; for further criticisms of Kraeling's views, see ibid., 2,13.
\textsuperscript{4} Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p.22.
\textsuperscript{5} James, Apocrypha Anecdota, pp.4-7, gives a table comparing the Latin, Greek and Syriac versions.
As the OE translator has greatly summarized, the other versions narrate Paul's vision of the earth at the beginning of ch.11 more extensively. Then the following sequence is described:1

1. at the moment of death, good and bad angels stand before the righteous soul; the OE has only ča gódan gastas (100).

2. the evil angels find no place in the soul, and the good angels tell it to regard its body, to which it must return in happiness on the day of judgment; (the OE omits all this).

3. the good angels embrace the soul (omit OE) and say: 'Be of good cheer, for you have worked the will of God on earth' (omit Greek, OE).

4. its 'guardian angel' (the sáyle hýrde of the OE 103) says: 'Be of good cheer, for you have done the will of God on earth, and I have reported your deeds to him' (omit Greek, OE).

5. the spiritus comes forth (omit OE; Syriac confused, having the speech of the spiritus spoken in the 1st person, 'And again I turned and said to my soul...', p.196) and says: Anima, ne...turberis quousque ueneris in locum quem non noueras umquam: ...inueni enim in te locum reflectionis,

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1 Based on the Latin, where possible; unnecessary details are omitted; the events described occur in all the versions except where otherwise indicated. Page numbers refer to Appendix III, below, pp.190ff.
6. the wicked powers come forth (omit Latin; OE has  sægōdan gastas 100),

7. and an **angelus**¹ (Syr. 'spirit of error', p.197, OE sægōdan gastas...cwédon 100-01) says,

8. *Vbi curris anima?* (Syr. 'Whither dost thou presume?' OE *hu ðū us nu beflihst 102-03), *uideamus si est aliquid nostrum in te*, p.197. (omit OE; Syriac adds a short fight between the good and bad angels, not found elsewhere).

9. the angel finds nothing, for the soul has the help of God (omit OE).

10. two spirits, of temptation and fornication, enter and lament that the soul has escaped them (OE and Latin omit all this), because

11. it did the will of God on earth (Lat. *guoniam fecisti voluntatem dei in terris*, p.197, OE *āu gewrohkest Godes willan on ēorōn 102-03).

12. all the evil spirits lament their loss, and wonder at

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¹ The exact nature of this angel is not clear; the Latin has only: *et ait angelus: Vbi curris, anima, et audes ingredi celum? expecta et uideamus si est aliquid nostrum in te: et ecce nihil inuennis in te* (below, p.197). However, it is either an error for 'evil angel', or is evil by implication, as it finds nothing in common with the righteous soul.
it (omit Latin; OE differs considerably, but æam dvoflum 104 suggests a connection).

13. the guardian angel of the soul replies: 'Return, o ye mortified ones;...with many artifices ye enticed it when it was on earth, and it did not listen to you', p.197(omit Latin; OE Cyrraċ on baoling scámigende... 104-06).

14. finally, the soul is received into heaven.

It will be seen that the OE resembles the Syriac in many details, and it has also summarized by omitting the addresses of the good angels and of the spiritus in 2-5 above. For the good and evil angels of the Latin, Greek and Syriac (l) it has only òa gódan gastas, and the words placed in their mouths (Eala, òu sawul...10lff.) are the equivalent of those of the spirit of error in the Syriac and the (apparently evil, see above, p.82n.1 ) angelus of the Latin. It seems likely, therefore, that gódan gastas is an error for 'evil spirits' and that in abbreviating drastically, the OE translator has confused the speeches of the angels. This would also account for the incongruous fact that the gódan gastas are wépends, and for the abrupt appearance of æam dvoflum 104 whose sudden appearance would be explained if 'evil spirits' had been previously introduced. As it stands, the text reads awkwardly in ascribing the speech beginning Eala, òu sawul... to good spirits as it is unlikely that the righteous soul should flee from good spirits. Better sense is obtained if 'evil' is
read for 'good' here, or even if 'good and evil spirits' (as in the Latin and Syriac) is read for 'good spirits.' What appears to have happened in the OE version is that between the introduction of the gōdan gastas and the speech in question, it has neglected to introduce a number of bad spirits; these are perhaps presupposed by dvoflum, and certainly appear in the Latin (the good and bad angels at the death-bed, the ambiguous angelus later) and Syriac (death-bed, spirit of error later). It should be pointed out here, perhaps, that there is a possible alternative explanation of dvoflum 104. After the speech discussed above, the Latin introduces nothing new, and the soul is carried up to God. The Syriac, however, introduces a whole series of evil spirits (a fight between good and evil angels, the spirits of deception, temptation and fornication, p. 197), and it is possible that the OE dvoflum recalls this tradition.

The link between the Syriac and OE, however, can be seen clearly in the OE 103-06, firstly in the introduction, common to both, of the guardian angel of the soul (OE sāwle hýrde 103, Syriac 'the angel which conducted it [the soul] in life', p. 197), and secondly in the words of this angel to the evil angels, almost identical in both texts:

OE Cyrrāo on bæcling scámigende, forðān ðe ge ne mihton ða sāwle beswícæn ða ða hvo on lichaman wæs.

Syriac. 'Return, o ye mortified ones; ye have no
way of access to it; with many artifices ye enticed it when it was on earth, and it did not listen to you' (p.197).

A further correspondence between the OE and Syriac appears in the passage following this reply. Here the OE differs from all versions, and has a passage (106-10) in which a voice is heard saying: *Gebringa ða sawle to us, forðan ðe heo gewróhte Godes willan on eorðan. Þat heo geléfe and ongyte Þat se is soð God ðe heo lufode* (108-10). This is not found in either the Latin or the Syriac. It is followed by a further passage (111-15) in which the angels in heaven rejoice over the soul, exclaiming: *Gewærlícæ do ðu, gódæ sawul, and wesðu gestrángod, and eallæ we ðe efenlícæ zefædæ, forðan ðe ðu gewrohtest Godes willan on vorðan* (113-15). This is not found in the Latin, which has merely *et deduxerunt eam [sc. animam] dum adusque adoraret in conspectu dei*, p.198, but an equivalent passage (though much expanded) is found in the Syriac, which has:

> And after this I heard the voice of myriads of angels praising God and saying: Rejoice and be glad, O soul; be strengthened and do not fear... We all rejoice over thee, that thou hast done the will of thy Lord... And there was a great cessation; afterwards silence reigned for a considerable time (p.198).

The Latin has obviously missed much after *conspectu dei*, viz. the OE and Syriac passages quoted above. This would account for the plural verb which follows in the Latin,
cumque dessinuissent, 'when they had ceased'. This obviously cannot refer to the following Michael et omnis exercitus angelorum, and if it refers to the soul's cessation of worship in conspectu dei, it should be in the singular ('and when it had ceased' as James suggests in his translation). The plural is explained, however, if we assume that the Latin has missed the passage, found in the Syriac and OE, in which the angels praise and glorify God; the sense would then be 'when they had ceased [from worshipping],' cf. Syriac 'and there was a great cessation'.

In this passage, therefore, we can observe a close connection between the OE and the Syriac traditions, and notice also that the OE and Syriac between them appear to preserve a better text than the Latin. The OE version not only depends on a Latin version other than that of James's text (amply attested by minor discrepancies between the two), but in fact belongs to a different tradition which is closely linked with that represented by the Syriac text. In view of the fact that points are found in common between such diverse texts as the OE and Syriac, it is probable that they are not original to the Syriac, but are derived from its Greek prototype, which undoubtedly gave rise to the Latin

1 St G has a different reading here: quem cum audissent Michael et omnis exercitus angelorum, Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p.132.
2 James, Apocryphal NT, p.532.
tradition from which the OE version is ultimately derived, and which differs in these respects from the tradition represented by James's text. A Latin text closer to the OE may perhaps come to light; possibly its transmission was via Ireland, where visionary literature was especially popular, and where there is some evidence of direct analogies with eastern literature.¹

Note on the Texts

Wynn has been replaced by \textit{W} throughout; expansion of MS abbreviations is indicated by underlining, and punctuation and capitals have been introduced in accordance with modern practice. The chapter divisions of the Latin texts have been retained, in order to facilitate comparison with the Latin originals. Wherever possible, square brackets are used to draw attention to emendation or restoration of the texts, while a series of dots (\ldots) indicates a lacuna; when enclosed in square brackets, it indicates an omission which cannot be restored from other MSS, and which is not restored conjecturally. In some cases where such omissions occur, a conjectural restoration, when reasonably certain, is given in square brackets.
Note on the Textual Variants

The aim of the textual variants is to show differences of meaning among the MSS. For this reason, all different words are indicated, as are all significant inflexional variations, e.g. 185 gebedel gebedum C, béдум B. Since the ge prefix can indicate a meaning differing from that of the simple verb, all variants of this nature have also been indicated.¹

Certain variants which do not affect the meaning are omitted: merely orthographic differences, e.g. 26 sceapal sceap[e B, and spelling differences, e.g. 215 sŵ[e]re sŵ[e]re B.² Owing to the considerable difference in the dates of H and B, both these types of variants are numerous. Obvious scribal errors in MSS C and B are ignored - e.g. 297 etywde H is written eteow in C - as is the inversion of phrases, generally consisting of two or three words only, e.g. to cwæ - cwæ to.

Where a word from H cited in the variant notes occurs twice in the same line of H, the correct reference is indicated by the appropriate superior number, e.g. Pe¹ Pe²

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² Although spelling variations from H are not indicated, where both C and B are cited as differing from H in some other way, spelling differences between the latter two MSS are indicated, e.g. 141 ahófen] hofon C, hofen B.
DE NATIUITATE SANCTAE MARIAE

Men ða leofestan, weorþian we nu on andwearndysse ða gebyrdtide ðære eadigan fæmnan Sancta Marian. Seo wæs cennystre ures Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes. Nu is hyre nama gereht hlæfdige oððe cwén oððe sæsteorra.

Heo is hlæfdige gecweden forðan þe heo cende þone hlaford heofonas and eorðan, and heo is cwén gecweden forðan þe heo cóm of ðam æðelan cynne and of ðam cynelican saxe Dauides cynnes. Sæsteorra (fol. 201v)

heo is gecweden forðan þe se steorra on niht gecyþþ scypliðendum mannum hwyder bið east and west, hwyder suð and norð. Swa þonne wearð ðurh ða halgan fæmnan Sancta Marian gecyþþ ped se rihte siðfæt to ðam ecan

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Incipit] SEXTA IDVS SEPTEMBER NATIVITAS SANCTE MARIE VIRGINIS (sic) C, Natiuitas Sancte Marie B

4 cennystre] Godes kenninge B Nu is] and B
6 gecweden] înmem B 7 eorðan] eorðan, and heo is cwén gecweden forðan þe heo cende þone hlaford heofonas and eorðan H gecweden] omit C, înmem B 10 heol] omit B (sche inserted above line in another hand)
se steorra] sæsteorra C, Peo sæsteorra B gecyþþ ped] cuðe P B 11 hwyder] and B 13 Sancta Marian] omit CB
life ðam ðe lange ær sæton on þeostrum and on deaðes
scuan and on þam unstillum þyðum þære sæ ðiþes
middaneardes, and a syððan wyston ealle halige þone
fruman middaneardes and ende, and heofona rices wuldor
and helle wite.

Nu wille we eow secgan be ðære gebyrde ðære
eadigan fæmnan Sancta Marian, hu seo geworden wæs and
acenned.

I(1) We habbað geræd on bocum Pat wære sum swiðe
æþele wer on Iesraliscum folce ðæs nama wæs Ioachim.
Se wæs of Iudan cynne and he wearð geboren on
Galileiscre scire, on ðære byrig ðæ is gehaten
Nazareth. Se wæs heorda his sceapa and he wæs
godfyrht man on bylewitynsse and on fremsumnyssæ, and
he næðfe næðige oðre gyemene buton his eowde. Of ðam
eowde he fædde ealle ðæ ðe him Drihten ondredon, and
of ðam wæstmum he Gode Pry(fol.202r)fealde lac
gebrohte and ealle his æhta on þeo todælæ. Æðne
dæl he sealde ðearfan and wydewan and steopcildum and

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19 Nu wille we eow] Peonne magen wé nu hwylcen seogum
(sic) wordum B gebyrdæ] burdtide B 20 geworden]
oboren B 20-21 and acenned] omit CB
I 22 habbað geræd on bocum] leornæð B swiðe]
omit CB 23 on Iesraliscum folce] in Israel B
ðæs] his B 24 Se wæs] omit B cynne] mægPe C
24-26 and he wearð geboren on Galileiscre scire, on
ðære byrig ðæs is gehaten Nazareth] omit B 26 and]
omit CB 27 on² in B fremsumnyssæ] fremfulnyssæ C
30 Pryfealdæ] omit C (þeo written in margin in
another hand) 31 gebrohte] brohte B
ælodigum mannum, and oþerne dæl he sealde þam þe Gode ane þeowodon. Þone ðriddan dæl he heold him sylfum and his hirede big to lifigenne. (2) Da mid þam þe he þas ðing waes donde þus, þa micclode Gode his woruldæhta þæt on þa tid næs nan wer him gelic on Israelum.

Das þing he ongan don þa þe he waes fftyne wintra, and mid þam þe he hæfde twentig wintra, þa onfeng he wif him to gemæccan. Seo wæs gehaten Anna, and hyre cynn wæs on þære byrig Bethlehem. Seo wæs Acháres dorhtor of his agenum cynne, þæt is þonne of ðam æþelan cynn Dauides þæs cynincges. Hi ða wær on samod drohtniende ætgædere twentig wintra, swa hi nan bearn ne begeaton.

II(1) Da gelamp hit sume dæge þæt he eode to ðam Drihtnes temple, and he ða Ioachim gestod betwyx þam mannum þe to Gode onsegednyssse brohton and he gearwode his gyfe on Godes (fol.202v) gesihóe. Him ða to genealæhte para hocera sum, þæs nama wæs Ruben, and


cwæð him to: 'Nis þe alyfed þet þú stande betwyx þam mannum þe Gode onsegednysse bringað, forðan þe Godes blestung ofer ðe ne com þet he þe ænig bearn asende.'

55 He ða þæs was myccle scame Prowiende beforan þam folce for þisum wordum, and he ða swa scamiende ut of þam temple wepende gewat and he nolde þa eft to his agenum hame hweorfan, ac he gewât on westenum to his sceap[um] and ða hyrdas nam mid him, and ðær wunode fife monþa fæce swa þet ðær næming ærendraca betweenan ne ferde him and his gemæccan.

(2) Þa ongann Anna his gemæcca wepende hi to Drihtne gebiddan, and ðús cwæð: 'Min Drihten Israhela God, þu ðe eart strang and mïhtig ofer ealle gescealta, and þu me noldest næfre bearn ofer eorðan syllan, and þu minne wer me æt gename and ic nat hwæþer his lif is ofer eorðan, and gif he forðgewiten is þonne ne gegeawwe ic him byrgene.' Þa heo þæs word gecweden hæfte, þa eode heo eft (fol.203r) on hire cauertune and hire eadmodlice to Drihtne gebæd, and æfter ðam þe heo hire gebæd gefylled hæfte, þa ahöf heo hire eagan
95

up to Drihtne. Pa geseah heo spearwan nest on anum lawertreowe. Heo ða wependre stefne clypode to Drihtne and cwæð: 'Drihten, ðu ǝlmihtiga God, ðu sealdest eallum gesceaftum byrðor and hi on ðan gefeoð, and ic ðe nu ðanc secge ðæt ðu me ane ute atyndest fram Pinre gyfðæ ðære fremsumnysse. Hwæt! ðu, min Drihten, canst and wast mine heortan. Hwæt! ic ðe fram fruman mines gesinscipes gehet gyf ðu me sealdest sunu oððæ dohtor, ðæt ic hi wolde ðe gebringan to Pinum temple.'

(3) Da heo ðæs word gecweden hæfde, hwæt! ða hyre ætywde Drihtnes encgel and ðus cwæð: 'Næ ðearft ðu ðe ondrædan, Anna, forðan ðe Pin Prowung is on Godes geþeahnte. ðæt of ðe acenned bið, ðæt bið on wundra eallum folcum oððæ ðæt woruldes ende.' Da mid ðæm ðæs ðæs word gecweden hæfde, ðæs ðæs he fram hyre eagum ahafen. ðæs ðæs heo (fol.203v) swyðe forht geworden for ðæs engles gesihðæ. Heo hire ðæs gewat into hyre clyfan and ðær awunode ðone dæg and

72 [Pa] and [Pa CB] spearwan] an sparewæn B
73 wependre] mid wependre B stefne] stemne C
74 [Pu-] ðu ðæs B 76 and] omit CB secge] sette C
96

Da niht on hire gebede.

(4) Da ðæs on morgen ða gelaðode heo hyre Pinene
hire to and cwæð: 'Hwæt! Pu me gesawe on wydewan hade
beswicene and on mycelre nearonysse gesette, and
noldest me to frofre cuman.' Da andswarode heo hire
ungeþærllice and hire cwæð to: 'Deah þe God Pinne wer
æt þe genume and ðinne innoð beluce, hwæt sceal ic
Þæs don?' Da ða heo ane Þæs word gehyrde, ða ongan
heo biterlice wepan.

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III(1) Hwæt! ða on ðære ylcan tide ætywde him
sum swyðe wlitig wer on ðam westene ðær ðær he wæs mid
his hyrdum, and him cwæð to: 'For hwan nelt ðu ham
gehweorfan to Pinum gemæccan?' Da cwæð he Ioachim:
'Twentig wintra ic wunode mid hyre and me God nan
bearn of hyre ne sealde. Ac ic swyðe geæswicod eode
ut of ðam Drihtnes temple; forðan ic nylle eft ham
gehweorfan, ac ic wylle her wunian ða hwile Pe
Drihten wile, and ða Godes gyfe for (fol. 204r) Drihtnes
naman dælan swa ic ær dyde.' (2) Da andswarode him se iunga and cwæð: 'Ic eom Drihtnes encgel, and nu todæg ic me æteowde Pinum gemæccan and hi gefrefrode Pa Pa heo hi wepende and geomriende to Drihtne gebæd; and wite Pu Pæt heo is of ōinum sæde geeacnod swa swa Pu nystest Pa Pa Pu hi ana forlæte, and heo Pe cenneð dohtor, and seo bið on Godes temple fulfremed and se halga gast restep on hyre, and hire eadignyss astigeð ofer ealle wifcynn and hire ne bið gelic æmig Para Pe ær wæs ðūðe æfter [cymō]. Cyr nu to pinum gemæccan and ōu gemetest hi geeacnode, and ōu Pæs Gode Panc sege, forðan Pe hyre sæd bið gebletsod and heo bið modor Pære ecgan bletsume geseted.'

(3) Da wurpode hine Ioachim and him cwæð to: 'Gyf hit Pus gewurðan scule swa Pu cwyst, site mid me on minum huse and gebletsa Pinne Peo[w].' Da cwæð se encgel to him: 'Hwi wylt Pu, la! cweðan Pæt ōu sy min Peowa? Ac Pu eart min efenPeowa, forðan Pe wit syndon anes Godes Peow; and ic Pe secge Pæt min mete ne min

drenc ne mæg beon fram (fol. 204\textsuperscript{v}) mannum gesewen.

Ac swa hwæt swa ṭu me to gyfe tihhie, bring Pæt Gode
to onsægednyssse.' He ṭa Ioachim Gode brohte unwemme
lac and to ōam engle cwæð: 'Næs ic na gedyrstig Pæt
ic Gode sacerdlice onsægednyssse brohte Pær ṭu me ne
hete.' Da cwæð se encgel: 'Na ic ōe ne hête Gode
sacerdlice onsægednyssse bringan, forōam [Ƿe] ic Godes
willan to Pàn on Pē ne ongeate.' Da gewat se encgel
samod mid ōam stence Pære onsægednyssse into heofonum.

(4) He ṭa Ioachim wearō to Pàm forht Pæt he feoll
on his ansyn and læg swilce he dead ware fram Pære
sixtan tide Pæs dæges ō-Pæt æfen wæs. Him ṭa to
genealæhton his hyrdas and hi hine ṭa gesawon lícgan
and nyston Pone intingan on him, ac ahófen hine up,
and hi wendon Pæt he wolde hine sylfne acwellan. Da
ahof he his heafod up and he him asæde ṭa his gesihōe
Pē he geseah. Da wurdon hi sona afyrhte, and eac
wundrodon, ō-Pæt he heom eall asæd hafde, and hi
ēa ealle hine trymedon and lærđon Pæt he gehyrsum
ware Pæs engles wordum, and Pæt he hrape (fol. 205\textsuperscript{r})
gehwyrftde ham to his gemæccan. He ða Ioachim Preodode
and smeade on his mode, hwæt he embe ðæt dyde. ða
wearð he færinga on slæpe gehwyrfted. Him ða eft
ætywde se ylca Godes encgel on slæpe, and him to
cwæð: 'Ic eom Godes encgel, and fram Drihtne ic eom
Pe to hyrde geset. Aþ gewit nu ham orsorh to ðinum
gemæccan, and ingcer mildheortnyss ðe gyt worhten is
beforan Godes gesihœ, and ingcer nama wæs gereàdd
beforan Godes gesihœ on his Prymsetle, and he Drihten
ingc syleð swa myccle growynysse on ingcran beorðe
swa he næfre nængan halgan ær ne sealde, ne nu eft
ne syllað.' He ða Ioachim of ðam slæpe aras and his
swefen sæde his hyrdum. Hi ða ealle hine bædon and
halsedon ðæt he gehyrsumode ðæs engles wordum, and
ricene ham gecyrde. (5) ða wæs he ær gegán for his
unrotnysse on ðam westene to ðam feor; ðæt he for XXX
daða fæc ne mihte ham to his gemæccan gehweorfan.
165 Heo ða Anna wæs æt hyre gebede, ða ætywde hyre
Drihtnes encgel and hyre gec[yd]de ðone hamsioð

148 gehwyrftde] hwirfde B 149 and smeade] omit CB
150 wearð] gewearð C 151 Godes] omit CB
153 gewit] fare B 154 ingcer] eower CB gyt] ge CB
is] omit CB 155 before Godes gesihœ] omit B
ingcer] eower CB 156 Godes] Drihtenes C, Drihtnes B
Drihten] omit CB 157 ingc] eow CB ingcran]
eowran C, eowre B 158 halgan] haligran C nu]
u næfre CB 162 gecyrde] cyrde B 163 to ðam]
swá B 164 daga] dagene B 166 gec[yd]de H,
cydde B
(fol.205V) hyre gemæccan, and heo ða mid hyre hyrede
him ongean ferde mid mycclum gefean; swylce eac hyre
mægðe and eall Israhela bearn mycelne gefean hæfdon
be his hamcyme, and be ðam hlisan hire geeacununge.

IV Hwaet! Pa æfter Pan wæron gefylde nigan monað
hire geeacununge, Pa cende Anna hyre dohtor on Pissum
dæge and hyre naman gecigde Maria, and heo hi ða fedde
Preo winter at hire breostum. Ioachim Pa and Anna
læddon Pet cild mid heom to Pære halgan ceastre and
ða lac brohton mid heom to ð[am] Drihtnes temple, ðe
Iúdea gewuna wæs, and hi ða sealdon Pet cild on
gemanan Pære fæmnenæ Pe dæges and nihtes on Godes
lofe wunodon. Heo Pa up eode mid ðam oðrum fæmnum on
Pa fiftyne stæpas on ðam temple, swa heo on bæc ne
beseah, ne æfter hyre yldrum ne murnde swa swa cildra
gewuna is. Ac heo wæs on gange and on worde and on
eallum geberum gelfc wynsuman men þe hæfde XXX wintra,
and heo geornlice and eadmodlice Purhwunode on hyre
gebede oð-Pet Pa biscopas and eall Pet folc (fol.206²)
wundodon on hire gebær.
V Heo Anna Pa, Sancta Marian modor, wæs gefylled mid halige gaste, and witegode Pa beforan Pam folce and ðus cwæP: 'Drihten ælmhítig God wæs gemynndig his worda Pe he sylfa cwæð, ðæt he wolde his folc gesecan mid haligre geneosunge, and ða Peode Pe wið us arisan he wolde geeadmedigan ðæt hi gecyrdon to heora sylfra heortan and heora earan ontyn[d]on to urum benum, and ða bysmernyssa ura feond[a] fram us acerron. On ða[m unbeoór]um ecre blisse tuddor forg[iefen is] on Israelhelum, swa me min Drihten forgeaf, ðæt ic mot Gode gecweme lac bringan ær me mine fynd ascufon fram ðære halgan onsegedynysse for minre unwæstmberendynysse. Drihten min acerde hi fram me, and me forgeaf ecne gefean.'

VI (1) Da heo Pas word gecweden hæfde, Pa cyrdon hi ham mid ðam and ðæt cild forleton æt ðam halgan temple mid oðrum fænum. Heo ða weox and wearð fulfremed on godra mægna heanyssum (fol.206v), and heo ða sona godum towкраeftum onfeng, swyðor ðonne


VI 202 halgan] omit CB 203 oðrum] oprum Pam C, ðam oøre B Heo] and heo CB 205 swyðor] and swiðor CB
And heo gesette hyre sylfre haligne regol swa pæt heo wolde beon fram Pære ærestan tide pæs dæges on hyre halgum gebedum wuniende oð-Pæt ọa Priddan tid, and fram Pære Priddan tide oð ọa nigoPan tid ymbe hyre webbgeworc; and eft fram Pære nigoðan tide heo Purhwunode standende on hyre gebedum oð-Pæt Godes encgel hyre ætywde and hyre brohte heofonlice swetnyssse, and heo onbirigde Pære of his handa. And heo syðPan wæs betere and swyðre on Godes lufan and on gastlicra mægna heannyssum, and heo yldran fæmman lærde to Godes willan, and heo wæs getyddre and snotere on Pære Godes æ Ponne ænig Pære Pe hyre beforan wæs. Heo wæs eadmodre and on Godes lufan glæddre and on hyre geþohtum clænre and on ðam Davuid[iscum] sangum wrætlicre and wisra, Ponne heora ænig ár ware. Heo wæs Polemod and gestæðig (fol.207r) on hire gebæran, (3) and ne geseah hi nan man yrre ne tælan ne wyrigean, ne nan man ne gehyrde yfel word.
of hyre muðe gan, ac hyre word wæron Godes gyfe full, 
and heo wæs on hyre heortan smeagende þone wisdom 
Godes boca. And ða fæmnan þe mid hyre wæron heo 
getrymde þæt hi on heora gebedum Purhwunedon and 
on Godes lofa, and þæt heora nan stefne up ne ahofe 
on idlum leahtre ne hy on heora tungan teonan ne 
cwæden, ne nan yfel word of heora muþe ut ne eode. 
And of h[ire] aras ærest se gewuna þæt se man se ðæ 
operne mid lufan gegrete, þæt he him godcunde blestunge 
ongean sende. And dæghwamlice heo onfeng mete of ðæs 
egles hande and mid þæm gereordod wæs, and ðone mete 
þe heo æt þæm bisceope onfeng æt ðæm temple heo 
gedælde þearfendum mannum, and swa hwilc man swa hi 
untrum gesohte, eft he eode hal fram hire.

VII(1) Da gelamp hit þæt Abiathar se sacerd 
brohte myccle gyfe þæm bisceope and bæd hine þæt he 
gesealde Marian his sunu (fol.207v) to gemæccan. Da 
styrde Maria him and cwæð anraedlice: 'Ne gewurð þæt 
næfre swa þæt ic wer grete oðøe wer me.' Da andwyrdan
Pa bispicas hyre and hyre mægœe on Pam temple and

cwædan: 'God wæs on bearnum begangan and [on ea]foran
weorPa[d], swa Pæt gewunelic wæs on Godes folce
Israelum.

Da andwyrde Maria and him cwæð to: (2) 'Næs
nan rihtwis man ne nan halig ær Abel, and hine
arleaslice his broœor ofsloh. He brohte twyfealde
gyfe Drihtne - hlutto onsegednyssæ and his lichaman
clænnyssæ. Swylce eac Helias wæs on Pissere worulde,
ac he wearœ alæded mid lichaman and mid sawle to
heofonum forœan Pe he his clænnyssæ geheold.

VIII (1) Da wæs heo swylce heo ware XIII wintra,
öa gedemdon Pa Phariseas Pæt heo syðœan wunian sceolde
on Pam Godes temple. Hy öa gePeahtodon Pæt hi
Israelæ folc gelaðodon to öam Godes temple Py Priddan
dæge. Da Pa hy Pider gesamnod wæron Pa astah se
heabhiscop Isachar up on Pone ytemestan stæpe, clypode
Pa hluddre (fol.208r) stefne and öus cwæð: 'Gehyraœ

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244 magnæl magas ealle Pe C, magas alle Pe B
245 temple] temple wæron C, temple weron B
246 weorPa[d, ] weorPaœ H, weorœœ C, weorœœ B
247 gewunelic] an gewunelic H 248 andwyrde] andswarode C,
answyrde B 249 nan" ] omit CB 250 his broœor
unwis CB 252 on,] of CB 253 ac he wearœ] omit CB
alæded] flœd B mid] on CB 253-54 and mid sawle
to heofonum] omit CB 254 geheold] heold B
VIII 255 Da] omit CB 256 gedemdon] demden B
Pa] omit CB 257-58 Hy öa gePeahtodon Pæt hi
Israelæ folc gelaðodon to öam Godes temple] omit B
Py] Dæt B 260 clypode] and clipode C, and clypode B
nu, Israhela bearn, mine word. Hwæt! ge witon Pæt
Salomon pis tempel getimbrode, and her wæron syðsan
inne cyninga bearn and witegena and heahsacerda oþ-
Pæt hi becomon to alicre yldo, and hi gelimplice heora
yldran wæron gehyrsume to alicum gyftum and heora bearn
eft Gode lac brohton swyðe gecweme to Pæm Godes temple,
and on heora yldrena endebyrdnysse Gode gecwemdon. Nu
is Ponne gemeted Pæt Maria heafð niwe endebyrdnysse
ongunnnon Gode mid to gecwemanne, cweð Pæt heo wile
[Gode] hire mægðad bringan. Nu Ponne uton secan Pæ
andsware to Gode ure axunge, Pæt God us gecyðe hwilcum
wære we hi befæstan sculon to healddenne.'

(2) Da gelicode Pæt word Pære gesammunge, and hy
ða asenden hlota ofer Pæ XII cyn Israhela. Da gefeoll
Pæt hlot ofer Iúdan cyn, Iacobes sunu. Da bebed se
sacerd Pæt Pæt Iúdan cynn come eall Pæs on mergen to
ðam halgan temple, ælc Pære Pe wif næfde, and hæfde him
gyrda on handa. Da wæs Ponon geworden (fol. 208v) Pæt

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262 Hwæt] omit B 263 getimbrode] timbrode B
266 gehyrsume] æwfæston C, eawfestæ B to alicum
gyftum] omit CB 267 swyðe] omit CB 268 on] omit CB
270 gecwemanne] cwemenne C, cwemere B cweð] sægð B
Pære] ealre Pære C, alle Pære B hy] omit CB
275 asenden] sendon C, senden B Israhela] Israhela
bearnum C, Israele bearnum B gefeoll] feol B
CB on] omit C mergen] margennes C 278 halgan
Godes B næfde] hæfde B hæfde] næfde B him]
heora ælc C, heora ælc B
Ioseph was gehaten sum gewintrod man, eode Pyder mid iungum mannum and his gyrde bær. Pa genam se sacerd ealle Pa gyrde and bær into Pam Sancta Sanctorum, and bebead Pæt hi comon Pæs on mergen and name ælc his gyrde, and Žonne sceolde culfre fleogan of Pære gyrde foreweardre up oð Pone heofon. Ponne sceolde se wer beon hyrde Pære fæmman.

(3) Da wæs geworden on mergen Pæs æfteran dæges Pæt hi comon ealle on Pa tid Pære onsægednysse, and he ða inn eode se bispens into Pam Sancta Sanctorum (wæs Pæt Pæra haligra halignys ealra), and he ða genam Pa gyrde and sealde heora æghwilcum his gyrd on sundran. Pa wæs Pæra manna Preo Pusenda, ac ða of nætre] Para gyrda seo culfre ne eode. Da geyrede hine Abiathar se bispens mid Pære heahsacerda geyrlan, and eode into ðam Sancta Sanctorum and onbærnde Pa onsægednysse and his bêne to Drihtne sende. Da ætywde him Drihtnes encgel and him cwæð to: 'Seo
séleste gyrd is gft unseald, seo Pe Pu (fol. 209r)
for naht ne telest. Nim Pa and syle, Ponne cyrnó Pat
tacen of hyre Pe Pu Pær se[c]est. Wæs Pæt Iosepes
gyrd. Da næs he[o] na gesoht forðan Pe he wæs eald
and ytemest stod. Da clypode se bickop mid mycelre
stefne hine and cydde him Pæt, and he ða soma onfeng
Pæra gyrd of ðæs bisceopes handum. Hwaet! Pær of soma
fleah culfre swyðe hwít and geondfleah Pa heannysse
Pæs temples, and heo ða gewat into heofonum. (4) Da
wæs Pæt folc fægniende and swyðe bliðe, and cwædon to
Iosepe: 'Eadig eart Ȝu on Pinre ylde, nu Pe God swa
gewurðode Pæt ðu scealt beon hyrde Pære clænan
fæmnan.' Eac swylce Pa bickopas cwædon: 'Onfoh hyre
nu, forðan Pe Pu eart ana gecoren on Pinum cynne hyre
to hyrde fram Gode.' He ða Ioseph cwæð mid bifiendre
stefne: 'Nis min gemet swilcum cilde to onfonne,
forðan Pe ic hæbbe fela bearna, and ða synd ealle
yldran Ponne heo.' Da cwæð se bickop to him: 'Gemune

298 unseald] efter CB 299 naht] nawiht C 300 Pe]
Pæt CB se[c]est] setest H, secgst B 301 he[o] ]
he H gesoht] soht C he] Ioseph CB 302 ytemest]
on utemest B mid] omit CB 303 stefne] stemne C
cydde him] hine cigde C, hine nemnode B Pæt] omit CB
303-4 he ða soma onfeng Pæra gyrd of ðæs bisceopes
handum] him his gyrde sealde C, him his gyrdæ sealde B
304 Hwaet] omit CB Pær of soma] and Pa sæmninga C, and
Pa on sæmningæ B 305 culfre] Pær culfre ut CB
geonfleah] fleah geond B heannysse] hwæmmas C,
hwæmmes B 306 heo] omit CB into] on Pone C, on ðone
B 307 fægniende and] omit CB bliðe] gefeconde CB
to] omit C 308 nu] nu, Ioseph CB 312 mid] omit CB
313 stefne] stemne C 314 Pe] omit C
Pu hu hit gelamp be Dathán, hu he forwearǫ, and manega eac Pa ðe Godes willan (fol.209V) forhogodon.'
Da cwað he Ioseph: 'Ne forhycge ic na Godes willan, ac ic hy gehealde oð-Pat ic ongyte Godes willan on hyre, and God Ponne gecyPeð hwilc iunge manna on minum cynne hyre wurœe bið. Ac syle Pa[re] clænan fæmnan fultum Pat heo wunigen mid hīg oð-Pat allice yldo.' Da cwað se biscop: 'Fæmnan beoð hyre on fultume oð Pæne dæg eowra gemænunga, and ne mæg hīg nán oðer onfón.'

(5) Da onfeng Ioseph hi mid oðrum fænnum, Pe hyre wæron on fultume geseald, to Iosepes name. Da wæron Pus gehatene, ærest Becca, Sephira, Susanna, Abugea, and Sehel; and se biscop sealde heom eallum godweb to wefanne of seolce and of mislicum hiwum wahrift to Pam temple. Da onfeng Maria hwit godweb to wefanne and ða oðre mislices hiwes. Da spræcon hi heom betwynan on gleo and ðus cwaðon: 'Pu eart ure gingast Pe miht wefan Pæt hwite godweb, and ðu miht beon ure cwén.'
Da pæ hi ðæs word spræcon on gleo, ðæ ætewde heom Drihtnes encgel and cwæð: 'Ne sceal eower word beon on ðidnyssa ac hit sceal beon mid soðe (fol.210r) gecyped, forðan ðæ witegan geare sædon þæt heo scolde beon middaneardes cwæn.' Da wær ðæ ealle swiðe forhte for ðæs engles gesihæl and his worde, and ongunnon ðæ wurðian and hyre eadmodlice hyran.

IX (1) Pa gelamp hit sume ðæg þæt heo stod be sumere wyllan. ðæ ætewde þær Drihtnes encgel and cwæð hyre to: 'Eadig þæ eart, Marfa, forðan on ðinum mode þæ gearwodest Drihtnes eardunghus, and leoth cymð of heofonum on ðæ and þæt liðteð ofer ealne middaneard.'

(2) Da eft þæs Priddan ðæges Drihtnes heahencgel hyre ætewde mid unasecgendlicre beorhtynsse and heo ðæ wæs swyðe afræht and abreged for ðæs engles gesihæl. Da cwæð se encgel to hyre: 'Ne þearftu ðæ ondrædan, Marfa; Drihtnes gifu is mid þæ. þæ scealt acennan cyning se ah anweald heofonas and eorðan, and his rice[s] ne bið
nan ende.'

X (1) On Pa tid Pe Pis gelamp wæs Iosep on Pam lande Pe Cafarnaum hatte, ymbe his cræft. He wæs smiç and mønitgawwa wyrhta. Da Pa he Panon gecyrde to his agenum hame Pa gemette he hi bearn hæbbende on hire (fol. 210v) gehrife. Da wæs he sona swyðe forht and sorhfull on his mode, and ðus cwæð: 'Drihten, Drihten min, onfoh minum gaste. Me is deað selre Ponne lif.'

Da cwædôn Pa fæmnan him to, Pe mid hyre wæron, Pæt hi geare wiston Pæt hyre nan wer ne onhrán, ac heo wære onwelges mægðades and unwemme, 'and we witon Pæt heo wæs dæges and nihtes on halgum gebedum wuniende, and Godes encgel wið hyre spræc, and heo dæghwamlice of ðæs engles handum mete Pigde. Hu mæg Pæt gewurðan Pæt Pæt sy swa, forðan Pe we witon Pæt hit man ne dyde, ac Godes encgel?' (2) Da cwæð he Ioseph: 'Nis Pæt na swa, nat ic Peah heo beo beswicen Purh Pæs engles hiw,' and he ða wæop biterlice and ðus cwæð: 'Mid hwylcre byldu mæg ic æfre gán to Godes temple, oððe hu mæg ic geseon Pa ansyne Pàra sacerda.
for sceame?' Da Pa he ðus cwað, Pa ðohhthe he digollice
Pæt he wolde hy forlæton and faran him on oðer land.

XI Da on ðære ilcan nihte Pe he ðis ðohhtel
(fol.211r), Pa ætywde him Godes encgel on slæpe and
cwað to him: 'Ioseph, ne ðearft ðu ðe ondrædan. ðu
eart Dauides cynnes, onfoh Pinne gemæccan: hyre
gæacnung is of ðam halgan gaste, and heo cenneð sunu
and ðæs nama is Hælend, forðam Pe he gedeð hal his
folc fram heora synnum.' He Pa Ioseph aras of ðam
slæpe swyðe gefeonde and swyðe blìðe and Gode Pancode
and Marian sæde and ðam fænum Pe mid hyre wæron. ða
fægran gesyðhoe ðæs engles and ða frofre ðara worda,
and ðus cwað: 'Ic singode and gemunde ðe facnes ðær
nan [næ]s.'

XII (1) Da weardæ after ðisum mycel hlysa on ðam
folce Pæt Maria wæs gæacnod. Da sume dæge namon hine
Pa ðegnas ðæs temples and læddon hine to ðam biscope
and to ðam heahsacerdum, and cwædon to him: 'To hwan
forhæle ðu us ðine gemænunge swa clænre fæmnan, ðe
Godes englas hy feddan swa swa culfran on ðam temple,
and heo næfre nolde were æðrinan, ac heo wæs on Godes æ seo getydeste fæmne and gyf ðu nédinga hyre on ne sohtest ðonne wære heo clæne.' He ða Iosep hine ladode (fol.211v) and cwæð ðæt he hyre næfre ne æðrine.

(2-4) Hwæt! ða biscopas and ða heahsacerdas on unarínðum godcundre geryna be ðære ealdan æ acunnodon soðlice ðæt hio wæren butu clæne fram eallum ðam synnum ðe ðæt folc hi oncuðe. (5) Þi ða ealle eadmodlice bædon hyre mildse and heora wohnyssa forgfyfennyssa ðæs ðe hi ðæs unrihtes hy acuðan, and hi and eall ðæt folc and ða sacerdas læddon hi mid ðam fænnnum to Iosepes hame mid micclum gefean and mid mycelre blisse clypodon and ðus cwæðon: 'Sy Drihtnes nama gebletsod on worulda woruld se ðe cuðlice gecydde pine halignyssa on eallum Israhela folce.'

Wæs seo halige fæmne swa we ær cwæðon of ïesses wytruman and of Dauides cynne, and heo wæs Drihtnes modor ures Hælendes and heo is hordfåt ðæs halgan gastes and heo is cwên ðæs heofonlican cyninges gecweden and heo is engla hiht and ealra manna frofor
and fultum, forðan Pe ealles middaneardes hælo Purh
hi becom on Pās woruld. And forðan hi nu englas
eadigað (fol.212r) and ealle Peoda and ealle oneorissa
gehwylc mancynnes geleafulra and mid Pīsra bletsunga
and herenyssa heo becom beforan Pāt Prymsetl Pās
heofonlican Deman and beforan gesyhōe ealra haligra
Pār heo nu dāghwamlice Pīngað for eall Pīs mennisce
cynn. Ac uton we nu hi eadmodlice biddan Pāt heo us
si milde mundhora and bliðe Pīngere to ūam heofonlican
mægnPRymme. Nu we geare witan Pāt heo mæg æt hire
Pām deoran sunu biddan swa hwēt swa heo wile, beon
čingere to urum Drihtne Pāt he us forgýfe gesībsum līf
and ece eadignysse a butan ende. God us to ūam
gefultumige. Amen.
Incipit narrare miracula que facta fuerant ante [aduentum] Salvatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Her sagað ymb ðas mæræn gewyrð Pe to ðyssum dæge gewearð Pætte ælmhtig Dryhten sylfa ðas world gesohte and Purh unwemme fæmnan on ðas world acenned wæs to Pæn Pæt he eall manna cyn fram hellwara wite alysde and to heofona rices wuldre gefremede, and to ðyssum dæge Pe dag is ælmhtiges Dryhtnes gebyrdtid ealne ðyssne middangeardi mid niwan leohete his tocymes he gefylde. And be ðyssse gewyrde Pe we todæg weorðiað, fram worulde fruman ealle Godes halige sædon hie Pæt on bocum and on halegum leoðum sungon, and Peah ðe hit ealle sædon and bodedon, hwærre an Godes Pæra halgena Pæt eallra swioteleco[s]t gesang be ðysses dæges weorðu[n]ga and swa cwæð: 'Pis [is] se dæg Pane Dryhten geworhte; utan we blissian and gefeon on him,'
forðan ðe on ðyssum dæge ealra cyninga cyning and ealra wealdendra waldend ðysne middangeard for usse lufan gesohte of ðam hean heofena rice: forðam ðe ða uplican mid ðysse eorðlican and mid ðysse neowolan gesceæfte him wundorlice ðeowiað.

Mitte ðe hit ða ðære eadegan tide nealæhte ðætte Dryhten lichomlice wolde wesan geboren, swiðe cyneðrymlica tacen him beforan samod siðedon. Ærest geeode to ðæm [dæ]ge ðe he on geboren wæs, ðæt næmige men mid wæpnum gefeohtan ne meahton, ac hraðe ðæs hie mid wæpnum feohtan woldon hiora earmas agaledon and hira handa him gelugon, and hie sylfe wærón to sybbe geliðe(fol.55r)wacede and gefeohtan ne meahton.

Swylce ðæt eac geeode ðætte siþofon nihtum ær Crist geboren wære, ðæt siþ sunne æt midre nihte ongan scinan swa swa on sumera, þonne hio hattost and beorhtost scinð. Þæt tacnode ðæt he ðæs eorðlican sunnan nihtes scinende him to gisle beforan sende.

Swylc[e] ðæt eac geeode: unmanegum nihtum ær Crist geboren wæs onsprungon þry wyllas and of þara anra gehwylcum ele fleow fram ærmergen ðæ æfen, and manna gehwylcum wæs forgifen ðæt he moste niman swa he sylf wolde, þara pe ðæerto cwomon. Swylce manega ðære wundor ær ærære tide pe he on
geboren wæs, ða nu uneaðe magon wesan arimeode toecan Pam, Pe hie nægig man asecgan ne mag.

Da ðæt geode ðy sylfan dæge ðe gyrsandæg wæs ðæs ðe Dryhten on niht geboren wæs ær morgensteorra up eode, ðæt se casere ferde mid ealle his manPrymme to Bethlem Pære byrig Pe Dryhten on geboren wæs. Mitte Pe hit ða wæs sio Priddle tid ðæs dæges ðæ gyrsandæg wæs, he ða besæah on ða lyft ongean ða sunnan, and he gesæah mid ealle his werede ðe mid him wæs ðæt sio sunne beorhtor scan ðonne hio æfre ær scine, and hio wæs eall utan ymbworpenu ær Pryfealde gyldene hringe. Mitte ðe Agustus se casere ðæt gesæah, he cigde ofer eall ðæt werud and cwæð: 'ðæt is gesyne ðæt Pis is hiofona cyninges tacen ðe he him beforan onsende; and ic wat ðæt sio tid nu ætis ðæt he us wille on ðas world gesecan, forðam he fram fruman middangeardes sæd wæs,... on oðrum wundrum ða ymb his gebyrd acweden wæron, (fol.55v) ðæt Pis ware ytemest Para tacna ðe sceoldon wesan gescepen ær ðan ðe he on Pysne middangeard acenned wære. Us ðonne nu gedafenað ðæt we Pone wuldorfæstan cyning [weorpian], se us his tacn swa swiotolice beforan him sende.' And ða hraðe he abead ðæt sended wære to stowa gehwylcre ðara ðe to his rice belumpe, and abeodan hit sætte anra

61 [weorpian] ] omit MS
65 gehwylc Para Pe on carcern wære Pæt se wære utforlæten, and Pa Pe on bendum gesette wæron Pæt ða wæron ealle onlysede, and Pa ðæ for hiora mænum sceoldon wesan acwealde Pæt Pam eallum wære hira feorh gifen, and Pæt eallum scyldgum wære hira scylda forgifene.

And Pa to Pære sylfan niht, ær morgensteorra up eode, Dryhten wæs geboren on ðysne middangeard, (XIII 2) and hine geborene englas onfengon and hine gebædon and him wundorlico lof sungon and swa cwædon:

70 'Wuldor on heannesse Gode and on eorðan sib mannum ðæs godan willan.'

XVII 1 Mitte ðæ Herodes se cyning geascode Pæt Crist wæs geboren on Bethlem, Iudea byrig, he hine het secan purh ealle Pa mægða Pæt he wære acweald.

80 (2) Ane dæge ær Pan Pe he Erodes se cyning hete Pæt cild cwellan, Dryhtnes engel ætywde Iosepe on gesyhœ and cwæð: 'Genim Marian and Hælend Pæt cild and fer Purh Pæt westen to Egyptum.' Iosep Pa dyde swa him beboden wæs...

ut eodon of ēam scrafe manige draca[n]...

(fol.56r) XXII 1 ...denum hy locedon on Egypta
dune (2) and hie wæron swiðe gefeonde. And mytte Pe
hie comon to Pære ceastre hie næmigne cuðne næfdon
mid hwam hie wunian meahton; hy becyrdon to Para goda
temple (XXIII) and mitte Pe hio ineode Maria hæbbende
Hælend Pæt cild on hyre fæðme, eall ða diofulgild
gehruron beforan Marian fotum, and hie wæron gelytlode.

XXIV Ðæt mitte wæs sæd Afradisio Pæm heretogan,
he Pæder cwom mid ealle his werode and he wæs
ingangende on Pæt templ and he geseah eal Pa diofulgild
on eorðan licgan. He eode to Marian Pære fæmnan and
he gebæd Hælend Pæt cild, and he spræc to sallum his
werode and cwæð: 'Pær ðe ðis God ne wære, næmige
Pinga ura goda on hyra onsyne gefeollon, and for Pan
us isPearf Pæt we don swa ura god[a], ðy læs his yrre
and deaðes frecnes ofer us cume.'

XXV Æfter Pan ða Dryhtnes engel æteowde Iosepe
and Marian and him to cwæð: 'Hwyrfæð eft to Iudea
lande; ealle syndon deade Pa Pe sohton Pæne cniht to
acwellanne.'

Hælend Pa weox and he wæs gestrangod gaste: and
mægene and snytero he wæs gefylled mid Gode and mid
mannum. Him anum wuldor and weorðymyd on worulda
woruld.

115 Hwæt! we nu gehyrdon secgan hwylcnehwegu dæl ymb usses Dryhtnes gebyrd, swylce eac ymb Pa wун [dor] Pe he on his cildhade [dyde]. Utan we nu eorne tilian Pæt we Pe selran syn Ponне we Pylleca bysena usses Dryhtnes beforan us reccan and rædan gehyræ. Utan we healdan sybbe and lufan betwіοh̄s us; Ponне gyldeȜ us God ece mede æt ussum ende.

116 wун [dor] MS wун 117 [dyde] MS omit 119 gehyræ MS ge gehyræ
1 (4) ... and, men öa leofestan, hit sægō hér on ðisum halgum gewrite ðat sunna is sprecende ofer manna bearnum, cweðende: 'Drihten God ælmihtig, hu lange scyl ic lócian ofer manna unrihtdæda? Ac forlæt me ðat ic gehyde lyoman mines mægnes, ðat hi agyten ðat ðu eart ana soð God.' Da andswerede Drihten and ðus cweðende, ðat 'ealle gesihœ mine eagan geseō, and ealle gehernesse mine ēaran gehereõ, ac min geþyld onbit oð-ðat hi gewaendan and hrywe don hyra synna; and gif hi nyllaõ, ic heom deme on ðam heardestan dome.'

(6) And seo yrœ cegde to Drihtne ofer manna bearnum and ðus cweðende: 'Drihten God (fol.3V) ælmihtig, ofer ealle gesceæfta ic eam gesceõed and b[er]enda manna forhealdnessa, unrihthœmed and morœdæda and stala and mane aõas and lyblac and untidœtas and oferdruncennesse and ealle ða yfel ðe

15 b[er]enda] MS bærnenda
mæn gedoð. Se fæder aríst ofer his sunu and se sunu ofer his fæder, and se fræmda ofer ðane fræmdan, swa ðæt here anra gehwylc ðéorne beswícæð. Se fæder astihð ofer his sunu reste, ðæt he ða besmiteð, and se sunu hæmð wið his fæder lafe; and mid ðyllicum manigfealdum léahtrum hi besmitað, Drihten, ðiene halgan stówe, on ðæm beoð brihta onsaðgnyssa on ðinum halgan (fol.4r) naman and min mægen and mine wæstmas: forðæm ic heom unwillum gægarwige. Ac forlæt me, Drihten ælmihtig, ðæt ic gebrecce mægen minra wæstma, ðæt ðu hige swa to ðe gecyrrre.' Da væs gewórden Drihtenes stéfen ðús cweðende: 'Ne mæg ænig man his synna wið me gedwelian, ac ðas ealle ic wát. Ac min haligdom onbít hwæðer hi gecyrран willan and hréwe don, and gif hi nyllað geswícæn, soðlice ic heom gedeme on ðæm heardestan dóme.'

(7) Geseoð nu, men ða léofestan, ðæt æghwilc gescæft is Gode underðyoded, and ðæt næfræ hyra gebeda ne geswícæð.

(fol.4v) Nu ðonne, cwæð Sanctus Paulus, ic lére manna béarn ðæt hi ne geswícæn eallum tidum dáges and nihtes Drihten blet[s]iende, and ealra swiðest ðonne sunne to setle gange, forðæm ðe on ðære tfde ealles

39 blet[s]iende] MS bletiende
folces ænglas, wera and wifas, faraþ to Drihtne hi to
gebiddanne, and hi gebrængæþ manna wyrc, swa hwæt swa
ánra gehwilc biþ wýrænde frære merigen [o]ô æfen.
Eac swylce ic gesæah, cwæð Sanctus Paulus, on ða tîd
ðe sunne hi geywede, ðæt ealle ænglas còman to Drihtne
mid ðæm wyorcum ðe ánra gehwilc on ðære nihtæ wæs
wýrænde. (10) ðæt wæs geworden Drihtenes stéfen
(fol. 5v) cwæðende: 'Hwanon còman ge úre ænglas?' Hi
ða andsweredan Drihtne and cwæðan: 'We cóman fram ðæm
mannum ðe on ðe geléfdon and ðinne naman cegdon. Ac
middangeardes gelsan hige éarme gedydon, swa ðæt hige
anne dæg on eallum hyr[a] lîfe hige wel ne dydon. Ac
to hwan scylæn we ðénian swa synfullum mannum?'
Drihtnes stéfen ða wæs geworden to ðæm ænglan:
'Dearf is ðæt ge heom ðénian oð-òæt hige gecyrrian and
hrywe dón; and gif hige nyllað, ic heom gedéme on ðæm
heardæstan dóm.' Ongytað nú, manna bëarn, foròæm swa
hwæt swa fram ús biþ gedón gódes oðœe yfeles, eall ðæt
fram ænglum (fol. 5v) Gode biþ gesæð. Foròæn bletsiað
and gebiddæþ eow to Drihtne ge dæges ge nihtes.
(11) ðæt æfter ðán, cwæð Paulus, me genam Drihtenes
ængel and cwæð: 'Folga me, and ic ðe ætywe arleasra
stówa, ðæt ðu ongyte hwider hige beoð gelædde ðanne

43 [o]ô MS uô  52 hyr[a] ] MS hyran
hige forðferende beo ē.  And se āngel hine gelædde on
nyowelnessa ēr hylware wēron, and he him ēr
æteowode on hwilce stówe arléasra sawla gelædde beo
öanne hi of dém lichaman út gangeō.  And Paulus ēr
geseah on dryslic weald ðara mænaga gāsta ðe manna
hýrtan beswicað, īc is tælnessa gāst and
forhealdnyssa and háthyrtnyssa and lesunga and ða
wēron buton ðælcer (fol.6r) mildheortnesse.  Hyra
loccas wēron swiðe gemanigfealded and fyrene spéarcan
of hyr[a] muðan út gyodan.  Paulus ða ahsode ðāne
āngel and cwaðō: 'Wealdend, hwæt syndan ðas?'  Se
āngel him andswerede and cwaðō: 'Dis syndon ða ðe beo
gesánde to arleasra manna sawlum on tide hyra forðfore.'
(12) Paulus ða eft lócode on heahnesse and he ēr
geseah oðre ānglas, ðara ánsyne scinan swa swa sunne;
hyra lændene wēran mid gyldenum gyrdelsum begýnde and
palmtwigu on hyr[a] handum hi hæfton and mycel[r]e
manōwearnyssa hige wēron gefyllede.  And Paulus ða
ahsode ðāne āngel (fol.6v) ðe hine lādde hwæt ða
wēron on swa mycelere fægernesse.  Se āngel him
andswerede and cwaðō: 'Dis syndon sōðfæstnyssa ānglas
ða beoð gesánde to sōðfæstre sawlum, ðonne hige of
lichaman út gangeō, ðe hyra hiht on Drihten gesetton
and to him gewendon."

(13) And Paulus ọa cwæð to ọm angle ọe hine lǣdæ: 'Wealdend, ic wolde geséon soōfæstra and synfulra sawla of lichaman út gangende.' Se ọngel him to cwæð: 'Loca of heofonum on eorōan,' and Paulus ọa lōcode and he geseah alne middangeard ọon gelícost òe hit niht wære, and Paulus his wæs ọa swīðe wundriende, and he cwæð to ọm angle: (fol.7r)

95 'Wealdend, is ọis eall manna mycelnessa?' Se ọngel him andswerede and cwæð: 'Dis syndon ọa ọe singað fram ārne merigen ọo æfen.' (14) And Paulus ọa eft locode, and he geseah ealne middangeard on ëyostrum gesetted, and sume soōfæste sàwle of lichaman út gangende, and hire òa ongān cóman òa gōdan gastas, and he geseah hi wēpende, and hige cwæðon: 'Eala, ọu sawul, hu ọu ús nu beflihst! forōan ọe ọu gewrohtest Godes willan on eorōan,' and se ọngel ọe ðære sàwle hýrde on worulde wæs cegde to ọm dyoflum and cwæð: 'Cyrrāc on bēcling scámigende, forōan ọe ge ne mihton ọa sàwle beswīcån òa òa hyo on lichaman wæs.' And ọa āfter (fol.7v) òan, òa gebyrede hit Pat Paulus gehyrde stefna on hēofonum hēanyssum cwæðende: 'Gebringað ọa sawle to us, forōan òe heo gewróhte Godes willan on eorōan, Pat hyo gelēfe and ongyte Pat se is soō God ọe heo lufode,' and mid
Si Se heo was ingangende on héofonum, Paulus gehyrde ðúsend ængla and heahængla cygendra and cweðendra:
'Gewarlice do ōu, góde sawul, and wes ōu gestrángod, and ealle we ōe efenlice gefeoð, forðan ōe ōu gewrohest Godes willan on yorōan.' And hi ōa gelæddon to Drihtnes gesihœe, and Michahel and eall ængla werod gefeollan ōa to fotscamele Drihtnes fotum, and hi gebædon and hi ætewdon ōa sawle Drihtne, ōus cweðende: (fol. 8r) 'Dis is ealra God, se ōe gewrohte to his anlicnyssa.' And se ængel ōe ōare sawle hýrde wæs cegde to Drihtne and cweð: 'Gemune, Drihten, hire gewinnes, ōe ic ōe ælce dæge gebrohte. Geld hire nú æfter ōinum dóme.' And ōa wæs gewórden Drihtenes stéfen cweðende: 'Swa he[o] me ne geúnrotsode on yrōan, ne ic hi[g] nú ne geunrotsige, and swa hio wæs miltsigende, swa ic hire nú beo miltsigende. And syo hi[o] nú geséald Michahele ōam heáhængle, and he hi gelæde on yorxnewânges geféan, Pat hio ðær sy oð domes dæg æfre ma nu mīd eallum halgum.' And Paulus ōa gehyrde æfter ðan ōusend ōusendo ængle lofigendra and God (fol. 8v) wuldrigend[r]a and herigend[r]a and cweðend[r]a: 'Riht eart ōu, Drihten, and rihte
synden ðine domes, forðan nis háda onfængnes beforan ðe, ac ðu forgylst anra gehwilcum æfter his gewrihtum.'

(15) And se ængel ðe lædde Paulus him to cwað[ð]:

'Loca ofdúne,' and Paulus ða lócode on yorðan and he geseah sumes arléases mannnes sáwule of lichaman ut gängende, and syo tryogode Drihten dæges and nihtes and hio wæs cweðende ðæt hyo nán ðinc elles ne cuðe on ðissum middangeardæ buten étan and drincen, and heo éac wæs cweðende: 'Hwylc astègeð to hylwarum and eft ðanan astigneð ðæt he ús asecge hwylce ða domas ðær sigen?' And Paulus ða lócode and cwað: Ðc ge(fol.9r)seah on ðære tide ðe hire sawul of hire lichaman eode, ealle hire synna and hire yfel beforan hire licgean, and on ðære tide ðe heo sweolt, swa yfel dóm be hire wæs geworden swa hire selfre ware selre ðæt heo nafre geboren ne wurde. And ðær ætsomme cóman ða halgan ænglas and ða godan gastas; ac ða haligan gastas nan gewéald on ðara sawle náfdon, ac ða yfelan gastas hi gelæddon ða sawle and cwaðon: 'Eala, ðu earme sawul! Loca to ðinum lichaman and ongyt ðín hús ðanon ðu út geodest, forðan ðe on domes dæg ðu scylt eft to ðinum lichaman gehwýrfan, and ðine synna onfón.'

(16) Se ængel ðe ðara (fol.9v) sawle hýrde wæs

135 cwað[ð] ] MS cwað
on worulde cegde to ðære sawle and cwæð: 'Ic eam ðín ængel, and ic eardode on ðe ða hwile ðe ðu on worulde wære, and ælce dæge ðíne wyrc Gode ic brohte swa hwæt swa ðu wyrconde wære fram ærne meregen ðo æfen. And gif ic geweald hæfde, ðonne ne ðenode ic ðe ænigen dæge, ac se mildhyorta Drihten and se soðfæsta Dêma ús bebead ðat we eow ðenian ðð Pet ðe ge gehwýrфан and hrywe dón. Ac ðu forlure ðínre hrywe tíd, and forðan ic byo afrámdod todæg fram ðe and ðu bist ascáden frám me todæg to ðæm écan witum.' And æfter ðissum, cwæð Sanctus Paulus, ic gehyrde on heofonuja heanyssum ængla stefna (fol.10∗) cweðende: 'Awyrpað ða earman sawle, ðat hyo wite hwylc se God is ðe hyo his beboden [...], and Paulus gehýrde ðusend ðusenda ængla ealle anra stemne cygendra and cwyðendra: 'Wa ðe, ðu earme sawul, for ðem wyrCum ðe ðu ofer ðorðan gewrohtesti? Hwæt hæfstu to andsweriganne ðinum Drihtne Ponne ðu cymst ðat ðu hine gebidde?' And ðære sawle ængel cygde ða and he cwæð: 'Wepað ealle mid me, míne ða léófan frynd, ðat ðeos sawle reste hæbbe mid me,' and ða ænglas him andsweredan and cwáðan: 'Ac syo hi[o] anumen of ðre mundwiste, forðan ðe mid fúlnesse hyo wæs ingangende.' And æfter ðan syo sawul wæs (fol.10√) gebroht beforan Gode, se ðe hi
gewrohte to his anlicness, and hire ængel hire beforan geode cweðende: 'Drihten God ælmihtig, ðís is seo sawle: ic ðe gebrohte hire wyorc ða ðe hio gewrohte dæges and nihtes. Geld hire nu æfter ðínun dóme.' And Drihten se soðfæsta Déma hire to cwað:

'Hwær syndan ðíne wæstmas for eallum ðæm gódum ðe ic ðe geséalde? Íc lét scínan míne sumnan ofer ðe eallswa ofer ðane soðfæstan and ic gegearwode ðe yorðan wæs[t]mas emne swa ðæm gódan, and ðæs ðu wær me unðancful, and forðæm ðu syge nú anumen héonan,

(fol.llr) and ðu sy gesalld on dyofla hand and hi ðe gesándan on ða utran ðýostru, and ðær bið wóp and hrywsunge and toða gristbitung, and ðu ðær gewunige á oð dómes dæg.' And eft Paulus gehyorde ængla stéfna ðús cweðende: 'Soðfæst ear[t] ðu, Drihten, and rihte syndan ðíne dómas.'

(17) And eft Paulus locode on yorðan and he cwað: Íc geséah oðre sawle of lichaman út gangende, and twa dyofla hire onféngon, and hyo wæs swiðe sárlice wépende and cweðende: 'Gemiltsa me, Drihten, forðæm ðe ic eam gesalld ðísum twám dyoflum ða me geláða[ð] on ðara stówe ðe ic (fol.llv) nǽfре úr on nǽs.' And se lyfigenda Drihten hire andswyrede and cwað: 'Eala,
ou arleasa sawul: hwæt gedydest ou ðet ou wære geseald ðysum twam dyoðflum ða syndan butan ælcere

mildhyortnyss[e]?' Seo sawul him geandswyrede and cweæð: 'Ne gesyngode ic nāfre, Drihten,' and se lyfigendra Drihten ða gewearð swiðe yrre forðan ðe hyo gecwæð ðæt hio nāfre ne syngode, and Drihten hir[e] to cweæð: 'Nu get ou wènst ðæt ou sige on wyrolde swa swa ou iu wære! Ac eower ælc lihð on oðrum, and ðær is synna[...].' And hio hine ðanne gegrétað...
GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW, PART ONE: Notes

(a) Textual Notes

1 Incipit preceded by numeral V.; above this is LVIII. in another hand, which has renumbered the homilies and added running-titles in the second half of the eleventh century (see Ker, Catalogue, p.391).

39 before don, erasure of one letter (?)

45 atgadere] gadere added in another hand

83-84 œearft œu Pe] added in another hand, over erasure (?)

84 after Pe², space large enough for 3-4 words, directly beneath œearft œu Pe 83-84

103 Pinum] um indistinct

133 Na] mostly erased, but was legible to Assmann

133 hete] second e partly erased

154-155 is beforan] is b inserted in another (?) hand

300 after se[elest, Po written in margin in another hand
lihtë] a sign indicating a gloss appears, but no gloss is given

Peartull beneath tu, two marks, possibly to draw attention to the enclitic pronoun

mode] e over erasure (?) after were, erasure of 1-2 letters

mildse] d over erasure (?) after was, 2 is above line in another hand

mu] followed by space for, and possibly erasure of, 1-2 letters

after lif, for hire bene added in margin in another hand
The title 'star of the sea' was (incorrectly) thought to be the etymological meaning of 'Mary', cf. R. Morris (ed.), *OE Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, EETS O.S. 53 (London, 1873), p. 161: *hie is to name 'Maria' quod est interpretatum stella maris*. Dæt is on englis sa sterre. See also R. T. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics* (London, 1963), p. 377.

Cf. Ps. 106:10 (Vulgate), Lk. 1:79.


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1 For grammatical abbreviations, see the list below, pp. 213-14.

33  Cf. Ex. 22:21, Lev. 19. 33–34, etc.

37f.  Cf. Job 1:8, 2:3, etc.

50  Lev. 10:19, Deut. 6:18, etc.

59  The MS has singular sceane, but the sense demands the plural form.

63f.  Cf. Judg. 21:3, I Sam. 20:12, etc.

72  Cf. Tob. 2:10-11.

78  Cf. I (III) Kings 8:39, II Chron. 6:30, etc.

83f.  Cf. Gen. 26:24, 35:17, etc.

86  Ps. 95:3 (Vulgate).

88f.  Compare Anna's reaction with that of Mary in the gospel de nativitate Mariae ch. IX: 'Virgo autem quae iam angelicos bene noverat vultus et lumen caeleste insuetum non habebat, neque angelica visione territa neque luminis magnitudine stupefacta, sed in solo eius sermone turbata est' (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.119)

118  Cynē was probably omitted owing to confusion with the following Cyr. was cannot be understood to follow after 118, since the final phrase refers to the future: 'nor is there any like her, who before was or who afterwards will be.' As Mary is not yet born, the angel cannot
speak of anyone having been 'after' her. Cf. cymō CB

123f. Gen. 18:3.

124 The MS reading Peowa (weak nom) for Peow (strong acc) is possibly due to a confusion between the endings in the phrase gebletsa Pinne Peow.


134 The sense demands the substitution of Pe for MS gyf.


137f. Cf. Tob. 12:16, Matt. 17:6, etc.

166 The necessary sense for MS gecīgde is 'told', while neither gecīgan nor cīgan (BT and BTSup) has this sense: both mean 'call', 'name', 'invoke'. CB have gecydde, and the scribe of H may well have confused y with i. The gloss notum fecit has the proper sense (see below p.207), but the glosser may have understood the word from its context.

167f. Cf. Tob. 11:16.

175f. Compare the gospel account in which the child Jesus is brought to Jerusalem by his parents, Lk. 2:22.

176 MS Pēre mdats is clearly an error for ūam mdats.

180 The fifteen steps correspond to the fifteen Songs of
Degrees or Ascents (Fss. 120-134, Vulgate). The number fifteen commonly had a mystic significance, e.g. in Bede's treatise on the building of the temple (above p.77 n. 2 ). See C. Jenkins, 'Bede as Exegete and Theologian', in Thompson, Bede, p.175.

187f. Acts 4:8, 9:17, etc.

189ff. Compare Anna's song with those of Elizabeth (Lk. 1:42-45) and Mary (Lk. 1:46-55). Note also the Communion of the feast of St. Anna in the Roman Missal: Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis: propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum, et in saeculum saeculi: Ps. 44:3 (Vulgate), The Roman Missal, p.1010.

190-94 set he wolde...acerron. This passage in the MS is corrupt and offers a number of difficulties. The context shows that arisan 191 stands for the ptpl arison (as C), while MS ontynon is here altered to ontyn[a]lon 193 to agree with georydon 192 (both governed by geeadmedigan 192). MS feondum is altered to genpl feond[a] 194, as the sense demands (cf. Latin, C). feondum might be accounted for by supposing the scribe to have mistaken the a of feonda for the abbreviation ū (=um).

acerron 194 is to be taken as the infinitive (as C), agreeing with gesecan 190 (governed by wolde 190). For weakening of the inflexional endings of verbs, see above, p.35.
Translate: '...that he would seek his people with holy visitation, and he would humble the people who rose against us, so that they turned to their own hearts and opened their ears to our prayers, and [he would] turn the scorn of our enemies from us'.


195 The reading of CB supplies the restoration of the corrupt MS āa mundbyrdum (cf. also Latin sterilis). The original may have read āam unbyrendum, copied as āa mundbyrendum and then āa mundbyrdum.

195 MS forgeafon (ptpl) has no subject, unless a doubtful impersonal 'they' is understood. C reads for gefean, but is probably corrupt, as to gefean would be more likely. B īgefēn is gives the best reading, but as CH suggest an original verb forgifan, and as B shows a tendency to drop the prefixes of verbs, H is here emended to forg[īefēn is]. Translate: 'To the sterile one, progeny of eternal joy is given in Israel...' (194-96).


221 MS dauidtisidiscum is clearly due to scribal confusion over a foreign word (cf.C).

232 hire (fdats) gives a better sense than MS heom (pl). The subject of the passage is the virtues of Mary, of
which one is the development of the custom described. Cf. Latin (ab ea) and CB (of hire), where the singular appears.

239 Cf. Abiathar the priest, II Sam. 17:15, etc.

245 MS her eaforan scarcely gives sense in the context, and at best is irrelevant; CB read on eaforan, giving much better sense, while the Latin has in posteris.

246 Although CB agree with the MS reading, the indicative of weorPian is not recorded in a passive sense. Since it translates adoratur, the past participle, governed by was 245, seems more probable here.

246 MS an gewunelic. an is quite meaningless here, and is therefore omitted; it may be an anticipation of on 246.

249f. Gen. 4:8.

251 Gen. 4:4.

252 II (IV) Kings 2:11.


263 I (III) Kings 6:1ff.

256 to alicum gyftum 'until legal marriage'. Cf. the glosses legalia and nubens (see below, p.208). This phrase does not occur in CB or the Latin versions.

271 The sense requires the addition of Gode, as in CB and all the Latin MSS (deo).

The object \( Pa \) (accpl) is to be understood after \( bar \).

Although \( nan \) is common to all MSS, it appears to be an error for \( f\text{dat} \text{e} \text{n} \text{ar} \). The \( f\text{dat} \text{s} \) adjectival inflexion is well-preserved elsewhere in H.

Cf. Ex. 28:2ff.

MS \( set\text{est} \) does not give sense in the context, and, of the variant readings, \( se\text{cst} \ C \) gives a better sense than \( se\text{cgs} \text{t} \ B \). Probably the scribe of H misread \( t \) for \( c \), and wrote \( set\text{est} \) for \( se\text{cest} \).

\( he [o] \). The context suggests that the pronoun refers to the rod (\( gyrd \), feminine), and should therefore be \( heo \), (as CB), especially since we are previously told that \( se\text{o} \text{\{s\}e\text{le}ste} \text{ gyrd is gy} \text{t} \text{ unseald} \ (297-98), i.e. the rod, not Joseph, is unsought. The scribe evidently took the pronoun as referring to Joseph, and made it masculine. Translate: 'Then was it not sought, for he was old and stood furthest away' (301-02).

Num. 16:1-35.

MS \( Pam \) is clearly an error for feminine \( Pare \), no doubt resulting from the corruption of the passage which can be seen by the variant readings in CB; CB, however, agree in the feminine article.

\( fultum \) is used in the sense of 'companions' who would
'help' Mary; cf. 323, 326.

On the meaning of godweb, see Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.23 n.103.

wahrift: cf. Ex. 26:31ff., II Chron. 3:14, Matt. 27:51. The idea that Mary herself wove the veil of the temple which was rent at the Passion probably stems from the Protevangelium (ch.X). The OE abbreviates, but the Latin lists the materials used (sericum, iacinthum, byssus, coccus, purpura, linum), probably based on such passages as Ex. 26:31, 35:25.


Cf. Jn. 1:9, 8:12, etc.

Cf. Lk. 1:30ff.

MS rice may be dats ('to whose kingdom...'), but seems more likely to be a mistake for gens rices (as CB). The phrase is a common one, e.g. and hvs rices ende ne byP, Lk. 1:33, in J.W.Bright (ed.), The Gospel of Luke in WS (Boston & London, 1906), p.5; cf. also the genitive constructions of the Vulgate (regni eius non erit finis, Lk. 1:33) and the Creed (cuius regni non erit finis).


Assmann prints, in error, orwelges (1.603 of his text).

Matt. 1:19.

379 A reference to the Hebrew meaning of Jesus, 'God is salvation'. The play on words is clearer in the OE (Hælend, hal) than in the Latin (Iesus, salvum), and the idea is a common one in OE homilies, e.g. forPan ðe Jesus is Hælend icwæden. Bide pe nú hæle on Pas Hælendes nome, A.O. Belfour (ed.), Twelfth Century Homilies in MS Bodl. 343, EETS O.S. 137 (London, 1909), p. 14; se nama wæs on Judisc Iesus ond on greccisc soter ond on ladan salvator ond on ure gePeode hælend', G. Herzfield (ed.), An OE Martvrology, EETS O.S. 116 (London, 1900), p. 12.

385 The sense demands alteration of MS nanes, and the reading of B has been adopted.

397 The unarímdum godcundre geryna are omitted in the OE, but appear in the Latin (the drinking of special waters), where they are probably suggested by such passages as Ex. 32:20, Num. 5:11-31.

402 hi² is faccs (i.e. Mary), not accpl (Mary and Joseph), as the sing. Pine 406 shows (Latin eam).

404f. Cf. Ps. 95:2, 144:1, etc. (Vulgate).

407f. Isa. 11:1.

409 hórdfæt. Cf. Blickling Homily IX: and se Halga Gast wunode... on Pam gecorenan hórdfæte, Morris, The
Blickling Homilies, p.105. As the 'vessel of the Lord', Mary was often thought to be prefigured by the Temple, the Ark of the Covenant, the Ark of Noah, etc., in patristic and medieval literature.
(a) Textual Notes

1 Above incipit, in the centre of the upper margin, the numeral .XVI. Förster, Il Codice Vercellese, pp. 9-10 n. 2 says it 'non ha niente che vedere colla numerazione dei quaderni, anche già per la ragione ch'esso è manifestamente d'altra mano. Veramente io non saprei spiegare che cosa significa questo numero, se pure non è una semplice prova di penna...'

2 [aduentum] obscured by reagent; Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 131 n. 1: ad[uen]tum, 'uen unlesbar, weil Fleck'; Ker, Catalogue, p. 462: 'aduentum (altered to aditum)'

2 Iesu Christi] MS ihū xōi

5 before fēmnan, erasure of one letter

6 hellwara] e indistinct

6 wite] very indistinct

8 dæg] ø indistinct
9 Pyrsny] very indistinct
10 gewyrde] first e indistinct
12 and) very indistinct
12 Peah) e indistinct
14 eallra] very indistinct
17 Pyssum] um indistinct
19 ãam] indistinct
29 after geliâewacède, erasure of n
40 before tide, some letters obscured by reagent.

Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, p.132 n.6, distinguishes '3-4 Grundstriche (vielleicht .III., d.i. Priddan [cp. 47]) forttradiert zu sein,' and quotes Napier: 'I think that about two letters have gone - but it is not easy to say with certainty because reagents1 have been applied.'

45 ãet] ã over erasure
47 Pa] above line
48 after ãa, erasure of one letter
54 biofona] ã indistinct
56 before world, erasure of one letter

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1 See Förster, *Il Codece Vercellese*, p.8 n.2.
57...on] about 3-4 letters obscured by reagents.

Förster, in his note on this passage (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 133 n. 11), quotes Napier as making out a possible eac, but which he (Napier) says is 'scarcely legible.' Förster himself suggests but-, i.e. buton: 'Diese Lesung scheint mir auch inhaltlich besser zupassen.'

59 Pe2] P corrected from h

67 onlysede] ede indistinct

81 after Iosepe, erasure of one letter

84-85 after was, space for about 3-4 letters, obscured by reagents. I can make out only ...tte Pe, and the restoration [mitte Pe suggests itself, especially when compared with 77, 92, and Latin cumque pervenissent.

Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 134, reads Z mitte Pe, and notes (ibid., n.14): 'Über Z mit ein Fleck.' In 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 98, however, he reads only: '[mit]te Pe.'

86 The last five letters of w[oldon] obscured by reagents; I can see the top of the l; cp. Latin requiescere vellent.

87 habben[de Hællend] about 4 letters obscured by reagents; cp. 95-96; Latin habebat Iesum.
fæmna[n]..., [siöiende] about 6-7 letters obscured by reagents; part of the final n of fæmnan is clear, as is the lower part of the initial (insular) s of siöiende. The missing word is probably samod, as suggested by Förster (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.135), who prints s[a]mod and notes (ibid., n.16): 'Das a sowie der erste strich von m von einem Fleck verdeckt.' Cp. Latin [simul AB] iter agentes. See also Literary and Linguistic Notes, ad loc.

the final ga of Semnin[ga] partly obscured by reagents; I can make out the top half of the g and the top of the a. Cp. Latin subito.

after manige draca, part of n is visible, but about 10 subsequent letters obscured by reagent. In 'Der Vercelli-Codex,' 99, Förster reads manige dracan, Pat...; however, in Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.135, he reads: manige dracan, Pat mit[te]öe..., and notes (ibid., n.17): 'Das letzte Wort ist durch einen Fleck verdeckt, unter dem
aber noch mit...œe einigermassen sicher durchschimmert. Napier sagt dazu:" mit...œe I can make out with certainty - between the mit and the œe I think there stands te, so that the whole reads mitteœe. The tteœe has been erased... and the whole discoloured by reagents." 'mitteœe is confirmed by Maier's transcript of the Vercelli Book.¹

After this, at least a folio is missing; Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 71, suggests that if the translation of the missing part (chs. XIX-XXI, the first half of ch. XXII) was as literal as in chs. XVII-XVIII, about 100 lines, i.e. two folios, must be lost; if more compressed, probably only half that amount. The brevity of the homily suggested to him the latter alternative as more likely.

in the lower margin of fol. 56v, the quire signature G appears; see Ker, Catalogue, p. 464.

...denum] Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 135, n. 18, suggests that this is the end of gecwedenum; Napier (see ibid.) suggests that the sentence probably began with *Pisum wordum gecwedenum*, corresponding to the Latin *haec illi loquentibus*.

Pære] e over erasure (?)

hwylcne

before *us*, erasure of (insular) *r*

after *ende*, and separated from it by half a line, the numeral .ii. It refers to the next homily, which begins at the top of fol. 56v (see Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 137, n. 1).
(b) Literary and Linguistic Notes

9 Cf. Matt. 4:16, Lk. 2:32, Jn. 8:12, etc.

11f. e.g. Gen. 49:10, Ps. 2:1-9, Isa. 7:14, 9:6, 11:1, Mic. 5:2, etc.

14 MS *wio|tele|cot* appears to be merely a scribal slip.

15 MS *weor|ouga* is probably a scribal slip; the original may have read *weor|ouga*, with the macron unnoticed by the scribe.

15 MS *Ps is* is haplography for *Pis is*; Förster changes to 'Pët is' in 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 96, but alters this to *Pis is* in Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.131.

15f. Ps. 117:24 (Vulgate).


20f. Cf. Ps. 18:1 (Vulgate).

23 *lichomlice*: Rom. 1:3, etc.

24 *cyne|prymlic* is not recorded elsewhere; see A.S.Napier, 'Contributions to OE Lexicography', Transactions of the Philological Society (1906), 279.

25 *dæge* for *ge* first suggested by Napier, ibid.


31ff. Cf. Isa. 30:26, etc. The idea of the sun shining brightly at midnight for the birth of Christ is perhaps
connected with the episode in the Protevangelium (ch. XIX, Pseudo-Matthew ch.XIII), in which the cave where Christ is born is filled with an intense light. The idea persisted in the middle ages, for example in Eddius Stephanus, Life of Wilfrid ch.XXXVI, where Wilfrid prays: Christe...qui in primordio nativitatis futuri famuli tui horam, qua de vulva matris egregiebatur, igneo splendore consignabas, in B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus (Cambridge, 1927), p.74.

MS Swylc is a scribal error for the adverbial form swylce; cf. 30,39.

gyrsandeg for gyrstandeg. The MS spelling is consistent, cf. 47, and girsandeg fol. 73v; this suggests it is a late simplification rather than a scribal error. For ecthliphasis of t in consonant groups, see Sievers §196(3) n.3, cf. Wright §298 n.3.

manPrymm is not recorded elsewhere. Compare the analogous formation herePrym 'cohort' and for the meaning of manPrymm compare the parallel expression mid ealle his werede 49.

On the verb atbeon, see Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.133 n.10.

Förster suggests that if ... on 57 is restored to buton (see above, p.145), he 56 should be changed to
hit - 'falls nicht vielmehr ein Latinismus des Übersetzers vorliegt' - hence: 'for it (hit) was said from the beginning of the earth, apart from (buton) other marvels which were spoken of concerning his birth, that this was the last of the signs which should come about before he was born on this earth' (56-60). See Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.133 n.11.

At least a verb, of which Pone wuldorfastan cyning is the object, is missing; Förster (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.133 n.12) suggests weorPian, here adopted.

Cf. Isa. 42:7, 61:1 etc.

lof is here neut (not masculine), as the neutaccpl wundorlico shows. The vowel of lof is usually short, and we might expect the inflected neutaccpl lofu. However, there is some evidence to suggest that lof sometimes had a long vowel, e.g. loob (glossing vmmus), Corpus Glossary (C8th), 1 loof (c.1300; see NED sub lof), loif (Scotts, Cl6th, see ibid.). I have not altered lof to lofu, therefore, as the ending -u may have been dropped in consequence of a long stem (see Sievers §238, Campbell §570).

Lk. 2:14. Notice the translation 'to men of good will', following the Western tradition, as in the

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Latin Fathers and the Vulgate, rather than the alternative 'peace and good will to men', preserved in the Greek Fathers and the Authorized Version.


89 Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.135 n.16, suggests that an fæmne should be read for Pære fæmna[n] 89; according to the Latin, there were three boys with Joseph, and one girl with Mary, but as the OE is clear and makes sense as it stands, the reading is not altered in the present text.

92-95 And mytte Pe...Para goda temple. Förster comments: 'Die logischen Beziehungen der einzelnen Glieder dieses Satzes sind im altenglischen kaum recht zum Ausdruck gekommen. Entweder ist der ags. Übersetzer der starker lat. Hypotaxe nicht Herr geworden, oder es liegt Textverderbnis vor' (Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp.135-36 n.19). He suggests and be inserted after ceastre 93, and a comma be introduced after meahton 94, thus approaching the Latin construction more closely. However, the MS reading can be preserved with the present punctuation, and it seems likely that the OE translator is merely replacing the Latin hypotaxis with (asynthetic) parataxis, the two halves of the sentence being marked by the semi-colon 94. Note also the paratactic construction
of the OE and he was...and cwæð (99-103), which replaces the Latin hypotaxis.

96f. Cf. I Sam. 5:3ff., Ezek. 30:13.

105 MS singular god should be changed to plural goda or godu agreeing with ura goda 104. The scribe was probably confused by the singular his 105, which, however, refers to Christ.

105 Förster's suggestion that the nominative yrre be changed to genitive yrres to obtain 'weitere Übereinstimmung mit dem Latein' (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.136 n.22) seems unnecessary. The Latin reads periculum eius indignationis.


111ff. Lk. 2:40, 52.

113f. Cf. Rev. 4:9, etc.

116 MS wun is apparently a slip for neutaccl wundor or wundru. The wundor referred to are presumably those described on the missing folio (see above, p.147).

117 The MS omits dyde, but the sense clearly requires a verb; Förster's suggestion of dyde has been adopted (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.137).

119 The MS reads ge gehyræ (dittography). In 'Der Vercelli-Codex', 100, Förster reads reccan and rædange
gehyrað, with a note to read lædinge for lædange; however, in Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.137, he alters this to reccean and radan gehyræ. The latter phrase is a common one, e.g. Blickling Homily X us bæforan reccean and radan, Morris, The Blickling Homilies, p.111; Ps. 79:1 reccest and rædest, G.P.Krapp (ed.), The Paris Psalter and the Metres of Boethius, ASPR V (New York, 1932; repr. 1961), p.46; etc.
VISIO PAULI : Notes

(a) Textual Notes

1-2 hit ... gewrite] retouched

2 spreconde] repeated at beginning of next line (with final e above line), but struck out. The initial e of the repetition is lost owing to damaged parchment.

3 Above the cwe of cweðende, 7 ðus faintly visible.

4 After me, drihten written above line, in another (?) hand, and possibly retouched.

5 agyten] e retouched

6 ðu ... God] retouched

6 andwerede] first d above line

6 and ðus] retouched, or blurred owing to mildew

7 mine eagan] retouched, or blurred owing to mildew

8 gehernesse] retouched

8 éaran] r retouched

8-9 gehereð ... byra] heavily retouched

10 and gif ... deme] retouched

10 deme] ge (g very faint) above d, barely legible, owing to fading or action of mildew. Possibly ce.
12 And] retouched

12-13 yrœ ... God] heavily retouched, especially bear of bear num 13, and Drihten God 13.

cweœende] above cwe, some faint traces of writing in another hand, much faded: z cw?

13 In the lower margin of fol.3r, beginning close to the binding, in an area particularly stained by mildew, can be discerned some faint traces of writing. Dr. Alexander reads with ultra-violet light: llde. of hyll [space for eight - nine letters] lyn. Willard ('The Address of the Soul to the Body,' 961 n.18) reads [w]olde of hylle [witum?] alysan, on the basis of unpublished notes made by Napier, and of his own transcription of the MS. As Willard and Napier suggest, these words are a continuation from the bottom of fol.2v, where a later scribe has attempted to smooth over the misbinding (see above, p. 23) of the MS by supplying a connecting phrase between ff. 2v and

1. However, ...lyn is fairly clear in the MS.
and, having insufficient space, has run on to the lower margin of fol. 3r.

The last few words of fol. 2v read: and ighting [a] rowlunge (see Willard, ibid.).

The letters in question are about the same size as those of the main text, and, as far as can be told, appear to be in another hand.

14    ælmhþtig] æ retouched
14    ofer...] sem] retouched
14    gesceðed] æ retouched. Above the line is written cwað sœ yorða in another hand, heavily retouched. The ð of cwað has an upright stem, and may be a d. The æ of yorða is also very difficult to make out, owing to the retouching. The y's are unpointed.

15    b[er]enda] MS berneða, be and æ retouched
15    forhealdnessa] second æ retouched
15    unriðhæmed] preceded by þæt in another hand; æt retouched; after æt, æ (?) added above the line in another hand (cf. unriðædæ 4).

16    After and lyblæc, ð wisca crafte is added in another hand. The letters ð wis are inserted at the end of one line, and are not retouched,
the remainder in the outer margin at the beginning of the next line, and is retouched. At least aft is written over another word, which is now illegible, although the final (?) letter - possibly an insular s - is visible between the ֆ and թ of craeft.

The whole is probably for wicca craeft, 'witchcraft', and appears to be an expansion of the Latin (which, however, does not correspond exactly to the OE in this passage), the magia of which is translated by lvblac in the OE text.

After oferdruncennesse and, tielnyssa 7 added in another hand. թիել is inserted at the end of one line, and nyssa is added in the outer margin at the beginning of the next. նյսք is retouched, but seems to be written over the same letters (the earlier, pointed, ո is visible). It is probably for talnyssa 'slander,' 'calumny' (cf. talnessa 69).

mand or mand: the e-loop of the ա is blurred.
19 føder] in the outer margin, very faint, is written in another hand: *is hvora ægPer oæerne; oferliogaf*. A sign indicates this is to follow føder.

22 wia] w over erasure (?)

22 lafe] in outer margin, very faint, is written in another hand: *svo synne gestigað to hylle*. A sign indicates this is to follow lafe. Possibly '7' before svo; the ge of gestigað is uncertain.

23 Drihten] retouched

23 Æine] rather faint, and possibly a later addition, though the hand is similar to that of the main text.

25 magen] above the line is written in another hand *cwæP svo yrPe*, subsequently retouched.

28 Dal D retouched

29 After stéfen is written to Æm vorðan 7 in another hand, and retouched. to Æm in margin, but vorðan 7 forms the first two words of the next line. They are not over an erasure, but beneath the retouching of vorðan 7 can be seen the top of the Æ, the n and 7 in their
original hand, which is that of the longer additions.

30 After gedwelian, cwað drihten written in another hand and heavily retouched.

32 After geswícán, hyora misdéa written in another hand and heavily retouched.

34 Before Geseoð, a large 7 inserted in another hand and retouched (?)..

36 After geswineð, in lower margin of fol.4r, beginning close to the binding, is written in another hand, subsequently retouched: čara manna sawla becumæ. After a short space, traces of writing in yet another hand, read by Dr. Alexander as onwarudis..

38 Before eallum, on added in another hand.

39 Before Drihten, P hi added in another hand.

39 Before ealra, wuldrian 7 added in another hand.

42 hi] followed by erasure, of ge (?)

42 Before gebrængað, 'Panne urum drihtne' added in another hand. The first two words are written in the outer margin, and are very faint; drihtne forms the first word of the line, and is possibly over
an erasure: the letters *rih* are retouched, and *ne* is written above the line.

46 After *gehwyld*, *vorðlic man* is added in another hand.

47 Before *Pa*, a large 7 is inserted in another hand.

47 After *stefen*, in lower margin of fol.4v, starting half-way across the width of the folio, is written in another hand, very faded: to *scæ paule*; 7 ðus (*e* of *paule* uncertain).

48 Before *Hi*, a large 7 inserted in another hand.

49 *Dihtne* e retouched. After *Dihtne*, *ða ðænglas* added in another hand; ð retouched; the whole very faded.

49 *and* inserted in line in another hand.

52 After *dydon*, *ða earman lichaman* added in another hand.

53 After *hwæn*, *dihten* written above line in another hand.

54 *Pam ðænglan* over erasure. ð originally ð; am blurred; ðænglan blurred: descender of a letter (not v or g) visible below first n, top of ð visible above g. Perhaps originally *cweðende*. After ðænglan, ðus cweðende written in another hand.
56 After higa, hryosian written in another hand; n indistinct.

57 Ongytaη altered from t.

59 Before Forðan, a large 7 inserted in line in another hand.

59 After bletsiæ, eow written above line in another hand.

60 ge dæges ge nihtes] heavily retouched, possibly over erasure; tes written below the line.

62 Before Folga, ge added above line in another hand.

63 After ongyte, paulus written in another hand.

64 After hine, ða written in another hand.

64 After gelædde, paulus written above line in another hand.

67 Before gangeæ, ge written in another hand.

70 After forhealdnyssa, gast written in another hand; after háthyrtnyssa, the same; after leasunga, the same. After ða, s written above line in another hand.

71 After ælcere, in lower margin of fol.5v, two lines of barely discernable writing; Dr. Alexander makes out: (i) ofermodigyssa gast: 7 eaðbylhnysa gast (ii) ings...rra: gast: 7 ævergednyssa gast. There may be an
a after ings (ii). It is impossible to identify the script with any other in the MS.

71 After mildheortnesse, ealla above line in another hand.

75 After cwað, to pale written in another hand; le indistinct.

75 After syndon, ða gastas written in another hand. heahnesse] upper part of second h obscure.

87 gewendon] final n very faint.

89 Wealdend] first e added above line, in main hand.

geseah] ea over erasure (?).

94 he] added above line in main hand.

96 singað] i added above line in main hand.

98 ðvostrum] os over foxing, and retouched (?).

99 soðfaste sāwle] te sāwle over foxing, and possibly over erasure (or retouched).

100 ongan] on over foxing.

110 heo ] over foxing.

111 on] over foxing.

115 hi] followed by space for 3-4 letters, and erasure(?)

122 ða] a over erasure (?).

124 geinrotsode] t added above line, in main hand.

125 hi[.] MS him, the m altered from another letter which it is not possible to read.
128 sy] followed by erasure of 1-2 letters (?).
131 God] over erasure (?).
149 haligan] i added above line, in main hand.
168 sawle] over erasure (?).
173 Ponne] MS Poñ.
193 angla] s indistinct.
198 dvofla] preceded by dvof struck out.
199 Gemiltsa] t indistinct.
205 mildhyortnypss[e] ] ss partly obscured by stain;
possibly the final e (dat. fem. sing.)
is also merely obscured. Cf. the same phrase in 71.
206 gesyngode] between second g and o, erasure of 1-2 letters.
207 gewearö] over foxing.
208 gecwaö] over foxing.
209 Þæt... on] over foxing.
210 and öl ] indistinct.
211 hine] e added above line, in main hand.
211 After gegretaö, in lower margin of fol.11v are
added the words ðæs synfullan mannes,
enclosed by a crude decoration. They have been added by a later scribe to form an arbitrary connection between ff. 11v and 12r, the latter beginning: sawl 7 ðæs cweð... See discussion of
the MS, above, p. 24, and Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body,' p. 959.
(b) Literary and Linguistic Notes

Ps. 85:10 (Vulgate).

Cf. Ps. 113:5-6, 134:16-17, etc. (Vulgate).

MS bærenda appears to be a scribal error, probably caused by the scribe having introduced n into original berenda or bærenda; cf. Latin ego...noceor...supportans fornicationes, etc.

This list of sins (cf. 69-70) is based on numerous biblical passages - Ex. 20:13ff., Jer. 7:9, Hos. 4:2, Lk. 18:20, etc., and especially Rom. 1:29-31, Gal. 5:19-21. The lists gained a certain currency in the homiletic style, for example in the second Vercelli homily (Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.51), Blickling Homily V (Morris, The Blickling Homilies, p.63), Wulfstan, in D. Bethurum (ed.), The Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford, 1957), p.163, etc.

Mic. 7:6, Matt. 10:21.

Ps. 68:6 (Vulgate); I Jn. 3:20.

bletiende is a scribal slip; cf. bletsiæo 59.

The 'angels' who report the works of man to God seem to be of eastern origin. Although not originating in Jewish
canonical literature similar beings appear in inter-
testamental writings (e.g. Raphael in Tob. 12:12), and
the Talmud. See Kraeling, 'The Apocalypse of Paul',
214-15. For further possible Iranian sources, see
ibid., 216ff.

42 Cf. Tob. 12:12.

43 μα is merely a scribal slip for μα, cf. μα στοφ 97, 159.


52 The MS form (cf. 73, 80) of the genpl personal pronoun
is difficult to explain. It does not appear to be re-
corded elsewhere, and, as the MS usually has hyra (9,
20 [here], 36, 71, 79, 86), hyran has been altered to
hyra.

72 Cf. Rev. 9:17, 11:5.

78 Matt. 17:2, Rev. 1:16, 10:1.


80 Rev. 7:9, cf. Jn. 12:13. The palm-branch was a sign
of victory; see Morris, The Blickling Homilies, p.67,
and E.V.K. Dobbie, The AS Minor Poems, ASPR IV (New
York, 1942; repr. 1968), p.liii n.2.

80 The omission of r or er in MS mvcele seems to be simply
a scribal error, cf. mvcelere 83.

98 This darkness does not appear in the Greek, Latin or
Syriac, and is probably a reminiscence of the darkness of 1.93.

117 Cf. Ps. 98:5 (Vulgate), Rev. 5:8, 14, 19:4.

120 Gen. 1:26, 27, 5:3, etc. Cf. 1.180.

122 If the phrase ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำksam is taken as rel.pron. ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำlam and indeclinable rel.ptcl. ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำlam is evidently written in error, as it lacks agreement with its antecedent gewinnes (neutgens), and it is therefore omitted from the present text. See Förster's comment (Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.133 n.9) on ສໍ for rel. ptcl. ສໍ in The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, Part II 1.47 (above, p.116).

124 The scribe has confused the gender and case of three pronouns in the Lord's speech, where each pronoun should agree with the subject sawle ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำlam. MS he has been altered to fem he[碩] ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำlam, dat him to acc hi[g] ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำ lam, and hige to nom hi[g] ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำلام. Compare fem hire ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำلام, and the Latin, which is fem throughout: haec (fnoms), eam, miserta est. See Textual Note on hi[g] ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำlam.


130 Cf. Rev. 5:11; see also 1.169.

131f. MS -a for gen -ra in the inflected present participles seems to be a scribal error, especially in view of the immediately preceding lofigendra ลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำลำلام. The r is well-preserved in the genpl of present participles, e.g.
cygendra 112, cyveňendra 112, cýgendre 170, cyvõendra 170, and the normal adjectival inflexion in soðfæstra 89, synfulra 90, etc. The MS forms in question may have been caused by the scribe turning a new page before wuldrigend[ja], and, having omitted the r in wuldrigenda, continuing the error in the following participles.


133f. Rom. 2:11, Eph. 6:9, etc.

134 Ps. 61:13 (Vulgate).

135 Paulus for acc Paulum; the MS abbreviation is that used throughout for nom -us.

135 d for Æ, in cweed, is a common mistake in OE MSS, e.g. Guthlac 1040 geswedrad for gesweðrad, Deor 30 earfoda for earfoða. Cf. geláða[ā] 200.

139f. Lk. 12:19.


147f. Cf. Jonah 4:3,8, I Cor. 9:15.

162 The generic plurals eow, ge are used, although the angel is addressing only the unrighteous soul.

164f. Cf. Ps. 38:12 (Vulgate).

169 There is something missing after beboden. The general sense is shown by the Latin: ut [et St G] cognoscat
The OE, however, introduces a new element with *beboden,* and it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory restoration. It may be a corruption of a phrase such as *bebode (<u) ne healde,* with -e*healde* omitted and *n* run on to *bebode;* cf. the phrase *Godes bebodu healdan* (Morris, *The Blickling Homilies,* p. 97), *Godes beboda utan we behealdan* (ibid., p. 39).

177 MS *hige.* The nom *hio* is clearly necessary here.

179 *ge gebroht* is merely ditography for *gebroht.*

186 Matt. 5:45.

188 MS *wesmas* is most likely to be a slip; cf. *westmas* 25, 185, *westma* 27. However, compare also the note on *gyrsandæg,* above, p. 150.


194 MS *ear* is a slip for *eart;* cf. *eart ou* 132, *eart 6.*

199 After *Drihten,* the Latin has: *hodie enim sentem dies habeo ex quo exiui de corpore meo,* a reference to the wide-spread belief that the soul returned to its body for a brief period seven days after death. This is reflected in numerous medieval writings, e.g. the *Soul and Body* poem of the *Exeter Book,* ll. 9ff. (see above, p. 75 n. 1 ).

200 *gelæda[œ].* Cf. above, note on *cwe[œ] 135.*
205 mildhyortnyss[e]. See the Textual Note on this word, p.164.


208 MS hir is merely a slip for dat hire; cf. hire to cweð 184, dat hire 100, 122, 126 etc.

211 The singular verb is 210 does not agree with genpl synna 211. Synna is less likely to be nompl, as it seems unlikely that the scribe would transcribe sing.is for a pl. beð. If the sing. verb is intended, a nomn such as menigu is probably missing after synna ('and there is a multitude of sins').
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

THE LATIN TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF
PSEUDO-MATTHEW, PART ONE

I(1) In diebus illis erat vir in Ierusalem nomine Ioachim ex tribu Iuda. Et hic erat pastor ovium suarum, timens deum in simplicitate et in bonitate sua. Cui cura nulla erat alia nisi gregum suorum, de quorum fructu alebat omnes timentes deum, duplicia offerens munera in timore dei et doctrina laborantibus, et simplicia offerens his qui ministrabant eis. Ergo sive in agnis sive in ovibus sive in lanis sive in omnibus rebus suis quascumque possidere videbatur tres partes faciebat: unam partem dabat viduis, orphanis, peregrinis atque pauperibus; alteram vero partem colentibus deum; tertiam partem sibi et omni domui suae reservabat. (2) Haec autem illo faciente multiplicabat deus greges suos, ita ut non esset similis illi in populo Israel. Haec autem inchoavit facere a quinto decimo aetatis suae anno. Cum esset annorum viginti, accepit Annam filiam Ysachar uxorem ex tribu sua, id est ex genere David. Cumque moratus esset cum ea per annos viginti,

1 From Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp. 54-75. Some readings from Tischendorf's variant MSS are given in footnotes, when they agree more closely than the main Latin text with the OE.
filios aut filias ex ea non accepit.

II(1) Factum est autem ut in diebus festis inter eos qui offerebant incensum domino staret Ioachim, parans munera sua in conspectu domini. Et accedens ad eum scriba templi nomine Ruben ait: Non tibi licet inter sacrificia dei agentes consistere, quia non te benedixit deus ut daret tibi germen in Israel. Passus itaque verecundiam in conspectu populi abscessit de templo domini plorans, et non est reversus in domum suam, sed abiit ad pecora sua, et duxit secum pastores inter montes in longinquam terram, ita ut per quinque menses nullum nuntium potuisset audire de eo Anna uxor eius. (2) Quae dum fleret in oratione sua et diceret: Domine deus Israel fortissime, iam quia filios non dedisti mihi, virum et meum quare tulisti a me? Ecce enim quinque menses transeunt et virum meum non video. Et nescio utrum mortuus sit, ut vel sepulturam illi fecissem. Et dum nimis fleret in viridiario domus suae, in oratione elevans oculos suos ad dominum vidit nidum passerum in arbore lauri, et emisit vocem cum gemitu ad dominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, qui omni creaturae donasti filios, et bestiis et iumentis et serpentibus et piscibus et volucribus, et omnes super filios gaudent, me solam a benignitatis tuae dono excludis? Tu nosti domine ab initio coniugii me hoc vovisse, ut si dedisses mihi filium aut filiam, obtulissem illum tibi in templo sancto tuo. (3) Et dum ista diceret, subito ante faciem eius apparuit angelus
domini dicens: Noli timere Anna, quoniam in consilio dei est germen tuum; et quod ex te natum fuerit, erit in admirationem omnibus seculis usque in finem. Eet cum haec dixisset, ab oculis eius elapsus est. Illa autem tremens et pavens, quod vidisset talem visionem et talem audisset sermonem, ingressa in cubiculum iactavit se in lecto quasi mortua, et tota die ac nocte in tremore nimio ac oratione permansit. (4) Post haec vocavit ad se puellam suam et dixit ad eam: Vides me viduitate deceptam et in angustia positam, et tu nec ingredi ad me voluisti? Tunc illa in murmure sic respondit dicens: Si deus conclusit uterum tuum et virum tuum a te abstulit, ego quid tibi factura sum? Et haec audiens Anna amplius flebat.

III(1) In ipso tempore apparuit quidam iuvenis inter montes, ubi Ioachim pascebat greges, et dixit ei: Quare non revertersis ad uxorem tuam? Et dixit Ioachim: Per viginti annos habui eam; nunc vero quia noluit deus mihi ex ea dare filios, cum verecundia de templo dei exprobratus exivi: ut quid revertar ad eam, semel abjectus atque despectus? Hic ergo cum ovibus meis ero, quamdiu huius seculi deus mihi lucem concedere voluerit; per manus autem puerorum meorum pauperibus et viduis et orphanis et co lentibus deum partes suas liberenter restituam. (2) Et cum haec dixisset, respondit ei iuvenis: Angelus dei ego sum, qui apparui hodie uxori tuae flenti et oranti, et consolatus sum eam, quam scias ex semine tuo concepisse filiam. Haec in templo dei erit, et spiritus
sanctus requiescet in ea; et erit beatitudo eius super omnes sanctas feminas, ita ut nullus possit dicere quia fuit talis ante eam, sed et post eam numquam erit ei similis ventura in hoc seculo. Propter quod descendes de montibus et revertere ad coniugem tuam, et invenies eam habentem in utero: excitavit enim deus semen in ea, unde gratias referas deo, et semen eius erit benedictum, et ipsa erit benedicta et mater benedictionis aeternae constituetur. (3) Et adorans eum Ioachim dixit ei: Si inveni gratiam coram te, sede modicum in tabernaculo meo et benedic me servum tuum. Et dixit ei angelus: Noli te dicere servum, sed conservum meum; unius enim domini servi sumus. Nam cibus meus invisibilis est, et potus meus ab hominibus mortalibus non videri potest. Et ideo non debes me rogare ut intrem in tabernaculo tuo; sed quod mihi eras daturus, tu in holocaustum offeras deo. Tunc Ioachim accepit agnum immaculatum et dixit ad angelum: Ego non ausus essem offerre holocaustum deo, nisi iussio tua daret mihi pontificium offerendi. Et dixit ei angelus: Nec ego te ad offerendum invitarem nisi voluntatem domini cognovissem. Factum est autem cum offerret Ioachim deo sacrificium, simul cum odore sacrificii quasi cum fumo perrexit angelus ad caelum. 

(4) Tunc Ioachim cecidit in faciem, et ab hora diei sexta usque ad vesperam iacuit. Venientes autem pueri eius et mercennarii, nescientes quid causae esset expaverunt, putantes quod se ipse vellet interficere, et accesserunt ad eum et vix
eum elevaverunt de terra. Quibus cum enarrasset quid vidisset, stupore nimio et admiratione impulsi hortabantur eum ut sine mora iussum angeli perficeret atque velociter ad suam coniugem remearet. Cumque Ioachim in animo suo discuteret si reverti deberet, factum est ut sopore teneretur, et ecce angelus, qui apparuit ei vigilanti, apparuit ei in somnis dicens: Ego sum angelus qui a deo datus sum tibi custos: descende securus et revertere ad Annam, quia misericordiae quas fecisti tu et Anna uxor tua in conspectu altissimi recitatae sunt, et tale datum est vobis germen, quale numquam ab initio nec prophetae aut sancti habuerunt neque sunt habituri. Et factum est cum evigilasset Ioachim a somno, vocavit ad se gregarios suos et indicavit eis somnium suum. At illi adoraverunt dominum et dixerunt ei: Vide ne ultra contemnas angelum deii; sed surge proficiscamur, et lento gradu pascentes eamus.

(5) Cumque triginta dies ambularent et essent iam prope, apparuit Annae in oratione stanti angelus domini dicens ei: Vade ad portam quae aurea vocatur et occurre viro tuo, quoniam veniet ad te hodie. At illa festinanter perrexit cum puellis suis, et coepit in ipsa porta stans orare. Et cum diutius exspectaret et longa exspectatione deficeret, elevans oculos suos vidit Ioachim venientem cum pecoribus suis, occurrensque Anna suspendit se in collo eius, gratias agens deo et dicens: Vidua eram, et ecce iam non sum; sterilis eram, et ecce iam
concepi. Et factum est gaudium magnum vicinis omnibus et notis eius, ita ut universa terra Israel de ista fama gratularetur.

IV Post haec autem expletis mensibus novem peperit Anna filiam, et vocavit nomen eius Mariam. Cum autem terto anno perlactasset eam, abierunt simul Ioachim et Anna uxor eius ad templum domini, et offerentes hostias domino tradiderunt infantulam suam Mariam in contubernium virginum, quae die noctuque in dei laudibus permanebant. Quae cum posita esset ante templum domini, quindecim gradus ita cursim ascendit ut penitus non aspiceret retrorsum, neque, ut solitum est infantiae, parentes requireret. In quo facto omnes stupore attoniti tenebantur, ita ut et ipsi pontifices templi mirarentur.

V Tunc Anna repleta spiritu sancto in conspectu omnium dixit: Dominus deus exercituum memor factus est verbi sui et visitavit plebem suam visitatione sancta sua, ut gentes quae insurgebant in nos humiliet et convertat ad se corda eorum: aperuit aures suas precibus nostris, et exclusit a nobis insultationes inimicorum nostrorum. Sterilis facta est mater, et genuit exultationem et laetitiam in Israel. Ecce potero offerre munera domino, et non poterunt a me prohibere inimici mei. Dominus convertat corda eorum ad me, et det mihi gaudium sempiternum.

VI(1) Erat autem Maria in admiratione omni populo. Quae
cum trium esset annorum, ita maturo gressu ambulabat et perfectissime loquebatur et in dei laudibus studebat, ut non infantula esse putaretur sed magna, et quasi triginta annorum iam esset ita orationibus insistebat. Et resplendebat facies eius sicut nix, ita ut vix possent in eius vultum intendere. Insistebat autem operi lanificii, et omnia quae mulieres antiquae non potuerunt facere, ista in tenera aetate posita explicabat. (2) Hanc autem regulam sibi statuerat, ut a mane usque ad horam tertiam orationibus insisteret; a tertia autem usque ad nonam textrino opere se occuparet: a nona vero hora iterum ab oratione non recedebat usque dum illi angelus domini appareret, de cuius manu escam acciperet, et melius atque melius in dei laudibus proficiebat. Denique cum senioribus virginibus in dei laudibus ita docebatur, ut iam nulla ei in vigiliis prior inveniretur, in sapientia legis dei eruditior, in humilitate humilior, in carminibus Davidicis elegantior, in caritate gratiosior, in castitate purior, in omni virtute perfectior. Erat enim constans, immobilis, immutabilis, atque cotidie ad meliora proficiebat. (3) Hanc nemo irascentem vidit, hanc maledicentem nunquam ullus audivit. Omnis autem sermo eius ita erat gratia plenus, ut cognosceretur in lingua eius esse deus. Semper in oratione vel scrutatione legis permanebat, et erat sollicita circa socias suas, ne aliqua ex eis vel in uno sermone peccaret, nec aliqua in risu exaltaret sonum suum nec aliqua in
iniuriis aut in superbia circa parem suam existeret. Sine intermissione benedicebat deum; et ne forte vel in salutatione sua a laudibus dei tolleretur, si quis eam salutabat, illa pro salutatione deo gratias respondebat. Denique primum ab ea exiit ut homines, cum se invicem salutarent, deo gratias responderent. Cotidie esca quam de manu angeli accipiebat ipsa tantum reficiebatur; escam vero quam a pontificibus consequebatur pauperibus dividebat. Frequenter videbant cum ea angelos loqui, et quasi carissimi eius obtemperabant ei. Si quis autem de infirmantibus tetigisset eam, salvus ad domum suam eadem hora remeabat.

VII(1) Tunc Abiathar sacerdos obtulit munera infinita pontificibus, ut acciperet eam filio suo tradendam uxorem. Prohibebat autem eos Maria dicens: Non potest fieri ut ego virum cognoscam aut me vir cognoscat. Pontifices autem et omnes eius affines dicebant ei: Deus in filiis colitur et in posteris adoratur, sicut semper fuit in Israel. Respondens autem Maria dixit illis: Deus in castitate primo omnium colitur, ut comprobatur. (2) Nam ante Abel nullus fuit iustus inter homines, et iste pro oblatione placuit deo, et ab eo qui displicuit inclementer occisus est. Duas tamen coronas accepti, oblationis et virginitatis, quia in carne sua nunquam pollutionem admisit. Denique et Helias cum esset in carne assumptus est, quia carnem suam virginem custodivit. Haec ego didici in templo dei ab infantia mea, quod deo cara
esse possit virgo. Ideo hoc statui in corde meo ut virum penitus non cognoscam.

VIII(1) Factum est autem cum XIII annos aetatis haberet, et esset occasio quae Pharisaeos faceret dicere, iam consuetudinem adesse feminam in templo dei non posse morari, inventum est tale consilium ut mitteretur praeco per omnes tribus Israel, ut omnes die tertia in templum domini convenirent. Cum autem universus populus convenisset, surrexit Abiathar pontifex et ascendit in altioribus gradibus, ut ab omni populo audiri posset et videri; et facto magno silentio dixit: Audite me, filii Israel, et auribus percipite verba mea. Ex quo aedificatum est templum hoc a Salomone, fuerunt in eo filiae regum virgines et prophetarum et summorum sacerdotum et pontificum; et magnae ac mirabiles exstiterunt. Tamen venientes ad legitimam aetatem, viros in coniugio sunt adeptaes, et secutae sunt priorum suarum ordinem et deo placuerunt. A sola vero Maria novus ordo placendi deo inventus est, quae promittit deo se virginem permanere. Unde mihi videtur ut per interrogationem nostram et responsionem dei possimus agnoscere cui debeat custodienda committi. (2) Tunc placuit sermo iste omni synagogae. Et missa est sors a sacerdotibus super duodecim tribus Israel, et cecidit sors super tribum Iuda. Dixitque sacerdos: Insequenti die quicumque sine uxore est veniat et deferat virgam in manu sua. Unde factum est ut Ioseph cum iuvenibus
virgam deferret. Cumque tradidissent summo pontifici virgas suas, obtulit sacrificium deo, et interrogavit dominum. Et dixit dominus ad eum: Intromitte omnium virgas intra sancta sanctorum, et ibi maneant virgae. Et praecipe eis ut mane veniant ad te ad reciproendas virgas suas, et ex cacumine unius virgae columba egredietur et volabit ad caelos; in cuius manu virga reddita hoc signum dederit, ipsi tradatur Maria custodienda.


1 Tischendorf's MS C adds: ad tria milia virgas; cf. OE 1.292.
expavescens quod summus pontifex cum clamore nimio vocaret eum. Mox autem extendens manum ut suam virgam acciperet, statim de cacumine eius egressa est columba nive candidior, speciosa nimis; et volans diu per templi fastigia petivit caelos. (4) Tunc universus populus congratulabatur seni dicentes: Beatus factus es tu in senectute tua, ut idoneum te deus ostenderet ad accipiendam Mariam. Cum autem sacerdotes dicerent ei: Accipe eam, quia ex omni tribu Iuda tu solus electus es a deo, coepit adorare et rogare eos atque cum verecundia dicere: Senex sum et filios habeo, ut quid mihi infantulam istam traditis? Tunc Abiathar summus pontifex dixit: Memor esto, Ioseph, quemadmodum Dathan et Abiron et Core perierunt, quia voluntatem domini contemptserunt. Ita tibi eveniet si hoc quod a deo iubetur tibi contemptseris. Et dixit ei Ioseph: Ego quidem non contemno voluntatem dei, sed custos eius ero, quousque hoc de voluntate dei cognosci possit, quis eam possit habere ex filiis meis coniugem. Dentur aliquae ex sodalibus eius virgines, cum quibus interim degat. Et respondens Abiathar pontifex dixit: Virgines quidem ad solatium eius dabuntur, quousque dies statutus veniat in quo tu eam accipias; non enim poterit alii in matrimonio copulari.

1 Tischendorf's MS A adds: cuius etiam aetas minor est nepotibus meis; B adds: cuius aetas minor est nepotum meorum; E adds after infantulam: hanc aetate nepotem meam datis, et quae minor est iam a nepotibus meis.

IX(1) Altera autem die dum Maria staret iuxta fontem ut urceolum impleret, apparuit ei angelus domini et dixit: Beata es Maria, quoniam iu utero tuo habitaculum domino praeparasti. Ecce veniet lux de caelo ut habitet in te, et per te universo mundo resplendebit.

(2) Iterum tertia die dum operaretur purpuram digitis suis, ingressus est ad eam iuvenis, cuius pulchritudo non potuit enarrari. Quem videns Maria expavit et contremuit. Cui ille ait: Noli timere Maria, invenisti gratiam apud deum: ecce concipies in utero et paries regem, qui imperet non solum
in terra sed et in caelis, et regnabit in secula seculorum.


XI Cumque ordinasset in nocte exsurgere ut fugiens habitaret in occultis, ecce in ipsa nocte apparuit ei in somnis angelus domini dicens: Ioseph fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam, quoniam quod in utero eius est,

XII(1) Factum est autem post haec et exiit rumor quod Maria esset gravida. Et comprehensus a ministris templi Ioseph ductus est ad pontificem, qui una cum sacerdotibus coepit exprobrare ei et dicere: Ut quid fraudatus es nuptias tantae ac talis virginis, quam angeli dei sicut columbam in templo nutrierunt, quae virum numquam nec videre voluit, quae in lege dei eruditionem optimam habuit? Tu autem si ei violentiam non fecisses, illa hodie virgo perseverasset. Ioseph autem devotabat se iurans quod numquam tetigisset eam. Cui Abiathar pontifex dixit: Vivit deus quoniam modo te faciam potare aquam potationis domini, et statim apparebit peccatum tuum...

(5) Tunc omnes osculabantur eam rogantes ut malis suspicitionibus eorum daret indulgentiam. Et deduxerunt eam omnes populi et sacerdotes et omnes virgines cum exultatione et gaudio usque ad domum suam, clamantes et dicentes: Sit nomen domini benedictum, qui manifestavit sanctitatem tuam universae plebi Israel.

1 Verses 2-4, which the OE (396-99) summarizes, are here omitted.
THE LATIN TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF
PSEUDO-MATTHEW, PART TWO

XIII(2) ... Et ibi peperit (sc. Maria) masculum, quem circumdederunt angeli nascentem et natum adoraverunt dicentes: Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

XVII(1) Videns autem Herodes rex quod illusus esset a magis, inflammatum est cor eius, et misit per omnes vias volens capere eos et interficere. Quos cum penitus invenire non potuisset, misit in Bethleem et occidit omnes infantes a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis.

(2) Ante unum vero diem quam hoc fieret, admonitus est Ioseph in somnis ab angelo domini qui dixit illi: Tolle Mariam et infantem, et per viam eremi perge in Egyptum. Ioseph vero secundum angeli dictum ivit.

XVIII(1) Cumque pervenissent ad speluncam quandam et in ea requiescere vellent, descendit Maria de iumento, et sedens habebat Iesum in gremio suo. Erant autem cum Ioseph tres pueri et cum Maria quaedam puella\(^2\) iter agentes. Et ecce

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1 From Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 77, 84-93.
2 Tischendorf's MS E: *una puella*. 
subito de spelunca egressi sunt multi dracones, quos videntes puери prae nimio timore exclamaverunt...¹

XXII(1)... Haec illis loquentibus ecce prospicientes videre coeperunt montes Egyptios et civitates eius.

(2) Et gaudentes et exultantes devenerunt in finibus Hermopolis, et in unam ex civitatibus Egypti quae Sotinen dicitur ingressi sunt; et quoniam in ea nullus erat notus apud quem potuissent hospitari, templum ingressi sunt, quod capitolium Egypti vocabatur. In quo templo trecenta sexaginta quinque idola posita erant, quibus singulis diebus honor deitatis in sacrilegiis perhibebatur.

XXIII Factum est autem cum beatissima Maria cum infantulo templum fuisset ingressa, universa idola prostrata sunt in terram, ita ut omnia convulsa iacerent penitus et confracta in faciem suam; et sic se nihil esse evidenter docuerunt. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per prophetam Isaiam: Ecce dominus veniet super nubem levem et ingredietur Egyptum, et movebuntur a facie eius omnia manufacta Egyptiorum.

XXIV Tunc Affrodosio duci civitatis illius cum nuntiatum

¹ After dracones there is a lacuna in the OE version, owing to the loss of a leaf; the second part of chapter XVIII, chapters XIX-XXI, and the first part of XXII are missing, and, accordingly, the Latin equivalent is omitted here, except for the final words of the last sentence before the break (quos ... exclamaverunt).
fuisset, cum universo exercitu suo venit ad templum. Pontifices vero templi ut viderunt Affrodosium cum universo exercitu suo ad templum properare, putabant se vindictam videre in eos quorum causa dii corruerant. Ille autem ingressus templum, ut vidit omnia idola in facies suas prostrata iacere, accessit ad Mariam et adoravit infantem, quem ipsa in sinu suo portabat, et cum adorasset eum, allocutus est universum exercitum suum et amicos suos dicens: Nisi hic deus esset deorum nostrorum, dii nostri coram eo in facies suas minime cecidissent, neque in eius conspectu prostrati iacerent: unde eum dominum suum taciti protestantur. Nos ergo deos nostros quod videmus facere nisi cautius fecerimus omnes, poterimus periculum eius indignationis incurrere et universi in interitum devenire, sicut contigit Pharaoni regi Egyptiorum, qui tantis virtutibus non credens cum omni exercitu suo in mare demersus est. Tunc omnis populus eiusdem civitatis credidit domino deo per Iesum Christum.

XXV Non post multum tempus dixit angelus ad Ioseph: Revertere in terram Iuda; mortui sunt qui quaerabant animam pueri.
THE LATIN TEXT OF THE VISIO PAULI

(4) Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permette me et faciam eis, que sunt uirtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidet et auras audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos dum ad usque convuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo...

(6)...Et terra exclamauit ad dominum aduersus filios hominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego super omnem creaturam tuam noceor supportans fornicationes adulteria homicidia furta periuuria magia maleficia hominum et omnia mala quae faciunt, ita ut pater exurgat in filium et filius

1 From M.R.James, Apocrypha Anecdota, pp.12-20. Occasional variants are given from the St. Gall version of the Visio in T.Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, pp.131-35. The Greek version (slightly shortened) of chapter 14 is from Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphae, pp.41-44 (my translation), and the Syriac version (also slightly shortened) of the same chapter is from Perkins' translation, reprinted ibid., pp.42-43.

2 Here follows an appeal by the moon and stars (chapter 5), and of the sea (first part of chapter 6), omitted in the OE version.

Propterea ergo, filii hominum, benedicite dominum deum incessabiliter omnibus horis et omnibus diebus; magis autem cum hocciderit sol: hac enim hora omnes angeli proficiscuntur ad dominum adorare eum et offerre opera hominum que operatur unusquisque homo a mane usque ad uesperam, siue bona siue mala. Et est quidam angelus qui procedit gaudens de homine quem inabitat. Cum ergo occiderit sol prima hora noctis, in eadem hora (sc. procedit) angelus uniuscuiusque populi et uniuscuiusque uiri et mulieris... offere (sc. deo) omnem operam quam operatus est unusquisque homo siue bona siue
mala... 1

(10)... Et facta est uox dei et dixit: Vnde aduenistis nostri angeli portantes pondera ministri nunciorum mundi? Respondentes dixerunt in conspectu dei: Nos aduenimus ab illis qui inuocauerunt nomen tuum et irpedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseròs, adinuenientes occasiones multas omni hora, unam quidem orationem puram non facientes neque ex toto corde omni tempore uitae suae; quid ergo necesse est adesse hominibus peccatoribus? Et facta est uox dei ad eos: Necesse est ministretis eis quoadusque conviurtantur et peniteant: sine uero non renueintur ad me, ego illos iudicabo.

Cognoscite ergo, filii hominum, quia vecunque operantur a uobis, haec angeli referunt deo, siue bona, siue mala.

(11) Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Sequere me, et ostendam tibi locum iustorum ubi ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint, et post hec adsumens te in abyssum ostendam tibi animas peccatorum, in qualem locum ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint. Et profectus sum retro post angelum, et duxit me in celum, et respexi firmamentum, et uidi ibidem potestatem, et erat ibi obliuio que fallit et deducit ad se corda hominum, et

1 The last part of chapter 7, chapters 8-9, and the first part of chapter 10 relate the manner in which the angels of those blessed on earth receive the Lord's benediction.


1 The OE omits a paragraph on the pleasantness or otherwise of the soul's passage to heaven.
Ego uero hoc audissem suspirans fleui, et dixi angelo: Volebam expectare animas iustorum et peccatorum, et uidere quo scemate exeunt de corpore. Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Iterum aspice in terram. Et respexi et uidi omnem mundum, et erant homines quasi nihil et deficientes: et inspexi et uidi quendam hominem moriturum, et dixit mihi angelus: Hunc quem uides iustus est... et omnia opera eius... et omnia studia eius... omnia steterunt in conspectum eius in hora necessitatis...

Greek And I wept and said to the angel: I would see the departure of the righteous and the unrighteous, by what method they go out of the world. And the angel says to me: Paul, look down and behold that which you ask. And I looked, and beheld one of the sons of men failing unto death. And the angel says to me: This man is righteous, and behold, all his works stand before him in the hour of necessity.

Syriac Then I said unto him: O my Lord, wilt thou not grant that I may see in what manner the souls of the righteous and of the wicked depart out of this world? and he said unto me: Paul, look down and see the thing which thou requestest. And I looked and saw, and beheld one of the sons of men fallen nigh unto death. And the angel said unto me: This is a just one and righteous in all his works. And I saw everything which he did for God standing before him in the hour of his departure from the world...

1 In order to facilitate comparison with the Greek and Syriac versions, the Latin of chapter 14 is given in full, with the exception of some minor repetitions, etc.; significant parts not appearing in the OE version are enclosed in square brackets.
et ante quam exiret de mundo asteterunt sancti angeli [simul et impii] et uidi eos omnes [, sed et impii non iuenerunt locum habitacionis in eum, sancti autem dominati sunt anime eius, gubernantes eam quo usque exiret de corpore; et comouerunt animam, dicentes: Anima, cognosce corpus tuum unde existi, necesse est enim te reuertere in eodem corpore in die resurrectionis, ut recipias promissa omnibus iustis. Suscipientes ergo animam de corpore, statim osculati sunt eam quasi cotidie sibi notam,]

**Greek** And there came good angels, and with them evil angels. And the evil angels found no place in him, but the good angels had power over the soul of the righteous man, and said to him: Know your body, whence you came: for you must again turn to it in the day of resurrection, that you might receive the things which God promised to the righteous. And the good angels, taking the soul of the righteous man, embraced it as being well-known [to them].

**Syriac** And there approached him wicked angels - when a righteous one departs, they do not find a place by him - and those good angels ruled over that righteous one. And they drew out of him the soul, while alluring it with rest; and again they restored it to him, while inviting it and saying: 0 soul, be assured, as for this thy body, 0 holy one, thou wilt return into it in the resurrection, and thou wilt receive the promises of the living God with all the saints. Then that soul was carried from the body; and they inquired after its health, as though it had grown up with them: and they took delight with it in love.
dicentes ei: Viriliter age, fecisti enim voluntatem dei
constituta in terra. Et uenit ei in occursum angelus qui
obseruabat eam singulis diebus, et dixit [ei: Viriliter age,
anima; ego enim gaudeo in te, quia fecisti voluntatem dei in
terris: ego enim referebam ad deum omnia opera tua qualiter se
abent. Similiter etiam et spiritus in occursum processit ei
et dixit: Anima, ne uerearis neque turberis quousque ueneris in
locum quem non noueras umquam, sed ero tibi adiutor: inueni
enim in te locum refectionis in tempore quo habitaui in te
dum essem in terra.

Syriac and they said unto it: Blessed art thou, 0 happy
soul, which every day didst perform the will of God, and now
takest delight in pleasures. And there came to meet it he
who was its guardian in its life, and said to it: 0 soul of
mine, be of good courage, and be joyful, and I will rejoice
over thee that thou hast done the will of our Lord all the
days of thy life; and I carried thy good works, by day and
by night, before God. And again I turned and said to my
soul: Do not fear, in that behold thou seest a place thou
hast never seen.

Syriac And while I was beholding these things, that spirit was lifted up from the earth, that it might ascend to heaven. And there went out to meet it wicked powers, those that are under heaven. And there reached it the spirit of error and said: Whither dost thou presume, 0 soul? and art thou running that thou mayest enter heaven? Stop, that we may see; perhaps there is in thee something that belongs to us, that we may narrate a little.

And that soul was bound there; and there was a fight between the good angels and the evil angels. And when that spirit of deception saw, it bewailed with a loud voice and said: Woe unto thee, 0 soul, that we have found in thee nothing of ours! and lo, all the angels and spirits are helping thee against us... And there went forth ... the spirit of the tempter, and the spirit of fornication;... and when they saw it, they ... said: How was this soul escaped from us! It did the will of God on earth, and behold the angels help it... And all the principalities and evil spirits came to meet it...; and they did not find in it anything that was from them; ... And the angel which conducted it in life... said unto them: Return, 0 ye mortified ones; ye have no way of access to it; with many artifices ye enticed when it was on earth, and it did not listen to you.
Et deduxerunt eam dum adusque adoraret in conspectu dei.
Cumque dessinuissent

**Greek** And it went with them, and the Spirit came forth to all of them, saying: Come, o soul, enter into the place of rest, which God has prepared for his righteous ones.

**Syriac** And after this I heard the voice of myriads of angels praising God and saying: Rejoice and be glad, 0 soul; be strengthened and do not fear. And they marvelled much at the soul, when they saw it holding the seal of the living God in its hand. And thus they were giving it heart and saying: We all rejoice over thee, that thou hast done the will of thy Lord. And they carried it and placed it before the throne of the living God, while they all rejoiced with it. And there was a great cessation; afterwards silence reigned for a considerable time. And afterwards the angels ceased to wit, those angels that worshipped before the footstool of God with that soul.
statim Michael et omnis exercitus angelorum concidentes
adhorauerunt scabellum pedum eius et ostia eius simul anime
dicentes: Hic est deus omnium uester, qui fecit ad imaginem
et similitudinem suam. Recurrat autem angelus et indicavit
dicens: Deus, memorare laborum eius: haec est enim anima
cuius tibi, domine, operam referebam, faciens secundum
iudicium tuum... Et facta est uox dei et dixit: Quemadmodum
haec me non contristauit, nec ego eam non contristabo; sicut
enim miserta est, et ego miserebor. Tradatur ergo Michaelo
angelo testamenti, et perducat eam in paradiso exultacionis,
ut et ipsa fiat coheres cum omnibus sanctis. Et audiui uoces
post haec milia milium angelorum... dicencium et glorificantium
dominum et clamantium: Iustus es, domine, et iusta iudicia tua,
et non est personarum acceptio apud te, sed retribues unicuique
secundum tuum iudicium...

(15) Et ait mihi: Iterum aspice deorsum in terram et
expecta animam impii exeuntem de corpore, que inritauit
dominum die hac nocte dicens: Nichil aliut noui in hoc mundo,
manduco et bibo et fruor que sunt in mundo. Quis enim est
qui descendit ad inferos et ascendens denunciauit nobis quia
est iudicium illic? Et iterum respxei et uidi omnem
contemptum peccatoris et omnia que egit, et in unum
asteterunt ante eum in hora necessitatis: et factum est ei in
illa ora qua minabatur de corpore eius ad iudicium, et dixi:
Melius erat ei si non fuisset natus...\(^1\) Et post haec uenerunt simul sancti angeli et maligni et anima peccatoris, et sancti angeli locum non inuenerunt in ea. Maligni autem angeli comminati sunt ipsius; qui cum educerent eam de corpore commonuerunt eam angeli tercio, dicentes: O misera anima, prospice carnem tuam unde existi: necesse est enim te reuertere in carne tua in diem resurreccionis, ut recipias peccatis tuis condignum, et impietatum tuarum. (16) Et cum produxissent, praecessit eam consuetus angelus, et ait ad illam: O misera anima, ego sum angelus aderens tibi, referens cotidie ad dominum opera tua maligna quecunque egisti per noctem uel diem: et si fuisset meae potestatis, nec una quidem die ministrassem tibi, sed nichil orum valui facere: misericors est et iudex iustus, et ipse precepit nobis ut non cessemus ministrare anime quousque peniteamini: tu autem perdististi tempus penitenciae. Ego tibi quidem alienus factus sum, et tu mihi....\(^2\) Et post haec audiui uoces in excelso celorum dicentes: Offerte miseram animam deo, ut cognoscat quia est deus ut contempsit. Cum ergo ingressa esset coelum, uiderunt

---

1 St. Gall: Adsteterunt ante eum in hora necessitatis, et facta est in illa judicium, et bonum erat ei si natus non fuisset. Our version has confused the first person narrative of Paul with the exclamation of the unrighteous soul, wrongly ascribing this cry to Paul; James (Apocryphal NT, p.532) corrects this in his translation.

2 Here follows a paragraph, omitted by the OE, in which the unrighteous soul has various burdens laid upon it.
eam omnes angeli milia miliorum exclamauerunt una uoce omnes dicentes: Ve tibi, misera anima, pro operibus tuis que fecisti in terra; quid responsum datura es deo cum accesseris adorare eum? Respondit angelus qui erat cum ea et dixit: Flete mecum, mei dilectissimi, requiem enim non inueni in hac anima. Et responderunt ei angeli et dixerunt: Auferatur talis anima de medio nostrorum: ex quo enim ingressa est, putor eius transiuit ad nos angelos. Et post haec oblata est ut adoraret in conspectu dei, et monstrauit ei angelus dominum deum qui eam fecit secundum imaginem et similitudinem suam. Angelus autem eius praecucurrit dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego sum angelus anime istius cuius tibi opera offerebam die ac nocte, non faciens secundum tuum iudicum. Et spiritus similiter ait: Ego sum spiritus qui inhabitabam in eam ex quo facta est, in se autem noui, et non est secuta meam voluntatem: iudica eam, domine, secundum tuum iudicium. Et facta est uox dei ad eam et dixit: Vbi est fructus tuus quem fecisti pro his quibus accepisti bonis dignum? numquid posui distanceam inter te et iustum unius diei? nunquid non faciebam oriri solem super te sicut et super iustum?... Tradatur ergo angelo Tartarucho qui prepositus est penis, et mitat eum in tenebris exterioribus ubi est fletus et stridor dencium, et sit ibi usque in diem magnum iudicii. Et post haec auduii uocem angelorum et

1 Here follows a paragraph in praise of the judgements of God omitted in the OE.
archangelorum dicencium: Iustus es, domine, et iustum iudicium tuum.

(17) Et iterum uidi, et ecce anima que adducebatur a duobus angelis flens et dicens: Miserere mei, deus iustus, deus iudex; hodie enim septicm dies habeo ex quo exiui de corpore meo, et tradita sum duobus angelis istis et perduxerunt me ad ea loca que nunquam uideram. Et ait ei deus iustus iudex: Quid fecisti? tu enim misericordiam nunquam fecisti, propterea tradita es talibus angelis qui non abent misericordiam, et quia non fecisti rectum, ideo neque tecum pie gesserunt in hora necessitatis tuae. Confiteere ergo peccata tua que commisisti in seculo constituta. Et respondit et dixit: Domine, non peccaui. Et iratus est in furore dominus deus iustus dicente ea Non peccaui, quoniam est mentita; et dixit deus: Adhuc reputas in seculum permanere? si hunus quisque uestrum illic peccans caelat et abscondit peccatum suum proximo suo; hie uero non absconditur quicquam: cum enim uenerint adorare anime in conspectu troni et opera unius cuiusque et peccata eius manifestatur.
MS Hatton 114 is of particular interest owing to the numerous glosses, chiefly in Latin, but sometimes in ME, which are found throughout. They are in several hands, at least one of which can be identified with glosses in other MSS, and are either marginal or interlinear; sometimes a gloss is repeated in the margin, and occasionally several glosses are given for the same word. ME glosses appear for words in 11. 69, 79, 87, 137, 162, 163 (twice), 169, 269, 312, 358, 380.

A readily identifiable hand is that known as the 'tremulous' hand, which is found in numerous MSS of Worcester provenance, and which is itself 'a sure mark of

1. The only other MS used in which glosses occur is Bodl. 343; the glosses in it may be conveniently noted here: 214 burigde] comedit (see Variant Notes), 223 wra5 (see Variant Notes)] ymre, 224 telan] chidon.
Worcester provenance. The nature of this hand suggests that the writer was old: 'He may have felt that unglossed, the manuscripts ... would not be understood by future generations.' Turner suggests that the large number of his glosses implies that 'by the end of the twelfth century the capacity for understanding the old Anglo-Saxon was being lost ... and that the last survivor of the old tradition was called upon to make the Anglo-Saxon MSS rather more intelligible to the new generation by providing these Latin renderings.' The hand is dated by Crawford to the end of the twelfth century and by Ker to the beginning of the thirteenth; the other hands are probably of the first half of the thirteenth century.

The glosses reveal something of the use of OE MSS during the period when little is known of their history, the eME period before 1200. In the words of Ker, 'many manuscripts show signs of having been read in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Especially in the twelfth century some modernization and interpretation of antiquated words and expressions was often necessary. Evidently the old manuscripts were valued and commonly consulted until at the

3. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS*, p.lvi. For further references to the 'tremulous' hand, see ibid., p.lv.
earliest the end of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{1}

As well as the glosses, there are a number of marks and alterations of a phonological nature added to the MS by later hands. These marks are of great frequency, and only a few examples of each type are given.\textsuperscript{2} The marks take the form of small superscript letters written over those letters, or letter, of the word concerned, for which they are to be understood as a substitute. They are:

1. superscript a e.g. over the i of him 29, 143
2. superscript e e.g. over the y of fiftvne 39, hyrdas 59, 140, Cyr 118, gehvrsun 146, vldrum 181
3. superscript i over the ge prefix e.g. gename 97, gesawon 140

Below is a list of the glosses found in the Pseudo-Matthew in Hatton 114. A few are illegible; some, e.g. sullinu 204, ditata 362, are legible, but unintelligible. Line references are to the present text. No attempt is made to distinguish between the various hands.

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{1} Ker, Catalogue, p.xlviii.
  \item\textsuperscript{2} Only those marks occurring in the Pseudo-Matthew are discussed; see Crawford, 'The Worcester Marks and Glosses', 3-5, for a further description.
\end{itemize}
apocryptum, ueneremur
   (beside first line of text)

hlaedige] domina

scypliendum mannum] nauigantibus

wear] fuit

si] via

scuan] specu

y] undas

a] semper

fruman] originem

gebyrde]
natiuitatem

Pae] cuius

heordal] pastor

gymene] curam;
   illegible gloss in margin

eowde] ous

Gode] domino

Gode] domino

hirede] familie

micclode] augebat

Das Ping he ongan
   don] illa incepit
   facere

onsegednysse] sacrificium
   (repeated in margin)

Pae] cuius

alyfed] licitum

onsegednysse] sacrificium

Pae] huius

gesau] exiit

hwearfan] revertere;
   illegible gloss in margin

faca] spacia

gegearwiel] preparo

cauertune] cleoue, atrio,
   atrium (margin)

ged] orationem

heordal] pastor

byrsoor] fetum

gefeo] gaudent

ane] solam

atyndest] exclusisti

gesinscipes] guwepe

gehet] vovi

gapeahete] consilio

fram] of

gesihoe] visione

gelapode] conocauit
92 Pinene] ancillam
96 ungePwarlice]
parilse (for parilis?), inconuentiantur
97 gename] abstulit
97 beluce] clausit
103 gehweorfan]
reuertere
103 gemæccan] coniugem
105 geæswicod]
scandalizatus
108 gyfe] dona
113 geeacnod] concepta
114 ana] sola
119 geeacnode] pregnans
121 geseted] dicta
122 wurðode] honorau(it)
126 efenPeowal]
conservus
126 wit] nos
128 fram] ab
130 onsægedynsse]
sacrificium, incensum
131 gedyrstig] audax
135 ongeate] percepi
136 stence] incensi
137 to Pam] so
138 ansyn] faciem
141 intingan] causam
146 trymedon] edificabant
148 gehwyrfe] reuerteret
148 Preodode] deliberauit
154 incger] uester
154 gyt] uos
157 incg] uobis
157 beorðre] onore
162 ricene] cito; mox
162 gegán] igan
163 to ĺam feori so veor;
   lange
163 for] in
166 gecydde (MS gecigde)]
   notum fecit
169 mægðe] kun
170 hlisan] famam
170 geeacunyge]
concept(i)onis
176 ĺa] illa
178 gemanan] comunitate
178 fæmnena] illegible gloss
180 stapas] gradus
182 gange] ingressu
182 worde] verba
183 gebærum] gestu
186 gebære] Gestu
188 Pa] tunc
189 òus cwæp...]
propfeticum
anne
191 arisan]
insurrexerunt
193 ontyndon
(MS ontynon)]
aperie
195 unbeoðrum (MS
mundbyrdum)]
prote(c)tor
195 tuddor] peritus
204 mægna] virtute
204 heanyssum] summa;
sullinu (sic)
214 onbirigde]
percepit,
acceptit,
sup(p)sit
217 getyddre] perita
222 gestæðPig] contrans?
(for con(s)tans?)
223 gebær] Gestu
223 yrre] contumelia ¹
230 teonan] contumelia
237 hi] eam
241 gesalde] daret
241 gemæccan] coniugem
242 styrde] castiguit
242 anrædlice] instante
242 gewuróln] absit
244 mægðe] tribu
250 arleaslice] impie
251 hluttre] puram
251 onsegednyssse]
sacrificium
251 lichaman] corporis
253 alædæd] ductus
257 gePeahtodon] consilium
inierunt, notit
261 Gehyrað] audite
262 ge] vos
262 witon] scitis
265 ðlicre] legalia
266 ðlicum] legalia
266 gyftum] nubens
268 endebyrdnyssse] ordine
269 endebyrdnyssse] riht, ordinem

1. This marginal gloss may apply instead to talan or wyrigean 224.
271-72 secan Pa andsware to Gode] quaeeramus responsa a deo

273 wære] viro

274 gelicode] placuit

275 hlotæ] sortem

275 cyn] tribu

279 Ponon] inde

284 òonne] tunc

285 foreweardre] summitate (repeated in margin)

293 gegyrede] vestiuit

295 onbærnde] accendit

298 séleste] melior

298 unseald] non datur

299 syle] da

312 fram] of, a

317 Pa] qui

318 forhycge] sperno

322 ælice] legalem

324 gemæmunga] communione

326 Da] quae

329 wahrift] velum

339 forh tel] paruidi

344 gearwodest] preparasti

345 lihteð] a sign indicates a gloss is to appear in margin, but no gloss is given.

348 abreged] territa

353 Pa tid] illa

356 bearn hæbbende] pregnantem

358 sorhfull] tear (over sorh)

361 geare] certe

362 onwelges] ditata

369 hiw] specie

370 byldu] audacitate

371 ansyne] faciem

376 Ioseph,...ondrædan] Joseph noli timere

377 onfoh] accipie

379 òes] illius

379 gedeð] fac

380 fram] of

381 gefeonde] Gaudens

384 facnes] dolum (repeated in margin), fraudem

384 Pær] ubi

385 nan[næs (MS nanes)] nulla fuit

386 hlysa] opinio, fama
gemänunge] con...
am
getydeste]peritissima
nédingai vi
ladode] p...gauit
acunnodan]
p(ro)bauerrunt
(repeated in
margin)
wären] fuerunt
butu] ii, ambe
(for ambo)
h[i] eam
geleafulra]studia
diligencia
sit
mundbora]protextrix (sic)
geare] bene
INDEX VERBORUM
The aim of the Index is to list all words occurring in the texts, according to their parts of speech. As regards alphabetical order, $g$ is treated as $ae$, while $a$ and $b$ come between $t$ and $u$. In nouns and adverbs, the $ge$ prefix is treated as part of the word in fixing alphabetical order. Where it appears in verbs, however, it does not affect the alphabetical order. If the prefix is enclosed in round brackets, the verb occurs both with and without it, and the former instances are indicated by underlining of the line references; if not so enclosed, the verb always appears with the prefix.

Line references are given first to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew Part I (not indicated by an abbreviation), then to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew Part II (indicated by M2), and finally to the Visio Pauli (indicated by VP). This sequence begins afresh for each part of speech of a particular word. A number in round brackets after a line reference indicates the number of times the word is found in that line. Square brackets enclosing a line reference indicate an editorial addition or correction.

Classes of strong verbs are indicated by the numbers 1-7.
after the abbreviation \textit{v} (see the list of abbreviations following), eg. \textit{forlātan v2}, is a strong verb of class 7. The numbers 1-3 before \textit{pr}, \textit{pt}, \textit{ptsubi}, etc., indicate person in the verbs.

The grammatical abbreviations indicating parts of speech are run together; thus, \textit{3prs} = 3rd person present indicative singular, \textit{2ptpl} = 2nd person preterite indicative plural, \textit{3ptsubis} = 3rd person preterite subjunctive singular, \textit{2simp} = 2nd person imperative singular, \textit{fdats} = feminine dative singular, \textit{neutaccpl} = accusative plural, etc.

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pr - present indicative
prep - preposition
presp - present participle
pron - pronoun
pt - preterite indicative
ptcl - particle
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