Ælfric’s Corpus: A Conspectus

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It should come as no surprise that the canon of Ælfric of Eynsham is complex. One of the most prolific men of Anglo-Saxon England, known for both his erudition and his ability to instruct others, Ælfric wrote for a host of audiences—bishops and children, nuns and nobles, monks, secular priests, common laymen—in a variety of different genres over a period of some twenty years. The striking range and number of copies of his work, furthermore, attest to his ongoing importance for the centuries that followed. While the outline of Ælfric’s corpus was established by Peter Clemoes’ seminal “Chronology of Ælfric’s Works,” with further titles being provided in John Pope’s introduction to the Homilies of Ælfric, a number of points remain far from clear. On the one hand, there are the texts themselves: as both Ælfric and his successors revised, augmented, and adapted his material, the textual history and interrelationship of his works is not straightforward. On the other hand, there is the dizzying array of scholarly editions: some lingering from the nineteenth century, some completed since Pope’s study, a number remaining in unpublished dissertations, and others proposed but still in process. As many of these fail to account for all the extant manuscripts, however, gaps nonetheless remain. While such information may be gleaned from the recesses of numerous introductions and appendices, this survey is intended to serve as a summary reference to Ælfric’s writings and the major editions thereof, revealing in the process what work remains to be done.

1. Homilies:

Of the homilies by Ælfric in previous collections,¹ Belfour 1 has been incorporated into readings of SH I.12, Belfour 2 has been collated in SH I.8 with another manuscript printed by Bright (col. 91), and Dominica III in Quadragesima, originally printed by Müller (19-27), has been re-edited as SH I.4. See 1.3.

Florilegium 18.2 (2001)
1.1. [Frank and Cameron B.1.1] *Sermones catholici or Catholic Homilies* I (CH I)

Overview: Having composed a series of homilies for his own use as priest of Cerne Abbas, Ælfric revised and issued them in two series dedicated to Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury (990–994 or 995), to provide clergy with orthodox preaching material in the vernacular (Clemoes, *Homilies* 65 and Godden, *Homilies* xci). Recent scholarship on the First Series has discussed such subjects as Ælfric’s audience, use of hagiography, attitude toward apocrypha, construction of an authorial persona, and teaching on penance, kingship, and divine foreknowledge (see Kleist, “Bibliography” 528-36).

Date: Initial composition between 989 and 991 (Clemoes, “Chronology” 56, Eliason and Clemoes 35) or between 990 and 994 (Godden, *Commentary* xxxv)²

Edition: Clemoes (*Homilies*); Latin and Old English prefaces also ed. Wilcox (*Prefaces* 107-10)

Facsimiles: Fragments of CH I.26, I.35, I.36 and I.37 (Fausbøll 42-89); the whole from London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, ff 4-218 (Eliason and Clemoes)

Notes: Clemoes’ long-awaited revision of his doctoral dissertation discusses the development and dissemination of Ælfric’s first collection of homilies, tracing six phases during which Ælfric revised, supplemented, and reorganised his work.³ Clemoes prints the text based on Royal 7 C. xii [Ker §257], with passages supplied from Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 [Ker §15]—the source for Thorpe’s nineteenth-century edition—and variants collated from some thirty-two other manuscripts. Like Godden in his edition of the Second Series [1.2], Clemoes includes the Gospel pericopes, omitted by Thorpe, with which Ælfric introduces a number of his homilies. Ælfric’s Latin preface is translated by Wilcox (*Prefaces* 127-28), CH I.7 and 18 by Swanton (76-88), and all the Old English texts by Thorpe (*Sermones* 1: 3-619). On the Old English preface, see 2.1.3.

On the immediate sources for the *Sermones*, see especially Smetana “Medieval Homiliary” and “Patristic Anthology” and Hill “Smaragdus” and “Sources Reconsidered.” For subject-indices of the homilies, see DiNapoli, Nelson and Dunn. For a discussion of the contents as a whole, see Godden, *Commentary.*

1.2. [Frank and Cameron B.1.2] *Sermones catholici, or Catholic Homilies* II (CH II)

Overview: In addition to the homilies and Ælfric’s Latin and Old English prefaces,
Godden's edition of the Second Series includes a number of personal asides or addresses by Ælfric: the Latin Ammonitio (not to be confused with the Admonitio [2.2]), warning against drunkenness; De sancta Maria [B.1.2.39] explaining his reluctance to discuss the origins of Mary; Excusatio dictantis [B.1.2.43] explaining his decision not to include the passion of Thomas (but cf. LS II.36); and Oratio [B.1.2.50] where he reaffirms that the homilies are for the unlearned, refuses to undertake such translation again, and exhorts future scribes to produce accurate copies (Homilies 2, 271, 297-98, and 345). Cleomoes and Pope list these texts under “Miscellanea” (section 6), but their content and presence in CH II manuscripts would associate them more with the Sermones than with an independent textual tradition. Cleomoes does not date the texts, but their presence in the first-recension manuscript Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28, alongside creeds and prayers which Cleomoes dated shortly after the initial composition of CH II (see 4.4.1-2 and 6.1-4), suggests that they too belong early in the period 992—1002 (cf. Godden, Homilies xliii). The Ammonitio is translated by Wilcox (Prefaces 129-30), and all four works by Thorpe (Sermones 2:5, 467, 521, and 595).

On the change in Ælfric’s view of the Sermones from material to be delivered verbatim to the congregation (CH I) to a resource which preachers might adapt as needed (CH II), see Godden “Development.” For other recent scholarship on the Second Series, including discussions of Ælfric’s sources, hagiographic technique, and teaching on transubstantiation in CH II.15, see Kleist “Bibliography” 528-36.

Date: Initial composition in 992 (Cleomoes, “Chronology” 56) or 995 (Godden, Commentary xxxv)

Edition: Godden (Homilies); Latin and Old English prefaces, Ammonitio, De sancta Maria, Excusatio dictantis, and Oratio also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 111-14)

Facsimile: A portion of CH II.30 (lines 165-202) from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28 (Godden, Homilies frontispiece)

Notes: Godden provides the standard edition of the Second Series, drawing not only on Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28, Thorpe’s sole source, but on the twenty-six other known copies of Ælfric’s work. The introduction reconstructs Ælfric’s ongoing revision of his text, grouping the extant versions into two main recensions. A further volume by Godden, Commentary, provides a general introduction, analysis of sources and content, commentary, and glossary for both CH I and II. An additional edition of Ælfric’s Lives of Cuthbert, Gregory, and Martin (CH II.9, 10, and 34) has been done by Masi. Ælfric’s first homily for Easter is translated by Swanton (89-97,
translating *CH II.15*), and the whole of the collection by Thorpe (*Sermones* 2: 3-595). See also 2.1.3.

Note that where Godden organises *CH* II into forty homilies, Thorpe lists forty-five, and Frank and Cameron divide the material into forty-nine sections. References in scholarship prior to 1979 may thus need to be updated to Godden’s system of numbering (for which, see Appendix One).

### 1.3. [B.1.4] Supplementary Homilies (SH) I and II

Overview: Pope here edits all the texts listed as unpublished in Clemoes’ “Chronology” save for *De creatore et creatura* and *De sex etatibus huius seculi* [2.1.4 and 2.1.5]. Many are compositions for occasions not covered by the Sermones; seven, however, are later additions to *CH* II or the *Lives of Saints* (*SH* II.23-29, comprising additions to *CH* II.18, 19, 22, 28, 31, and 35, and *LS* I.17). Pope provides a glossary for the homilies and an informative introduction, discussing not only such particulars as the manuscripts, date, and sources of the texts, but larger issues such as the development of Ælfric’s rhythmical prose.

Date: The texts are drawn from the whole span of Ælfric’s career following his composition of the *Sermones*, 992 – c.1010 (Pope, *Homilies* 1: 146-48)

Edition: Pope (*Homilies*); part of Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6 [Ker §21.27], collated in *SH* I.11.139-54, printed as Bazire and Cross 6, lines 44-247

Facsimiles: Leaves from versions of *SH* I.1, 2, 4, 6; II.14, 21, and 22 (Pope, *Homilies* 1: frontispiece, following 230, and following 312; *Homilies* 2: frontispiece and following 728)

Notes: See also the recent edition and translation of *De falsis diis* (*SH* II.21), together with two analogous texts, Martin of Braga’s *Pro castigatione rusticorum* and the anonymous Icelandic *Um pat hvadan otru hofst* by Szurszewski. *SH* I.1-12 and II.13-17 trans. Acevedo Butcher.

### 1.4. Miscellaneous Homilies

1.4.1. Liturgical homilies

1.4.1.1. The Proper of the Season

1.4.1.1.1. [B.1.5.1] *In natali domini*
Occasion: Christmas Day

Overview: Largely concerned with the nature of the Trinity and of the soul, the text treats such subjects as the Arians’ denial of Christ’s divinity, the soulless state of animals, the relation of the threefold nature of the soul and the seven deadly sins, and the integration of the soul, spirit, mind, and will.

Date: Between 1002 and 1005

Edition: Belfour 9 (78-96)

Notes: Rewritten text of LS I.1. Trans. Belfour (79-97)

1.4.1.1.2. Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime (in Latin)

Occasion: Christmas Day

Overview: Ælfric discusses among other things the distinction between incorporeal and corporeal creatures (e.g. angels and animals) and that between animals and men: only the latter, he says, walk upright on the ground, having been designed to focus more on heavenly matters than on earthly ones.

Date: Perhaps between 1002 and 1005


Notes: The homily is found in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 63, ff 13-18, and has parallels both to LS I.1 and Belfour 9. Attributed tentatively to Ælfric by Pope (Homilies 1:137n), it has been attributed confidently to Ælfric by Godden, who argues that Belfour 9 draws on Boulogne 63, which in turn translates material from LS I.1 (“Anglo-Saxons” 296-99). Leinbaugh, however, questions this view, suggesting that the Boulogne sermon may have been composed first, and not necessarily by Ælfric “Boulogne Sermon.” On Ælfric’s relationship to Boulogne 63, see also Gatch and Raynes.

1.4.1.1.3. [B.1.5.2] Secundum Iohannem

Occasion: Wednesday in the Fourth Week of Lent

Overview: Ælfric provides a translation and exegetical exposition of Christ’s healing of the man born blind (John 9:1-39); following Augustine, Ælfric interprets the man as humanity, spiritually blind through original sin and personal unbelief, but enlightened through faith.
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Date: Probably between 1002 and 1005
Edition: Belfour 7 (58-74), re-edited as Irvine 3 (61-74)
Notes: Trans. Belfour (59-75). For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine (49-60); cf. also Ælfric’s treatment of the blind man outside Jericho (CH I.10, on Luke 18:35-43).

1.4.1.1.4. [B.1.5.3 and B.1.4.6] Untitled
Occasion: Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent
Overview: Ælfric addresses the raising of Lazarus, the spiritual significance of the three figures whom Christ resurrects, the unforgivable sin, and the interrelationship of the persons of the Trinity.

Date: Between 993 and 1002; homily probably expanded between 1002 and 1005
Edition: Individual parts printed as Belfour 14 (136-40) and SH I.6 (311-29)
Notes: Three versions of this homily exist: one in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v [Ker §220] and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162 and 303 [Ker §38 and 57]; another alongside the first in Cotton Vitellius C. v; and the third in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 [Ker §310]. The second, expanded version contains an extra passage toward the middle of the text; the third version, excerpted from the second, revises its source considerably at the beginning (Pope, Homilies 1:304). Belfour 14 prints the third version of the homily. SH I.6 prints the first version, inserts the interpolation of the second version at SH I.6.209-91, and collates all but the first nineteen lines of Belfour’s text (the “revised” part of the third version, which may draw on CH I.33.76-104) for SH I.6.209-83 and 318-27.

1.4.1.1.5. [B.1.5.4] Untitled
Occasion: Friday after the Fifth Sunday in Lent
Overview: An exposition of John 11:47-54, Caiaphas’ address to the Sanhedrin and the plot to kill Jesus and Lazarus.
Date: Between 993 and 1002
Edition: Assmann 5 (65-72)
Notes: Not printed by Assmann: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v [Ker §220].
1.4.1.1.6. [B.1.5.5] Untitled

Occasion: Third Sunday after Easter

Overview: An exposition of John 16:16-22, where during the Last Supper Christ speaks to his disciples about his death, their coming grief, and their subsequent joy.

Date: Early in the period 1006 – c1010

Edition: Assmann 6 (73-80)

1.4.1.1.7. Untitled

Occasion: Third Sunday after Easter

Overview: Having discussed the sevenfold gift of the Spirit, Ælfric moves to a treatment of false gods mentioned in Scripture, worshiped by the Romans and Danes, and exposed by figures such as Daniel and Gregory the Thaumaturgist.

Date: Between 1002 and 1005

Edition: None; individual parts printed as Napier 8 (Wulfstan 56-60 [see 2.1.3]) and SH II.21 (De falsis diis)

Note: Clemoes suggests that Ælfric was responsible for the compilation of these two Ælfrician texts (“Chronology” 32 and 56). The beginning of the new homily, preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix [Ker §153], is imperfect.

1.4.1.1.8. [B.1.5.6] Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum

Occasion: Twenty-Second Sunday after Pentecost

Overview: Ælfric’s exegesis of Christ’s healing of the underkyng’s son (John 4:46-53) explains the relationship of subordinate kings in Judea to the Roman emperor and emphasises the importance of faith, comparing the underkyng’s belief to that of the centurion and the unbelief of the Jews (Matthew 8:5-13 and 21:23-7).

Date: Between 1006 and c1010

Edition: Belfour 3 (22-30), re-edited as Irvine 1 (19-25)

1.4.1.9. [B.1.5.7] Simile est regnum celorum homini regi
Occasion: Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost
Overview: For his exegesis of the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matthew 18:23-35), Ælfric draws on Augustine to stress the need for men to forgive one another in order to be forgiven by God.
Date: Between 1006 and 1010
Edition: Belfour 4 (30-40), re-edited as Irvine 2 (37-45)
Notes: Trans. Belfour (31-41). For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine (29-36).

1.4.1.2. The Proper of the Saints
1.4.1.2.1. [B.1.5.9] Untitled
Occasion: 22 January, St. Vincent
Overview: Having described Vincent’s torture and death at the hands of Datian, Ælfric urges his audience to give up their lives for Christ, whether literally, through martyrdom, or spiritually, through lifelong service.
Date: Early in the period 1002 – 1005
Edition: Irvine 4 (99-115)
Notes: Ælfric composed his homily for St. Vincent in two parts: the first section, printed as LS II.37, treats Vincent’s passion; the second, shorter section, printed as Belfour 8, considers John 12:24-26, the pericope for a martyr out of Eastertide. Both sections are edited here. For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine (77-98). Trans. Skeat (2: 427-443) and Belfour (75-77).

1.4.1.2.2. [B.1.5.10] De sancta virginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis
Occasion: 15 August, Assumption of the Virgin
Overview: In the first part of the homily, Ælfric reproduces much of his Letter to Sigefyrth (see 4.3.3); in the second part, using the parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16), Ælfric teaches that while all the elect will receive the reward of heaven, they will differ in their radiance according to their virtue—virtue which Ælfric illustrates by means of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3-10).
Date: Between 1006 and c1010
Edition: None; individual parts collated in Assmann 2, lines 13-224 (13-23) and 3, lines 505-97 (44-48) [see 1.4.1.2.3 and 4.3.3]

Notes: Ælfric sets forth two homilies in the Sermones for this occasion, both warning against heterodox teaching on the Assumption (CH I.30.25-27 and II.29.120-33). This third text is found in London, British Museum, Cotton Vitellius C. v, 182v-84v [Ker §220.49]. While Clemoes attributes the homily to Ælfric ("Chronology" 35), and Pope acknowledges Ælfric’s authorship of the pieces collated by Assmann, Pope is unsure that Ælfric himself compiled the pieces in Vitellius C. v: “There is no sign of ingenuity here, only a simple joining of two originally separate passages” (Homilies 1: 31; cf. 141). For a discussion of authorship, see also Kezel’s Appendix.

1.4.1.2.3. [B.1.5.8] Natiuitas sanctae Mariae virginis
Occasion: 8 September, Nativity of the Virgin Mary
Overview: Having previously refused in De sancta Maria [1.2] to treat the extra-Biblical subject of Mary’s origins, Ælfric here reiterates his concern over the dangers of gedwyld (theological error), but attempts to supply an account based on such orthodox sources as Augustine’s De sancta virginitate.
Date: Between 1005 and 1006
Edition: Assmann 3 (24-48)
Notes: For a discussion of Ælfric’s change of mind and a comparison of his attitude towards Marian apocrypha with that of other writers in the Benedictine Reform, see Clayton (Cult 244-48 and “Nativity”) and Hill “Gelasius.” Cf. also 1.4.1.2.2.

1.4.1.3. The Common of the Saints
1.4.1.3.1. [B.1.5.11] Sermo in natale unius confessoris
Occasion: Common of a Confessor
Overview: Ælfric here expounds Matthew 14:42-47, the pericope for a confessor bishop (Clemoes, “Chronology” 35), in which Christ warns his disciples that he will return like a thief in the night to recompense those whom he has put in charge of his household. Ælfric examines a series of unfaithful figures (Uzziah, Arius, Solomon and so forth) to show that while God may delay judgment to give men time for repentance, judgment is inevitable nonetheless.
Date: Between 1006 and 1013

Edition: Assmann 4 (49-64)

Notes: Not collated by Assmann: Kansas University, Y 104 [not in Ker], which was originally a leaf from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 [Ker §332]. For a discussion of the manuscript, see Colgrave and Hyde.

1.4.1.3.2. [B.1.5.12] Sermo in dedicatione templi

Occasion: Dedication of a Church

Overview: Having swiftly summarised Christ’s healing of the blind man outside Jericho (Luke 18:35-43, also treated in CH I.10), Ælfric treats the story of Zaccheus (Luke 19:1-10), interpreting Christ’s perception of Zaccheus as God’s love or election, and the sycamore tree which Zaccheus climbs as the cross to which the believer must cling. Comparing Zaccheus’ generosity with that of Simon the Pharisee, furthermore (Luke 7:36-50), Ælfric emphasises the importance of giving to the needy.

Date: Perhaps shortly after 992

Edition: Brotanek 1 (3-15)

Notes: Arguments for Ælfric’s authorship are set forth in Pope (Homilies 1:141n). While Clemoes suggests that the sermon was written between 1002 and 1005 (“Chronology” 54), Pope notes that the text’s largely non-rhythmical form would indicate an earlier date, perhaps soon after the completion of CH II (1:141n). On Ælfric’s rhythmical prose, which occurs with increasing frequency toward the end of Ælfric’s career, see for example Pope (Homilies 1:105-36).

Not collated by Brotanek: Oxford Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 [Ker §331.77].

1.4.1.4. Unspecified occasions

1.4.1.4.1. [B.1.5.13] Hexameron

Overview: Primarily a literal account and exegesis of the six days of Creation, the text includes a discussion of the Trinity, the dating of Creation and of Easter, cosmology, the fall of the angels and of men, and mankind’s redemption through Christ. For many of these topics, cf. CH I.1 and De temporibus anni [1.1 and 2.3].

Date: Late in the period 993 – 1002

Notes: Ælfric's *Hexameron* is not simply a translation of Basil, as Norman’s edition would have it, but a work that draws on a number of sources including Bede, Gregory, Isidore, Alcuin, and Augustine (Crawford, *Hexameron* 30). For Ælfric’s place in the hexameral exegetical tradition, see Fox. Trans. Crawford (*Hexameron* 33-74) and Norman (3-29), but on the latter see 2.2.

Not collated by Crawford: London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i [Ker §182.5].

1.4.1.4.2. Untitled

Overview: Using Matthew 5:25-26 as his base text—Christ’s warning to be reconciled to him whom one has offended before one is handed over to the Judge—Ælfric speaks of men’s need to shun sin, take on Christ’s yoke, and “earn” the right to come to the heavenly banquet.

Date: Late in the period 1006 – c1010

Edition: None; collated in Assmann 1 [4.3.4].

Notes: This homily, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, 124r-30v, may be a late re-use by Ælfric of the latter part of his own *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1, lines 90-312). The text includes an eight-line introduction that Pope does not view as Ælfric’s work (*Homilies* 1: 72 and 142; introduction printed by Assmann, apparatus for line 90).

2. Separate works

2.1. Tracts allied to the homilies and treated as such in certain manuscripts:

2.1.1. [B.1.6.1] *Interrogationes Sigewulfii in Genesin*

Overview: Primarily a translation and abridgement of Alcuin’s *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim*, a set of replies to questions raised by Alcuin’s friend and pupil Sigewulf, Ælfric’s work treats such subjects as God’s creative purpose, the natural world (a section which includes material from Bede on the planets), the origin of evil, and major events from the first three Ages of the world.
Date: Between 993 and 1002

Edition: MacLean 1884 (2-56) and Stoneman

Notes: While MacLean is still the standard edition of the Interrogationes, it has been superseded by two nineteenth-century dissertations by Mitchell and Tessmann, and the recent dissertation by Stoneman. The last is a comprehensive edition that collates manuscripts omitted by MacLean (London, British Library, Harley 3271 [Ker §239.7]) and Tessmann (Oxford, Bodleian Library 114 [Ker §331.38]). For a textual and stylistic introduction to the Interrogationes, see MacLean 1883 and Stoneman.

2.1.2. [B.1.6.2] De duodecim abusius

Overview: Ælfric here warns different groups of people about particular vices against which they should guard: the wise against evil deeds, the elderly against impiety, youths against disobedience, the rich against parsimony, women against licentiousness, Christians in general against quarrelsomeness, the poor against pride, rulers (to whose responsibilities Ælfric devotes two substantial sections) against timidity and unrighteousness, bishops against negligence, and the populace as a whole against lack of discipline and lawlessness.

Date: Between 993 and 1002


Notes: Ælfric’s slightly-abridged translation of De duodecim abusius seculi, an anonymous seventh-century Irish work falsely attributed to Cyprian, is found in six manuscripts. Three manuscripts include Ælfric’s text as an independent work; the rest combine it with another text, De octo uitiis. The last is essentially an extract from LS I.16 (lines 267-381), to which an introduction has been added. While the majority of De octo uitiis is Ælfrician, however, and while its opening corresponds in part to LS I.1.160-64, Pope argues that both the opening of De octo uitiis and the conjunction of the two texts are not the work of Ælfric (Homilies 1:63-64; cf. 142n and 373-74). Morris prints the combination of De octo uitiis and De duodecim abusius found in London, Lambeth Palace 487, 37v [not in Ker] and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 [Ker §41a.7], with the non-Ælfrician opening forming the first thirteen lines (up to An is geeweden gula). Warner prints the independent version of De duodecim abusius found in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv [Ker §209]. See also 2.1.3.
Not collated by Morris or Warner: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303 [Ker §57.63]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 [Ker §332.31]; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 [Ker §333.19].

2.1.3. [B.1.6.3] *De septiformi spiritu*

Overview: Speaking of the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, righteousness, and the fear of the Lord which Isaiah says will rest on Christ (Isaiah 11:2-3), Ælfric describes how the Spirit seeks to bestow his gifts on believers while the devil seeks to imbue them with seven opposite traits.

Date: Between 1002 and 1005

Edition: Napier 7 and 8 (*Wulfstan* 50 and 56-60)

Notes: Ælfric’s description of the Spirit’s gifts is found in two forms, one in Latin (Napier 7), the other in Old English (Napier 8). Perhaps too narrow and brief to be a homily, the text was likely written for Wulfstan, who expanded it (Pope, *Homilies* 1:142n). Wulfstan’s revised version (the Old English portion of Bethurum 9 [185-91]) is printed immediately after Ælfric’s Latin text in Napier 7. For a comparison of Wulfstan’s and Ælfric’s texts, see McIntosh 121-22 and 137-38n.

Pope proposes that this piece, like the *Letter to Brother Edward* [4.3.1], the exhortation to laymen during Lent [4.4.2], *De cogitatione* [6.5], *De infantibus* [6.9], *De avaritia* [6.12], an adaptation of lines 59-120 of the Old English preface to *CH* I for homiletic use, a slightly augmented excerpt from *CH* II 39.184-98, the passages appended to his sermons on Alban and Maccabees (*LS* I 19.155-258 and II 25.812-62), and possibly *De duodecim abusuis* [2.1.2], all of which appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 115, Hatton 116, and Cambridge Corpus Christi College 178 plus 162, may have been composed independently by Ælfric and set aside for later (re-)use, being kept in “a book in which short themes, *obiter dicta*, and letters were put on record from time to time as they were composed” (*Homilies* 57). From this book, Pope suggests, someone produced an Ælfrician miscellany upon which the above manuscripts drew (cf. 305, 55-56, 63, 67, and 69).

2.1.4. [B.1.6.4] De creatore et creatura

Overview: Part of an outline of world history that continues in De sex etatibus huius seculi [2.1.5], De creatore moves from a discussion of the Trinity to consider the creation and fall of humankind.

Date: 1006
Edition: Stoneman

Notes: The unique copy of De creatore and its counterpart, De sex etatibus, is found in London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2, 149r-51v, and 151v-52v and 154, respectively [Ker §182.5 and 6]. Originally part of a separate work which was added to the manuscript, the text is badly damaged and partially retouched (often incorrectly) by a twelfth-century hand (see Leinbaugh, “Damaged Passage” and Pope, Homilies 1: 86). Much of De creatore can be read, however, with the aid of parallel passages from the Hexameron and the Christmas-Day sermons in Boulogne-sur-Mer 63, Belfour 9, and LS I.1 [1.4.1.4.1, 1.4.1.1.2, 1.4.1.1.1, and 3.2.1].

2.1.5. [B.1.6.5] De sex etatibus huius seculi

Overview: Continuing the treatment of world history and doctrine begun in De creatore et creatura [2.1.4], De sex etatibus discusses the Six Ages of the world and the Ten Commandments.

Date: 1006
Edition: Stoneman

Notes: That the Ages and Commandments were topics of some importance to Ælfric is apparent given his additional treatment of the former in his Letter to Sigeweard and CH II.4 [4.3.2 and 1.1], and of the latter in his Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan, Decalogus Moysi, CH II.12, and CH I.12 [4.1.6, 6.10, 1.2, and 1.1] (see Kleist “Influence” and “Division”). Pope suggests that De creatore and De sex etatibus “may have formed the body of an instructive letter of the sort that Ælfric wrote for Wulfstan and for Sigeweard” (Homilies 1: 87).

2.2. [B.1.9.3] Admonitio ad filium spiritualem

Overview: The Admonitio is a translation from Basil with instruction for monks and nuns on such subjects as spiritual warfare, the love of God and one’s neighbour, the virtues of peace and purity, and the dangers of vanity and greed.
Date: Between 1002 and 1005
Edition: Norman (32-54) and Mueller; Old English preface also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 122)
Notes: While Norman is still the standard edition, scholars have questioned the accuracy of both his edition and translation (33-55). Mueller updates both, providing paleographical analysis and printing the Admonitio as verse (Reinsma 153-54).

2.3. [B.1.9.4] De temporibus anni

Overview: In large part a translation and condensation of Bede’s De temporum ratione, De temporibus anni provides an analysis both of astronomical time (calculating such things as the first day of creation, the first day of the year, Easter and the spring equinox, and the solar and lunar calendars) and of cosmology (the earth, the stars, the four elements, forms of precipitation, and so forth).

Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002
Edition: Henel (2-82)
Facsimiles: Leaves of De temporibus I.1-4 and IV.52-VI.11 from Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28, and Corpus Christi College 367, part II (Henel frontispiece and following xvi)

Notes: Henel provides an analysis of manuscripts, authorship, and sources of the work, as well as detailed notes. In passing, he also highlights Ælfric’s intriguing reference to having often seen the brightness of summer nights in northern England, suggesting that Ælfric must have spent some part of his life there (xlv-xlvi, noted by Reinsma 277). Not collated by Henel: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. viii [Ker §221.3].

2.4. [B.1.9.1] Grammar

Overview: The first grammar of Latin in the English vernacular.
Date: Early in the period 993 – 1002
Notes: While Zupitza’s work, part two of which was never published, is still the standard edition of the Grammar, there are a few manuscripts which he does not take into account: Bloomington, Indiana, Lilly Library, Add. 1000 [Ker §384]; the fragments transcribed in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. ix, ff 213-15 [Ker §406]; and the fragments in London, British Library, Harley 5915, ff 8-9 [Ker §242]. For a discussion of the Grammar, see for example Gneuss and Menzer. Latin preface trans. Wilcox (Prefaces 130).

2.5. [B.1.9.2] Glossary

Overview: The Glossary seems to have served along with the Grammar and Colloquy [2.4 and 2.6] as part of Ælfric’s program of Latin instruction, providing words that complement but do not duplicate those found in the other texts.

Date: Early in the period 993 – 1002

Edition: Zupitza (297-322) and Gillingham

Notes: The Glossary should be distinguished from the Plantinus Glossary, also called “Archbishop Ælfric’s Vocabulary,” an anonymous text found in London, British Library, Add. 32246 [Ker §2] (for the authorship of which, see Ladd). Gillingham shows that the Glossary is not, as scholars such as Förster have suggested, the source of Plantinus, but that both texts draw on a common exemplar (Reinsma 189-90; cf. Förster, “Die altenglische Glossenhandschrift”).

Not collated by Zupitza: the lemmata and glosses in the margins of London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x, ff 93 and 101 [Ker §154A]; the fragments transcribed in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. ix, ff 208-13 and 213-15 [Ker §405 and 406]; the three Latin–Old English glossaries extracted from the Grammar and Glossary in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35 (6467), ff 6 and 57 [Ker §298.a (printed by Liebermann, 414-15) and c]; and the extract, with additions, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 730 (2709), 146v [cf. Ker §317].

2.6. [C.3] Colloquy

Overview: A school text like the Grammar and Glossary [2.4-5], the Colloquy exposes students to Latin vocabulary through a series of conversations between a teacher and representatives of various occupations: a monk, a farmer, a shepherd, and so on.

Date: Between 993 and 1002
Edition: Garmonsway (18-49)

Facsimiles: Opening to the Colloquy from London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 60v [Ker §186] Garmonsway frontispiece; illustration of occupations from Tiberius A. iii, 61v (Traill and Mann 1: 189)

Notes: Ælfric’s work should be distinguished from the Colloquies of his student, Ælfric Bata, whose dialogues between master and oblates include obscure vocabulary and scatological insults (see Gwara). Note that Ælfric is responsible for the Latin text only, not the Old English gloss printed by Garmonsway and included in Toronto’s electronic corpus. Trans. Swanton (108-15).

3. Non-liturgical Narrative Pieces

3.1. Old Testament

3.1.1. [B.1.5.14] Esther

Overview: Ælfric’s paraphrase of the biblical story of Esther describes King Ahasuerus’ (Xerxes’) deposition of Queen Vashti, his marriage to Esther, Haman’s scheme to decimate the Jews, and the Jews’ deliverance through Esther and her foster-father Mordecai.

Date: Early in the period 1002 – 1005

Edition: Assmann 8 (92-101) and Lee [online edition]

Notes: Preserved only in a seventeenth-century transcript by William L’Isle in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 381 [Ker §410], Ælfric’s translation departs significantly from the Vulgate in its omission of the final Jewish slaughter of the Persians—a departure which may reflect Ælfric’s reliance on an Old Latin version of the text rather than Ælfric’s practice of translation in general (see Gustafson).

3.1.2. [B.1.5.15] Judith

Overview: Having paraphrased the biblical story of Judith, a resourceful widow who uses her physical allure to save her city from an invading general, Ælfric presents Judith as a figure of the Church and as a model of chastity.

Date: Early in the period 1002 – 1005

Edition: Assmann 9 (102-16) and Lee [online edition]
Notes: Ælfric’s translation and exegesis may be contrasted with Ælfric’s Letter to Sigewerad [4.3.2], which depicts Judith as a precedent for armed resistance, and with the Old English poem Judith, which emphasises oppositions in the story such as that between Judith and Holofernes (on which, see especially Clayton, “Ælfric’s Judith” and Magennis, “Contrasting Narrative Emphases”).

3.1.3. [B.1.7, listed in full at B.8.1] Heptateuch

Overview: In his preface to Genesis, Ælfric expresses his concerns to ealdorman Æthelweard about translating Scripture into the vernacular, discusses the literal and typological significance of the Old Testament, and acknowledges his authorship of the translation of Genesis “to Isaac” (line 5).

Date: Between 993 and 1002 [Genesis and Joshua]; early in the period 1002 – 1005 [Numbers and Judges]


Facsimiles: Complete text from London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv [B.8.1.4; Ker §142] (Dodwell and Clemoes); Crawford includes one illustration (Gen. 22:13b-18, Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac) from Claudius B. iv, 38r, along with Gen. 24:6-16 from Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 [Ker §18] (Heptateuch frontispiece and preceding 147).

As in Dodwell and Clemoes’ volume, some of Crawford’s facsimiles are of material that was not composed by Ælfric: (1) an illustration from Gen. 5:12-20 in Cotton Claudius B. iv, 11r; (2) Deut. 32:20-36 in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 [Ker §344, art 1]; (3) Gen. 45:25b–46:5 in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, p. 159 [Ker §49]; and (4) Ex. 23:31–24:6 in Pierpont Morgan G. 63, 3v (Crawford, Heptateuch following 96, 372, 454, and 460).

Notes: Ælfric’s preface precedes translations of the first six books of the Bible in Cotton Claudius B. iv—printed in facsimile by Dodwell and Clemoes as the Hexateuch—and translations of the first seven books of the Bible in Laud Misc. 509, printed by Crawford as the Heptateuch. Not all the translations, however, were done by Ælfric. The sections which Clemoes accepts as Ælfrician are Genesis 1:1–3:24, 6:32–9:29, 12:0 “Her swutelað...”–24:22; Numbers 13:1–13:3, 13.4 excluding “œ is genemned
Pharan,” and 13:18 to the end of the book;¹⁵ Joshua 1:16–11:23, 14:2,¹⁶ and 21:41–24:32; and the whole of Judges¹⁷ (Hexateuch 48 and 44, and “Chronology” 56; see also Pope, Homilies 143n, and Smith). Clemoes suggests that it may have been Byrhtferth of Ramsey who translated the rest of the Hexateuch and compiled it in the early eleventh century (Hexateuch preface and 52). Marsden has recently argued, however, that stylistic variations between different parts of the anonymous translation indicate that two if not more translators must have been involved. For a discussion of the preface, including Ælfric’s attitude towards and techniques of translating Scripture, see for example Griffith and Wilcox “Reluctant Translator.”

3.2. Others

3.2.1. [B.1.3] Lives of Saints (LS I and II)

Overview: A popular subject for Ælfrician studies. Recent examinations of the Lives have focused on such issues as Ælfric’s source-material, historical context, style and syntax, manuscript dissemination, and treatment of transvestism and gender.

Date: Late in the period 993 – 1002

Edition: Skeat; Latin and Old English prefaces and prefaces to the Lives of Edmund and Thomas also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 119-22)

Notes: Skeat’s nineteenth-century work remains the standard edition of the Lives despite its incomplete treatment of its base manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii [Ker §162], and omission of material from some twenty other manuscripts, listed in full in Appendix Two. See also Hill “Dissemination” for a survey of manuscripts containing portions of the Lives. Subsequent editions of individual Lives include those by Algeo (Forty Soldiers [LS I.11]), Donovan (Eugenia [LS I.2]), Lee (Maccabees [LS II.25]), Leinbaugh, “Liturgical Homilies” (Christmas, Ash Wednesday, De oratione Moysi, and De memoria Sanctorum [LS I.1, I.12, I.13, I.16]), Moloney (Eugenia, Agnes, Agatha, Lucy, and Cecilia [LS I.2, I.7, I.8, I.9, and II.34]), Needham (Swithun, Oswald, and Edmund [LS I.21, II.26, and II.32]), and Schipper (De auguriis [LS I.17; re-issued by Ælfric between 1006 and c1010 as an addition to the homily printed as SH II.29]).

Note that four of the texts included by Skeat, the Legend of the Seven Sleepers and Lives of Mary of Egypt, Eustace, and Euphrosyne (LS I.23, II.23B, II.30, and II.33), were not composed by Ælfric (Clemoes, “Chronology” 37). For an analysis of stylistic and linguistic differences between these texts and Ælfrician Lives, see Magennis
“Contrasting Features”; for a subject-index to the Lives, see Nelson. The Latin prefaces to the Lives and to the Life of Thomas specifically (LS II.36) are translated by Wilcox (Preface 131-32); LS II.32 and 8 are translated by Swanton (97-107). The work as a whole, including the Old English preface to the Life of Edmund (LS II.32), is translated by Skeat. See also 2.1.3.

3.2.2. Vita S. Æthelwoldi (in Latin)

Overview: Ælfric addresses his Life of Æthelwold to bishop Cenwulf and the monks of Winchester, where Ælfric himself studied during Æthelwold’s episcopacy. He recounts Æthelwold’s early experience at the court of Æthelstan, training under Dunstan, abbacy at Abingdon, expulsion of the secular clergy from Winchester’s Old and New Minsters, establishment of Nunnaminster, influence on Edgar, and various miracles performed both before and after death.

Date: Between 1005 and 1006

Edition: Lapidge and Winterbottom (70-80); Latin preface also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 123)

Notes: Latin preface trans. Wilcox (Prefaces 132); entire text trans. Whitelock (Documents 903-11)

4. Letters

For a subject-index to the pastoral letters (e.g. 4.1.1 and 4.1.3-6), see Nelson.

4.1. Letters to Bishops

4.1.1. [B.1.8.1] Letter for Wulfsige

Overview: Written on behalf of and (as it were) in the voice of Wulfsige III, bishop of Sherborne from 993 to c1002, this letter addresses clergymen in Wulfsige’s diocese regarding clerical celibacy, the seven clerical orders, the books necessary for priests, various priestly responsibilities, and matters of liturgy.

Date: Between 993 and c995

Edition: Fehr I (1-34, with corrections on 267-68); re-edited by Whitelock (196-226). Latin preface also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 123)
Notes: Whitelock suggests that part of the conclusion beginning *We bisceopas gereddon, ha we ætgedere neæren* “We bishops decided, when we were together” (*Letter for Wulfsige §§150-58*) is not by Ælfric, but may have been inserted later at Wulfsige’s request (*Councils* 194-95).

Both Fehr and Whitelock print the body of the letter from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 [Ker §45.17], with a Latin preface from Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 [Ker §15] and an interpolation from *De oratione Moysi* (LS I.13.68-86, printed as *Letter for Wulfsige §§105-10*) from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 [Ker §338]. Ælfric’s Latin preface is translated by Wilcox (*Prefaces* 133), and the rest of the letter by Whitelock (196-226).

4.1.2. Latin Letter to Wulfstan

Overview: As the salutation of the letter indicates, Ælfric writes this private letter to Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York from 1002, in response to certain questions on which Wulfstan had asked his opinion. Ælfric discusses such issues as the criteria for exclusion from clerical orders, the method of baptism, the appropriate number of daily masses, and the place of clergy in three orders of society (*laboratores, bellatores, oratores*).

Date: Late in the period 1002 – 1005

Edition: Whitelock (247-55)

Notes: The letter’s presence in Boulogne-sur-Mer 63, a manuscript closely associated with Ælfric, suggests that “we have the letter in the form in which he wrote it”; in this it differs from the letters written on Wulfstan’s behalf [4.1.3-6], which “have been exposed to influence from Wulfstan or members of his circle” (Whitelock 342; cf. 1.4.1.1.2). Whitelock’s edition replaces that of Fehr, who discovered the letter late in his work (Fehr 2a [222-27]; see Reinsma 242).

4.1.3. First Latin Letter for Wulftan

Overview: Having learned of Ælfric’s letter for Wulfsige [4.1.1] perhaps as early as 996, when he was bishop of London and Wulfsige still abbot of Westminster (see Whitelock, *Councils* 193), Wulfstan too commissions Ælfric to write pastoral letters on his behalf. In this letter, writing in Wulfstan’s voice to clergymen, Ælfric addresses such subjects as the three eras of the world (before the Law, under Law, and under grace), the importance of clerical chastity, the four early synods of the Church, the
seven canonical hours, the seven clerical orders, and so forth.

Date: 1005
Edition: Fehr 2 (35-57, with corrections on 269)
Notes: Ælfric later translates this material into the vernacular in his *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.5].

### 4.1.4. Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan

Overview: This companion piece to Ælfric’s *First Latin Letter* [4.1.3], again written in Wulfstan’s voice, focuses specifically on priestly responsibilities: the application of holy oil, the administration of communion to the sick, the importance of serving communion rightly, and so on.

Date: 1005
Edition: Fehr 3 (58-67, with a correction on 269)
Notes: The existing conclusion (§§73-90), drawn from passages in Ælfric’s *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [4.1.2], may be a later addition by Wulfstan or his circle (Clemoes, “Supplement” cxxxv-cxxxvii and Whitelock 243).

### 4.1.5. [B.1.8.2] First Old English Letter for Wulfstan

Overview: A year after composing his Latin letters for Wulfstan [4.1.3-4], Ælfric fulfils Wulfstan’s request to translate them into the vernacular. He acknowledges, however, that he has rearranged material and translated not word for word but *sensum ex sensu* (“according to the sense” §1).

Date: 1006
Edition: Fehr Π (68-145, with corrections on 269); re-edited by Whitelock 260-302. The Latin preface is also edited by Wilcox (*Prefaces* 125-26).

Notes: Toronto’s electronic corpus reproduces the text from Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190, but omits the versions in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 201, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, and British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, printed in parallel columns by Fehr. The text in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190 is translated by Wilcox (*Prefaces* 134, translating §1) and Whitelock (260-302, translating §§2-212), while the version in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 201, modified substantially by Wulfstan (see Whitelock 258), is translated by Thorpe
4.1.6. [B.1.8.3] Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan

Overview: Ælfric’s translation of his Second Latin Letter [4.1.4; see also 4.1.5].
Date: 1006
Edition: Fehr III (146-221, with a correction on 269)
Notes: As in his First Old English Letter [4.1.5], Ælfric rearranges but largely reproduces the contents of his Latin letter. There are two exceptions: first, there is a section not found in the Latin letter regarding the rites for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Eve (§§23-63); Whitelock suggests that the Latin letter may have assumed that its recipients could consult a sacramentary (Councils 258). Second, there is the conclusion (§§120-98), which discusses the Ten Commandments and eight Deadly Sins rather than the priestly responsibilities treated in the Latin. As the conclusion of the extant Latin letter may not be by Ælfric, however (see 4.1.4), this discussion of the Commandments may reflect Ælfric’s original Latin text (Whitelock 257).

Toronto’s electronic corpus reproduces the text from Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190, but omits the versions in Junius 121, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, and Bodley 343, printed in parallel columns by Fehr. Extracts from Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190 are translated by Thorpe (Ancient Laws II.391-93, translating §§1-22) and Parker (65r-72r, translating §§86-109).

4.2. Letters to Clergy

4.2.1. Letter to the Monks of Eynsham (in Latin)²⁴

Overview: Ælfric’s adaptation of the Regularis concordia, the monastic customary compiled by Æthelwold of Winchester in the early 970’s, outlines for Ælfric’s community at Eynsham the daily and seasonal round of liturgical responsibilities.
Date: After c1005 (argued by Jones, 5-17)
Edition: Jones (110-48); Latin preface also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 123-24)
Notes: In addition to providing extensive commentary on liturgical matters, Jones’ edition re-examines (1) the date of the Letter, suggesting that it may have been written
some years after the re-founding of Eynsham c1005, (2) Ælfric's sources, looking at his adaptation of Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius of Metz' *Liber officialis*, (3) the complex manuscript in which it is found (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 [Ker §53]), suggesting an association not with Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book" but with Wulfstan II of Worcester, and (4) scholarly confusion of the *Letter* with an anonymous Old English translation of the *Regularis concordia*. The Latin preface is translated by Wilcox (*Prefaces* 133-34), and the whole by Jones (111-49).

4.3. Letters to Laymen

4.3.1. [cf. B.1.8.7, *De sanguine*] *Letter to Brother Edward*

Overview: This private letter to one who may have been Ælfric's blood relative develops in three sections: the first discusses prohibitions against eating blood, the second rebukes Edward for choosing Danish fashions of hair and dress, and the third condemns the practice of certain countrywomen who eat and drink at parties while going to the bathroom.

Date: Around the second half of the 990's (argued by Clayton, forthcoming)


Notes: For the argument on Ælfric's authorship, see Pope (*Homilies* 1: 56-57). See also 2.1.3.

4.3.2. [B.1.8.4] *Letter to Sigewead, or De ueteri testamento et nouo*

Overview: Ælfric's treatise on the Old and New Testaments, written for the otherwise-unknown "Sigewead of Eastheolon," summarily traces the course of biblical history from the creation and fall of the angels to the day of Judgment and life thereafter. Ælfric discusses the spiritual significance of particular events, sets them in the context of the eight Ages of the world, gives an excerpt from the life of the apostle John, speaks of the three orders of *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores* (those who work, war, and pray), and recounts the destruction of the Jews.

Date: Between 1005 and 1006

Edition: Crawford (*Heptateuch* 15-75); excerpts also ed. Wilcox (*Prefaces* 124-25)
Notes: The text is edited by Crawford from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509, 120v-41v [Ker §344.4] and from the slightly different version in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 [Ker §310.65], which is also printed as Assmann 7 (81-91); both versions are reproduced in Toronto’s electronic corpus. Not edited by Crawford: extracts in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v [Ker §220.7] and London, British Library, Harley 3271 [Ker §239.21-22].

4.3.3. [B.1.8.5] Letter to Sigefyrth

Overview: Also called Be þære halgan cleynyse, this work considers the issue of chastity. Ælfric lists apostles, Church Fathers, and monks who lived in purity; contrasts patriarchal custom and Mosaic Law with the higher demands of the New Testament; and discusses the three states pleasing to God—marriage, widowhood, and virginity—in terms of the good soil which brings forth a thirty-, sixty-, or hundred-fold crop (Matthew 13:8; cf. CH II.6.117-35 and Assmann 3, ll 375-82).

Date: Between 1005 and 1006

Edition: Assmann 2 (13-23); Old English preface also ed. Wilcox (Prefaces 125)

Notes: Portions of the letter are re-used in other texts: ll 13-224 form the first part of De sancta virginitate [1.4.1.2.2], whereas ll 132-88 form the first of the four parts of De virginitate, a compilation in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 [Ker §68.15]. Not collated by Assmann: Cambridge Corpus Christi College 419.

4.3.4. [B.1.8.6] Letter to Wulfgeat

Overview: This letter, written to one “Wulfgeat at Ylmandune,” first explores basic credal issues such as the nature of the Trinity, the fall of the angels and men, the death and resurrection of Christ, and the Last Judgment, and then draws on Christ’s Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:25-26; cf. Augustine, De sermone Domini in monte I.11.29-32) to expound man’s need to be reconciled to God.

Date: Between 1005 and 1006

Edition: Assmann 1 (1-12)

Notes: Portions of the letter are re-used in other texts: lines 90 and following appear in the untitled homily in Junius 121, 124r-30v [1.4.1.4.2], ll 8-61a correspond to SH I.11a.1-54a, and ll 65-84 are interwoven with portions of SH I.11 in SH I.11a.135-70 (see Pope, Homilies 1:454 and Apparatus II, 1:463-65 and 468-69). Not collated
by Assmann: British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, ff 18-40 [Ker §344.3], and Cotton Vitellius C. v, 1r and 4-5v.

4.4. Passages that may have been excerpted or adapted from letters

4.4.1. [B.1.9.6] In quadragesima, de penitentia

Overview: A treatise for Lent on repentance, penance, and the nature of the Trinity.
Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002
Edition: Thorpe (Sermones 1: 602-08)
Notes: Sections of the treatise recur in Ælfric’s later sermon for Ash Wednesday: p. 602, l. 1–p. 604, l. 8 appear as LS I.12.141-77, while p. 604, ll 8-20 correspond to LS I.12.254-67 (on which borrowing, see Clemoes, “Chronology” 63n). Thorpe prints the text from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28 [Ker §15.95], but omits the adaptation in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, 311v-16r [Ker §48.62] and extracts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320, f. 117 [Ker §58a] and London, Lambeth Palace 489, 35v, l. 25–36r, l. 15 [Ker §283.5]. Trans. Thorpe (2: 603-09).

4.4.2. [B.1.9.7] Untitled

Overview: A brief exhortation to laymen on chastity, fasting, and sobriety during Lent.
Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002
Edition: Thorpe (2: 608)
Notes: Thorpe prints this text from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3 28 [Ker §15.96], without collating the copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, 59v [Ker §332.13]. Trans. Thorpe (2: 609). See also 2.1.3.

5. Prefaces

Ælfric’s Latin and Old English prefaces—his choice of language having no small influence on their content—merit study in their own right for their insight into Ælfric’s concerns as an author and the context of his work; for the present purposes, however, the prefaces are listed with their respective texts above. They include his Latin and Old English prefaces to CH I [1.1]; Latin and Old English prefaces to CH II [1.2];
the Old English preface to *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* [2.2]; Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Grammar* [2.4], Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Lives of Saints* [3.2.1], including the Old English preface to the Life of Edmund (LS II.32) and Latin preface to the Life of Thomas (LS II.36); the Latin preface to *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* [3.2.2]; the Latin preface to the *Letter for Wulfsige* [4.1.1]; the Latin preface to the *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.5]; the Latin preface to the *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.6]; the Latin preface to the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* [4.2.1], and the Old English preface to the *Letter to Sigejyrth* [4.3.3]. All have been re-edited by Wilcox, who discusses the works in which they are found, Ælfric’s prose style, the function of the prefaces, and their textual history (*Prefaces*; see also Del Zotto Tozzoli).

6. Miscellanea

For the *Ammonitio* (in Latin), *De Sancta Maria, Excusatio dictantis*, and *Oratio*, all of which Clemoes and Pope include in this category, see 1.2.

6.1. [B.12.3.1] *Se læssa creda*

Overview: Ælfric’s version of the Apostle’s Creed, from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28.

Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002

Edition: Thorpe 2: 596

Notes: This example of the Creed may be compared with those in London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii [Ker §144.10] and London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i [Ker §197.c, ed. Logeman 100-01]. Trans. Thorpe 2: 597.

6.2. [B.12.3.2] *Mæsse creda*

Overview: Ælfric’s version of the Nicene Creed, from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28.

Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002


Notes: Trans. Thorpe 2: 597.
6.3. [B.12.4.1] *Pater noster*

Overview: Ælfric's version of the Lord's Prayer, from Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28.

Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002

Edition: Thorpe 2: 596

Notes: This example of the Lord's Prayer may be compared with those in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii [Ker §144.10], London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. ii [Ker §197.b, ed. Logeman 100], and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xii [Ker §214, ed. Morey 300]. Trans. Thorpe 2: 597.

6.4. Bidding Prayers

Overview: Ælfric here translates ten selections from the liturgy of the mass, comprising prayers for righteous deeds, faith, protection, wisdom, patience, love, deliverance from temptation, mercy, and blessing, with concluding praise.

Date: Early in the period 992 – 1002

Edition: Thorpe (2: 598-600)

Notes: On the liturgical sources of these prayers, see Bzdyl. Trans. Thorpe 2: 599-601.

6.5. [B.1.6.6 and B.3.4.52] *De cogitatione*

Overview: Noting that the devil can send evil thoughts into men's minds, Ælfric affirms that men have the power to reject such thoughts (cf. *CH* I.10.83-4) and warns that they will be held accountable for their mental purity.

Date: Between 1002 and 1005

Edition: Napier ("Ein altenglisches leben" 155) and Pope (*Homilies* 1:325, ll 284-91 and 330n)

Notes: This brief treatise on temptation to evil thoughts and the future recompense for men's deeds was edited by Napier in the nineteenth century. Pope re-edits the text, but in sections: Napier ll 30-36 are printed from British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v, 253v-54r (a manuscript not collated by Napier), where they occur in the course of *SH* I.6; Napier ll 36-51 are printed from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 (Napier's base text) in a footnote. See also 2.1.3.
6.6. [B.1.9.8 and B.3.4.28] Exemplum

Overview: This brief text tells the story of a boy raised in a monastery whose mother takes joy in hearing him sing; when the boy dies, the mother is comforted by hearing him continue to sing in heaven.

Date: Between 1002 and 1005
Edition: Napier 31 (Wulfstan 152-53) and McIntosh (129-30)
Notes: Ælfric’s authorship of this work, titled Be ane munuccilde by a later hand in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 [Ker §331.24], was recognised by McIntosh, who re-prints Napier ll 7-14a as rhythmical prose.31

6.7. [B.13.6.1] Be gehadedum mannum

Overview: Also known as the Punishment of Priests and Deacons, this vision of future torment for licentious clergy in Wulfstan’s Institutes of Polity 23.1-5 precedes a discussion of the process for testing candidates for ordination. As the Sermones make clear, Ælfric views sexual purity as particularly important for deacons and priests given their responsibility for administering the Eucharist (cf. CH II.6.136-46).

Date: Uncertain32
Edition: Jost (217-18)33
Notes: Jost prints the text from Junius 121, 34r [Ker §338.1-4, 6-7, 13-14], but copies of the Institutes also appear in Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3206 (partial text) [Ker §11]; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 [Ker §49b.18-20, 24, 42, and 52] and 421 (partial text) [Ker §69.10]; and London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. 1, ff 70-177 [Ker §164.1, 11-13, 15-19, 23-24]. For a discussion of Ælfric’s authorship of the text, see Jost (26-27) and Clemoes (“Benedictine Office” 281-82n).

6.8. [B.1.9.5 and B.15.1.38] The Old English Ely Privilege

Overview: A translation of King Edgar’s Latin charter for Ely (Sawyer §779).
Date: 100634
Facsimile: Reproduced from London, British Library, Stowe Charter 31 in Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, Ordnance Survey III.3235
Notes: Ælfric’s authorship of the text was proposed by McIntosh (128-29), questioned by Whitelock and Clemoes (Blake 415 and “Chronology” 62n), and then argued cogently by Pope in his 1971 edition. Edgar’s Latin charter concludes by ordering that it be translated into English—a task to which Ælfric may have been drawn given his esteem both for Edgar and for his former teacher Æthelwold, cited by Edgar as a guiding influence for the charter (ll 24-26). Pope suggests that an earlier translation may have been produced when the charter was originally drafted, Ælfric may have intended his work not for inclusion with the charter but for independent use, perhaps in support of monastic rights in general. If so, it may have been the monks of Ely who, recognising the superiority of Ælfric’s work, substituted it for the original translation (“Ely Privilege” 112-13).


6.9. [B.1.6.7 and B.3.4.51] De infantibus

Overview: This brief text instructs parents on ways to prevent their children’s death, whether physical (through, for example, accidental suffocation) or spiritual (through lack of baptism).

Date: Uncertain

Edition: Napier (“Ein altenglisches leben” 154)

Notes: Attributed to Ælfric by Pope (Homilies 55-56). Not collated by Napier: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 [Ker §332.14] and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 [Ker §41A.15]. See also 2.1.3.

6.10. Decalogus Moysi (in Latin)

Overview: A brief exposition of the Ten Commandments.
Date: 1006³⁹
Edition: Fehr (190-203, apparatus for Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan §§120-44 [4.1.6])

Notes: Ælfric’s authorship of the Decalogus, proposed tentatively by Fehr (190), was confirmed by Clemoes (“Supplement” cxxvii-cxxviii and “Benedictine Office” 277-80). For a discussion of this and other treatments of the Ten Commandments in Anglo-Saxon England, see Kleist “Division.” On the Boulogne manuscript, in which the text is found, see 1.4.1.1.2.

6.11. De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis (in Latin)
Overview: A discussion of the names and responsibilities of the various clerical orders.
Date: 1005⁴⁰
Edition: Fehr (Appendix 5, 256-58)
Notes: Ælfric’s treatise occurs in Boulogne 63 (on which, see 1.4.1.1.2) alongside extracts from Isidore (De ecclesiasticis officiis II.5.1-18) and Jerome (Epistulae 69 §§8-9 and Commentaria in epistolam ad Titum §1). Portions of these extracts are integrated with the main text of De septem gradibus in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 265 and 190 (Fehr 256-58). Authorship confirmed by Clemoes (“Benedictine Office” 273-75).

6.12. [B.3.4.4] De auaritia
Overview: In this text, affirming that worldly goods are not evil in and of themselves, Ælfric nonetheless castigates those who accumulate fine things in their homes but are empty of virtue in their souls.
Date: Uncertain⁴¹
Notes: This extract of a memorable passage on greed from CH II.26.108-33 is augmented by two introductory sentences defining auarus and auaritia which Pope suggests are also by Ælfric (Pope, Homilies 1: 67; see also 2.1.3). Not collated by Belfour: Cambridge Corpus Christi College 178 [Ker $41a.17]. Trans. Belfour (135).
7. Notes

As with his prefaces (section 5), the notes which Ælfric inserts into various versions of his works shed important light on his concerns as an author, the development of the text, and the nature of his audience. They include:

- three Old English notes in CH I and II (CH I.12, apparatus for line 79 [on which, see Sisam (173)]; I.14, app. for l. 220 [trans. Thorpe (1: 219, ll. 30-31)]; and II.14.357 [trans. Thorpe (2: 263, l. 16)]);

- fifteen Latin notes in CH I and II (CH I.praef, apparatus for line 134; I.11, app. for l. 110; I.12, app. for l. 83; I.21, app. for l. 148; I.26, app. for lines 156 and 275; I.28, app. for l. 40; I.30, app. for l. 3; I.32, app. for ll 57 and 63; II.4.129-30; II.6.117; II.24.128-30 and 393-94; II.30.19 [see 1.1 and 1.2]).

- one Old English note before the Pater noster (Thorpe 2: 596, ll 1-3 [trans. 2: 597] [6.3]);

- one Old English note before De temporibus anni (Henel 2 [2.3]);

- one Latin verse note after LS II.31 (Skeat 2: 312 [3.2.1]);

- two Latin notes before and in Assmann 4 (49 and 52 [1.4.1.3.1]).

Biola University

Notes

1 For ease of reference and comparison, I retain the categories employed by Clemoes and Pope. Texts to be re-edited in a volume by Kleist include: In natali domini [1.4.1.1.1.], Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime [1.4.1.1.2.], untitled sermon for the Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent [1.4.1.1.4.], untitled sermon for the Friday after the fifth Sunday in Lent [1.4.1.1.5.], untitled sermon for the third Sunday after Easter [1.4.1.1.6.], another untitled sermon for the third Sunday after Easter [1.4.1.1.7.], De sancta virginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis [1.4.1.2.2.], Nativitas sanctae Mariae uirginis [1.4.1.2.3.], Sermo in natale unius confessoris [1.4.1.3.1.], Sermo in dedicatione templi [1.4.1.3.2.], De septiformi spirito [2.1.3.], De creatore et creatura [2.1.4.], De sex etatibus huius seculi [2.1.5.], In quadragesima, de penitentia [4.4.1.], untitled exhortation to laymen [4.4.2.], De cogita-
tione [6.5.], Exemplum [6.6.], Be gebadedom mannum [6.7.], De infintibus [6.9.], Decalogus Moysi [6.10.], and De septem gradibus ecclesiasticis [6.11.].

2 Frank and Cameron numbers (in brackets) are given for Old English works where available.

3 Except where stated otherwise, dates given hereafter are from Clemoes, "Chronology." It should be recognised, however, that Clemoes’ conclusions, while foundational, have been challenged by later scholars and may be open to re-examination.

4 For Ælfric’s later collections of homilies for the Temporale (referred to by Clemoes as TH I and II), which integrate material from CH I and II with homilies for Sundays not covered by the Sermones, see Clemoes (“Chronology” 42-7 and 56-7) and Godden (Homilies lxiv, lxxv, and lxxxvi-xc).

5 That is, following the composition of the Lives of Saints late in the period 992 – 1002, and around the composition of Belfour 9 between 1002 and 1005 (cf. Clemoes, “Chronology” 56); see the arguments by Godden and Leinbaugh.

6 Here and below, items dated 993-1002 are dated by Clemoes to 992-1002, which he took to be the term of Wulfsige III as bishop of Sherborne. As Joyce Hill notes, however, subsequent studies have suggested that Wulfsige became bishop in 993 and died possibly earlier than 1002 (“Reform” 15n). Nonetheless, a few texts composed before Ælfric’s Letter for Wulfsige may still be dated to 992: De temporibus anni and the material printed in Thorpe, Sermones 2: 596-608 (2.3, 4.4.1-2, and 6.1-4).

7 Despite the title of Napier’s work, subsequent scholarship has confirmed Ælfric’s authorship of this text; see also 2.1.3 and 6.6.

8 That is, the approximate tenure of Æthelwold II, bishop of Winchester, to whom the sermon is dedicated (Whitelock 260).

9 Here and below, references to manuscripts not collated by particular editions are drawn primarily from Frank and Cameron.

10 The original text may be found in Hellmann 1-62 (Pope 1: xiv).

11 Reinsma 198-9; Morris is less than helpful in identifying his manuscript sources.

12 While Clemoes indicated that he would be editing De creatore and De sex etatibus (“Chronology” 61n), to my knowledge these editions did not appear.
13 While the title is still visible in the manuscript, some confusion may result from Clemoes, “Chronology” 57 and Ker §182.6, both of which list the text as De sex etatibus huius mundi.

14 An electronic version of Ælfric’s works—an invaluable aid for linguistic studies and other research—may be obtained as part of the complete corpus of Old English from the University of Toronto Centre for Medieval Studies. The corpus is available for research use or educational purposes through the Oxford Text Archive. At present, scholars must submit an order form, obtainable from the OTA website (http://ota.ahds.ac.uk), requesting a copy of text 0163; approved applicants are then given permission to download the approximately forty-megabyte file, or supplied with the data on disk (for which a fee may be charged).

15 In both Claudius B. iv and Laud Misc. 509, we find an unusual arrangement of chapters: the book concludes with 26.2-65, which follows chapters 24, 25, and 31.6 – 31.18 (see Crawford, Heptateuch 331-2).

16 The verse is found between the end of 21 and the beginning of 23 (p. 398).

17 It is unclear whether Clemoes regards the epilogue which follows Judges in Laud Misc. 509 (Crawford, Heptateuch 414-17) as Ælfrician as well.

18 That is, within the tenure of Cenwulf, bishop of Winchester, to whom the text is addressed (Whitelock 260n).

19 See note 7; Ælfric’s monastery of Cerne Abbas would have been located in the Sherborne diocese.

20 That is, perhaps early in Wulfsige’s episcopacy (Whitelock, Councils 193 and Clemoes, “Supplement” cxliv-cxlv).

21 Despite these corrections, Clemoes notes that “Fehr has let pass a great many minor errors in all parts of the book” (“Supplement” cxlviii). As Whitelock ignores minor variants, however (Councils 192), some scholars may still find it useful to consult Fehr’s apparatus.

22 This distinction between manuscripts is obscured in Toronto’s electronic version, which reproduces the interpolation not as part of “Wulfsige T,” a list of variations from Junius 121, but as part of “Wulfsige Xa,” Fehr’s main text, which it attributes to Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190.

23 See note 22.
24 While the Letter is listed here for ease of reference, Jones notes that it is properly a customary for, rather than a letter to, the monks of Eynsham; entitling it as such, however, risks confusion with another famous “Eynsham Customary” of the fourteenth century (4n).

25 Argued by Mary Clayton in her forthcoming edition. I am grateful to Professor Clayton for allowing me to consult an advance copy of her work.

26 Wilcox notes that a thane of this name appears as witness to the Eynsham charter, but that Keynes cautions against identifying him with the recipient of this letter (Prefaces 161; cf. Keynes 193n). Wilcox identifies Eastheolon as Asthall, Oxfordshire, some eight miles from Eynsham.

27 An unidentified figure; again, while a “Sigefyrth” witnesses the Eynsham charter, Keynes cautions that he may not be the individual addressed here (Prefaces 162; cf. Keynes 193n).

28 Pope edits the last two sections of De virginitate as LS II.30, noting that while all four parts are by Ælfric, the actual compilation in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 419 may not be his (Homilies 1:81).

29 See Clemoes, “Chronology” 64n, where he affirms that “it was Ælfric’s normal practice to quarry his letters for homiletic material.”

30 Napier II 1-29 form De infantibus (6.9), which precedes De cogitatione in Oxford Bodleian Library, Hatton 116.

31 McIntosh immediately goes on to posit another text as Ælfric’s, a paraphrase of two passages from Daniel printed in Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, but Pope identifies the text as an extract from De falsis diis (SH II.21; see McIntosh 130 and Pope, Homilies 2:668).

32 Clemoes does not mention the text in his “Chronology,” and to my knowledge, no date has been proposed for it elsewhere.

33 Facsimiles of the portions of the Institutes present in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i are printed by Loyn; these do not, however, include the section composed by Ælfric.

34 McIntosh 129 and Pope, “Ely Privilege” 111.

35 No fuller reference is given either by Pope (“Ely Privilege” 87) or McIntosh 128n.
36 Save for lines 76-8, which Pope see as a non-Ælfrician interpolation (“Ely Privilege” 93-4).

37 Pope treats the Latin text, the earliest copy of which is in London, British Library, Stowe Charter 31, as a “substantially accurate copy” of an original charter of 970. A number of other scholars, however, have considered it spurious (“Ely Privilege” 85). Kennedy suggests that as of 1995 the balance of opinion seems to favor its authenticity (150).

38 Clemoes does not mention the text in his “Chronology,” and to my knowledge, no date has been proposed for it elsewhere.


40 Clemoes, “Benedictine Office” 281.

41 Clemoes does not mention the text in his “Chronology,” and to my knowledge, no date has been proposed for it elsewhere.

42 All references to “apparatus” in CH I and II refer to the second, lower apparatus in Clemoes’ and Godden’s editions.
## Appendix I: Systems of Numbering the *Sermones Catholici*

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## Appendix II: Manuscripts of Ælfric's Lives of Saints not collated by Skeat

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