THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF ST. EDMUND:
A RECENTLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT

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IN the Bulletin for 1975-6 (vol. Iviii, pp. 1-2) Dr. F. Taylor made public the existence and purchase by the Library of a new manuscript of the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund related to the version contained in the British Library manuscript, Cotton Domitian XI. Until the discovery of the new Rylands manuscript the British Library text was the only version known and hence formed the basis of the several published editions of the Life of St. Edmund, including the latest one by H. Kjellman (Göteborg, 1935). The purpose of the present article is to show, by a detailed philological comparison of the two manuscripts, that the existence of the Rylands text makes necessary a completely new edition, based on Rylands (R) and not on the British Library text (B). Until such time as this new edition can be published, it is hoped that this article will enable scholars to check the Kjellman text and correct it where necessary in the light of the new material now available. Kjellman was well aware of the tentative nature of many of his emendations in the absence of a second manuscript: "Je ne me fais pas d'illusion sur le résultat de ce travail: ...je ne crains que trop que le poème de Denis Piramus, si l'on arrivait à en découvrir un beau jour l'original, ne se présentât sous un aspect assez différent de mon texte" (p. cxxxii). Whilst the Rylands text may not be this original, it is much closer to it than the only text at the disposal of Kjellman. In order to facilitate comparison of the two manuscripts and correction of the Kjellman edition, all references will be made to verse-numbers as printed in that edition.

1. ADDITIONAL TEXTUAL MATERIAL OFFERED BY R

As Dr. Taylor pointed out, R lacks a quire at the beginning, its first line being verse 685 of the text of B, but R continues after

1 Now Rylands French MS. 142.
the end of B for another 926 lines, until it, too, comes to an end before the story of the miracles performed by St. Edmund after his death is completed. These additional lines tell how Ulfketel, the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, faced with the return of Swein into his territory, seeks the advice of his counsellors, who urge him to buy off the terrible Dane. Ulfketel consequently gets in touch with a hermit, Sueneman, who used to be in the service of Swein, and persuades him to take a message offering lavish gifts in return for peace. Sueneman is welcomed joyfully by Swein and sent back to bring Ulfketel himself, under the protection of a safe-conduct, to explain his offer in detail. On hearing just what Ulfketel is prepared to offer him, Swein turns aside in disdain and demands tribute from the region under the protection of St. Edmund. Ulfketel must accept, whereupon Swein sails off to the Humber to meet the barons who had invited him back to England and to receive their oaths of loyalty. On seeing that Swein is accepted and even welcomed by the leaders of the English, the weak king, Aeldred, flees to Normandy, leaving his people groaning under the exactions of the Dane. Ulfketel, anxious to collect all the required tribute by the due date, sends his collectors to Baderichesworthe, the modern Bury St. Edmunds, which had traditionally been exempt from all dues of this kind on account of the patronage of St. Edmund. The collectors are met by a Benedictine monk, Aeluin, who roundly rejects their claims to tribute and sends them off empty-handed. Aeluin was in charge of the martyred St. Edmund’s tomb and, through his saintliness and devotion, was privileged to wash the saint’s body and cut his hair and nails. To this monk the people brought their offerings, praying through him to the martyr for protection against Swein. Aeluin is visited by a vision of St. Edmund and ordered to go to Swein and command him to desist from his demand for tribute from the people of Bury St. Edmunds. The worthy monk, fortunately a powerfully-built man, manages to force his way into the king’s presence and tells him in uncompromising terms that he will get nothing from Bury St. Edmunds in the way of tribute. With the insults of the infuriated king ringing in his ears, the monk goes off to Lincoln, where he is again visited by a vision of the saint, encouraging him
and instructing him to return to Bury St. Edmunds before dawn. On his return journey Aeluin is apprehensive when he comes across a large band of Swein's followers, but no harm comes to him and he is told that after his departure Swein had died from a mysterious lance-thrust, his last words being that St. Edmund had killed him. The large contingent of Danes is on its way back to Denmark, taking with them Swein's body and his son, Canute. On bringing the good news of Swein's death to his fellow-monks, Aeluin leads them all to the tomb of St. Edmund to give thanks to God and to the saint for the miraculous delivery. R ends some twenty lines beyond this point, having just begun another miracle, concerning a desperately sick tenant. Such, in bald outline, is the additional material supplied by R.

2. **Rubrics and Additional Lines in the Body of R**

In addition to this continuous run of additional text, R has also a considerable number of lines not found in the text of B. These usually, but not always, take the form of rubrics, picked out in red, and are for the most part rhyming couplets. They occur at the following points: between verses 1064-5, 1138-9, 1158-9, 1224-5, 1294-5, 1304-5, 1330-1, 1364-5, 1500-1, 1519-20, 1556-7, 1588-9, 1624-5, 1632-3, 1690-1, 1718-9, 1750-1, 1788-9, 1948-9, 2084-5, 2202-3, 2316-7, 2372-3, 2394-5, 2560-1, 2744-5, 2778-9, 3000-1, 3106-7, 3158-9, 3223-4, 3260-1, 3524-5, 3564-5, 3696-7, 3996-7. Between verses 2202-3 and 3524-5 four lines are added; between verses 3260-1 six lines.

3. **Inverted Lines**

The following lines are inverted in R: 1475-6, 2737-8, 3901-2.

4. **Grammatical Comparison of R with B**

(i) Survival of Old French Nominative Forms in R

The most cursory comparison of R with B will show that R retains very many distinctive nominative forms characteristic of standard Old French, where B has the oblique form. The converse also occurs, but to a far less extent. All cases—both of retention and of elimination in both manuscripts—will be fully
set out in the forthcoming edition; for the present it may suffice to indicate those cases where R retains the nominative form. This will be given first, with the non-distinctive form of B placed after it in brackets. In this section, as elsewhere, the forms of the manuscripts have been expanded where necessary and acute accents added where required in accordance with standard modern editorial practice. Capital letters are ignored for present purposes:

828 cusins (cosin).
836 nuls (nul), see also 954, 1077, 1528, 2073, 2307, 2433, 3156, 3336, 3472, 3776.
843 ly enfes (l'enfant), see also 1758.
863 l'em (homme), see also 942, 1607, 1771, 3222, 3745; plural forms 1521, 2885.
873 reis (rei), see also 1107, 1147, 1166, 1183, 1213, 1257, 1261, 1323, 1351, 1582, 1708, 2630, 2831, 3265, 3346, 3503, 3504, 3506, 3513, 3703, 3709, 3797, 3868, 3941, 4006.
935 ly seneschals (le seneschal), see also 1725.
936 sages, cointes, vassals (sage, queinte, vassal).
1075 sis peres (son pere), see also 1713.
1079 sis cors (son cors), see also 2545.
1081 departiz (departi).
1101 tuit (tuz), see also 1810, 2040, 2399.
1109 si fiz (son fis).
1179 ly uns (le un), see also 2234, 2579, 3745, 3891, etc.
1182 quart (quart).
1305 pruz e senex, sages clers ... letrez (pruz sené, sage clerc ... lettré)
1305 uns evesques (un evesque), see also 1722, 1750, 3071, 3245.
1319 ly ray (les rays).
1430 ly esquier (les esquiers).
1449 uns venz (un vent), see also 1457.
1453 ly mariner (les mariners).
1464 ly solails (le soleil), see also 1466.
1465 ly jurz (le jour).
1557 ly barun (les baruns).
1576 sages (sage).
1584 ly sens (le sen).
1587 ly autre (les autres), see also 3139, 3892.
1673-4 sacrez: corunz (sacré: coruné).
1692 nez (né), see also 1696, 1893, 1894, 1977, 2307.
1701 seignur pl. (seignurs).
1817 colums (columb).
1853 tels seyez (tel seïes).
1897-8 enanglez: fermez (enanglé: fermé).
1978 numez (nome).
2067 apresté pl. (aprestez).
2115 luiz < lupus (lou), see also 2761, 2789.
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2122 ly people (les peoples), see also sg. forms 2257, 2841.
2181 seinz (seint), see also 2630, 2831, 3023, 3072, 3281, 3299, 3628.
2184 bachelers forz (bacheler fort) 2184.
2232 ly porters (le porter), see also 2236, 2239.
2288 sis privez (son privez).
2339 tiranz (tirant).
2363 ly felun (les feluns), see also sg. forms 2561, 3703.
2395 ly turmentur (les turmenturs).
2429 poinz (poing).
2435 cruels (cruel).
2440 fels (fel), see also pl. forms 2560, 2614.
2454 decoleres (decoleur), see also 2472, 2493.
2475-6 corounex: aumez (coruné: urné).
2479 mutuns (mutun).
2485 ententifs (ententif).
2509 espurgez (purgé).
2510 esmerez (esmeré).
2560 ministral pl. (ministrals).
2580 eschapez (eschapel).
2598 ly murdrier (les murdrers), see also 2614, 3110.
2601 ly crestien (les cristiens), see also 2617, 2687.
2613 ly farin (les frarins—a vocabulary error, dealt with below), see also sg. form 2794.
2651 musciez (muscied).
2711 li querur (les querurs).
2745 saueres (furmeur).
2791 dolenz (dolent), see also 3182, 3202.
2831-2 amez: enteres (amé: enteré).
3034 vifs (vif), see also 3649.
3106 ly lius (le liu).
3110 fruiisseur pl. (fruiissiers).
3112 vassal pl. (vassals), see also 3797.
3157 curbs (curb).
3199 produm (prodhomme), see also 3245.
3201 purpensez (repurpense).
3203 irez (trespense).
3281 esperiz (esperit).
3289-90 numbrez: enumbrez (numbré: enumbré).
3316 Jhesus (Jhesu).
3362 bons (bon), see also 3481, 3746.
3385 serf (serfs).
3385 ly danais (les daneis), see also 3417.
3528 vesquens (vescunt), see also 3565, 3573, 3638, 3650.
3591 ly sergant (ses serjanz), see also 3611.
3623 ly clerc (les cleris).
3665 poissanz: granz (puissant: granz).
3745 chevalers (chevaler).
3747 hardiz (hardi).
The cases where R uses the etymological *ly* and *cil*, whereas B has *le* and *cels*, are too numerous to mention in detail.

(ii) Cases where the agreement of adjective is correct in R, incorrect in B

Very often R gives a correct agreement of the adjective according to the standard practice of Old French, whilst the corresponding form in B is incorrect. On occasion, of course, it is difficult to decide whether the scribe of B is failing to make a correct adjectival agreement or whether he is using the wrong gender for the noun to which the adjective refers. In many cases the incorrect forms in the B manuscript are corrected by Kjellman, anxious to restore the original metre of the poem.

887 *duz e membrez* (*duce e membrez*).
949 *tel parenté* (*tele parenté*); K. corrects as in R, see also 2515.
1039 *bones nefs* (*bons nefs*); K. corrects to *bones*.
1172 *matin . . . vermail* (*matin . . . vermeile*); K. corrects to *vermeil*.
1186 *cele mervaille* (*icel mervayle*); K. corrects to *icelle*, see also 2777.
1242 *tute rien* (*tut rien*); K. corrects to *tute*, see also 3382.
1298-1300 *aventure . . . dite . . . esrite* (*aventure . . . dit . . . escrit*).
1321-2 *renume: cuntee* (*renomee: cunté*); K. corrects to *cunté*.
1341-2 *marinals . . . forz* (*marinals . . . fortes*); K. corrects to *forz*.
1472 *une douce hure* < *aura* (*un dulce ore*); K. corrects to *dulz oré*.
1526 *duces funteines* (*dulce funteines*); K. corrects to *dulces*.
1527 *duz curs* (*dulce curs*); K. corrects to *dulz curs*.
1538 *meinte dolor* (*meint dolur*); K. corrects to *meinte*.
1539 *meinte . . . enfermeté* (*meint . . . enfermeté*); K. corrects to *meinte*.
1735 *de halte gent* (*de halt gent*); K. corrects to *halte*.
1789-91 *Edmund . . . Fu feite . . . (Edmund . . .Fu feite . . .)*; K. corrects to *feit*.
1792 *cele grant honur* (*cel grant honur*); K. corrects to *cele* for the metre.
1846-7 *pere . . . Francs* (*pere . . . Franc* . . .); K. corrects to *Franc* . . .
1875 *icle odur* (*icel odur*); K. corrects to *icele*.
1899 *nule gent* (*nuls genz*); K. corrects to *nules*.
1921 *icels genz* (*icels genz*); K. corrects to *iceles*.
1973 *quanz pais* (*kantes pais*); K. corrects to *kanz*.
2028 *Armés e prest* (*Armez e prestez*); K. corrects as in R.
2029 *tutes parz* (*tute parz*); K. corrects to *tutes*.
2035 *tute . . . la mer* (*tut . . . la mer*); K. corrects to *tute*.
2227 *nule pour* (*nul pour*); K. corrects to *nule*.
2421 *tant espés i sunt ly dart* (*tant espesse i sunt li dart*); K. corrects to *espés*. 
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2429-30 pié... de darz fiché (pié... de darz fichée).

2489 ceste baille (cest bataile); K. corrects to ceste.

2506 seinte eglise (seint eglise); K. corrects to seinte.

2515-17 eissue... sufferte (: sa deserte); eissue... suffert (: sa desert); K. corrects to sufferte and deserte.

2555-6 teste... deseuree (teste... desevre); K. corrects to deseurée.

2567 eissue... sufferte (: sa desert); K. corrects to sufferte and deserte.

2595-6 teste... deseuree (fete... desedere); K. corrects to deseure.

2652 tute l'oore (tut le oore); K. corrects as in R.

2752 un espez espinei (un esresse espinei); K. corrects to espès.

2780 la bone gent (les bone genz); K. corrects to bones.

2926 eglise... ben faite (eglise... bien feit); K. corrects to feite.

2983 la veuze chasse (la vieule chas); the Old French veu < velus is correctly indeclinable in R, but velz < vel(ul)lus in B ought to decline in the feminine, so K. corrects to vieu, see also 3011.

2988 desjointe e desserree (desjointe e deseree); K. corrects to desjointe.

3003 chief culpee (chief culpee); K. corrects to culpd.

3004 un filet vermail (un filet veermile); K. corrects to vermeil.

3035 ces gardeins (ces seintes gardeins); K. corrects to seinz.

3062 reliques... gardees (relikes... gardes); K. corrects to gardées.

3199 quel chose (quele chose); K. corrects to quel for the metre.

3204 quantes vertuz (kantz vertuz); K. corrects to kantes.

3304 qurmtes uerk (kanz ueruz); K. corrects to kantes.

3523 matz e desconfiz (mates...); K. corrects to maz.

3625 lent ne pereqs (lentes... peresceuz); K. corrects to lenz.

3817 autres anim (autre anm); K. corrects to autre anims.

3854 tute l'oore (tut le oore); K. corrects as in R.

3941-2 ly reis... fu lez... haitez (le rei... fu lee... haitez).

(iii) Cases where R has the correct gender of nouns, B the incorrect gender

763 sa prisun (son prison); K. corrects to sa.

983 sa veissele (son vessel); K. corrects to sa veessele.

992 une quinzeye (un quinzeye); K. corrects to une.

1502 de la nief (del nief).

1863 la flairur (le flairur).

2652 tute l'oue (tut l'oue); K. corrects as in R.

2752 un grant lu (une grant lu); K. corrects to un.

2780 la merveille (le merveile); K. corrects to la.

3042 la ferte (le ferte), see also 3053, 3086, 3095, 3570, 3596, 3598.
(iv) Cases where R has the correct dative pronoun ‘lur’ as against ‘les’ in B

One of the most striking features of B is its repeated use of the accusative pronoun les where standard Old French would use the dative lur. R gives the correct form in the following lines: 959, 971, 1051, 1055, 1066, 1067, 1332, 1353, 1356, 1424, 1608, 1611, 1622, 1745, 2007, 2008, 2220, 2640, 2648, 2654, 2655, 2891, 3105, 3191, 3195, 3364, 3399, 3711, 3719, 3744, 3796, 3808, 3918, 3945, 3950, 3951, 3952, 3962, 3968, 3978, 4012. A similar error is found in B’s use of l’ for lylli in demandé l’unt in 2653, where R again has the correct form—demandé l’unt.

(v) Cases of normal spelling in R where B has aberrant or dialectal forms

740 prelaz (prelazes); K. corrects to prelaz.
796 seint (senit); K. corrects to seint.
809 braz (brace); K. corrects to braz.
878 feiz (feyes); K. corrects to feis.
938 consel (consayle); K. corrects to consail, see also 969, 1266.
1015 sire (sir); K. corrects to sire, see also 1308.
1021 eir (*herem (: aevir) (heire); K. corrects to heir.
1089 passer (passes); K. corrects to passer.
1095 travai (travaile); K. corrects to travail.
1170 clarté (clareté); K. corrects to clarté, see also 3307, 3318.
1171 solail (soleil); K. corrects to soleil, see also 1250, 1265, 3544.
1246 priveau (privéement); K. corrects to privéement, see also 3789.
1200 curt (curte); K. corrects to curt, see also 2906.
1265 lumere (lumer); K. corrects to lumere, see also 1317.
1310 veirement (vériement); K. corrects to vériement, see also 2515, 2549, 3655.
1311 regné (regné); K. corrects to regné, see also 1681, 1709, 1985, 3344, 3347.
1335 nefes (nefes); K. corrects to nefs, see also 1344, 1365, 1431, 1489, 1982, 2033, 3414, 3417 for this and other forms.
1352 karante (karant); K. corrects to karante.
1360 havene (haven).
1393 eschez = “chess” (eschez); K. corrects to eschés.
1393 suent (gauem).
1410 nuit (nute); K. corrects to nut, see also 1461, 2106, 2112, 3041, 3121, 3161.
1412 nue < nubem (neue); K. corrects to nue.
1477 part (parte); K. corrects to part, see also 2424, 2712, 2716, 3779, 3811.
1496 puceles (pucels); K. corrects to puceles.
1597 mort (morte); K. corrects to mort, see also 1657, 2082, 2145, 2150, 2154, 2224, 2280, 2319, 2322, 2325, 2481, 2500, 2521, 2604, 3186, 3198, 3292, 3434, 3451, 3572, 3885.
1753 voiz (voyce); K. corrects to voiz, see also 2394, 2448, 2703, 2708, 2725.
1914 asemblee (assemble: aunné); K. corrects to asembleée.
1930 artillus (atilus).
1970 requit (requist); K. corrects to requit.
2044 journees (jurnés); K. corrects to journées.
2057 cocs (cokes); K. corrects to coks.
2057 miemoit (mynute); K. corrects to mienuit.
2074 rauncun (rancian), see also 2522.
2083 ostz (hostes); K. corrects to hoz.
2085 preye < praeda (prei); K. corrects to preie.
2087 veziez (vezier); K. corrects to veziez.
2305 testemoine (tesmoyne).
2320 meins (maynes); K. corrects to mains.
2344 numeement (nomément); K. corrects to noméement.
2393 croiz (croize); K. corrects to croiz, see also 2448, 3478.
2402 gavelocs (gavelokes); K. corrects to gaveloks.
2408 jambes (geambes).
2420 saiete (saite); K. corrects to saiete, see also 2458.
2426 seintime (seyntim); K. corrects to seintime, see also 2434, 2499, 2695, 2788, 2919, 3256, 3335.
2427 hericun (herician).
2528 batures (bateuerees).
2567 riffle (ruffle); see also 2584.
2817 entente (entent); K. corrects to entente.
2824 fam (ferme); K. corrects to ferm.
2853 Error (ereer); K. corrects to erer.
3031 virent (uiren).
3171 apertemen (apertemen).
3241 char (chare); K. corrects to char.
3249 seie (sey); K. corrects to seie.
3297 escripture (escriptur); K. corrects to escripture.
3367 soventfeiz (sovent feiz).
3418 trefes (trefes); K. corrects to trefs.
3558 desert (desert); K. corrects to deserte.
3588 treement (irrément); K. corrects to irrément, see also 3612.
3645 cimiterie (cimiter); K. corrects to cimitère.
3659 tresvasez (trezuasez).
3717-18 cantrees:soudees (contrés:soldés); K. corrects to contrées:soldées.
3739 mult (mul).
3755 cops (coupes); K. corrects to coups, see also 3756, 3776.
3775 acravante (ad cravante); K. corrects to acravante.
3950 douns (dones); K. corrects to dons.
4000 anoit (a nute); K. corrects to a nut.
(vi) Cases where R has a normal adverbial form, B an incorrect one

791 lunges (longment); K. corrects to longement, see also 2991.
1261 longement (longment); K. corrects to longement, see also 1613, 2848, 2849, 3686.
1674 primes (primier); K. corrects to primes.
1896 lez (delee), see also 3548.

(vii) Cases where R has a normal verb form, B an aberrant or dialectal one

835 vaiente (wayment); K. corrects as in R.
925 respunt (responst); K. corrects to responst.
926 puet (put), see also 1077.
974 traist (treit); K. corrects to treist.
1014 dit (dist); K. corrects as in R.
1185 esbairent (esbairent: virent); K. corrects as in R.
1200 venue (venue); K. corrects as in R, see also 2355.
1219 treait (treite); K. corrects to treite.
1238 espenir (espeneir: seruir).
1248 veene (vei); K. corrects to vi.
1364 vet (vest).
1420 acosteient (acostient); K. corrects as in R.
1569 mist = pret. 3 maneir (miest).
1670 pleoir (plever); K. corrects as in R.
1852 voilles = imper. 2 of voloir (voyle); K. corrects to voiles.
1911 enrichiz (enrichez); K. corrects as in R.
2078 faire (fuer); K. corrects as in R.
2094 met = ind. pr. 3 mettre (mette); K. corrects as in R.
2211 revien (revieien); K. corrects as in R.
2325 voil = ind. pr. 1 voloir (voile); K. corrects as in R.
2526 espaundu (espandiu).
2665 oiren (oyerent); K. corrects as in R, see also 2703, 3611.
2835-6 espouri:s: lai: diz (espourez: laidez).
2865-6 oir: veni:s (oyer: vener); K. corrects as in R.
2970 issent (iserei:t); K. corrects to issent.
3087 vindrent (venirent).
3372 neier < nearec (neir); K. corrects to neier.
3492 cheries (cheriez).
3605 respendirent (respunderent); K. corrects as in R.
3612 fremirent (fremierent); K. corrects as in R.
3654 receue (resceiue); K. corrects to receit.
3763 estroir (estroyr); K. corrects as in R.
3768 traire (treier); K. corrects to treire.
3784 choisi (choise); see also 3813.
3802 quid (quide); K. corrects as in R.
3818 esparnirent (esparnierent).
3999 soleie (solei); K. corrects as in R.
Into this category of spellings falls the widespread use by B of forms of the pret. 3 of -ui verbs and veeir containing an epenthetic s before the final -t:

801 morut (morust), see also 1655.  
1183 vit vidit (visit), see also 2588, 2594, 2652, 2656.  
1656 dut (dust), see also 3253.  
2761 jot (jost), see also 2832, 3161, 3253.  
2762 mut (must).  
2991 out (ust).  
2992 plut (plust).  
3000 paruit (aparust).

As Kjellman notes (p. c), these forms with -s are to be attributed to the scribe of B, rather than to the author. R has earlier forms that would probably be those of Piramus himself.

(viii) Cases where R has an older verb form than B

As a general rule, the pret. 3 form of -ir verbs ends in -i in R, in -it in B:

790 servi (servit), see also 3063.  
1169 issi (issit), see also 1309.  
2322 suffri (suffrit), see also 2390, 2468, 2505, 2521, 2529, 2538, 3266, 3323, 3340.  
2389 nasqui (nasquit).  
2495 departi (departit).  
3064 vesqui (vesquit), see also 3265.  
3180 repenti (repentit).  
3197 defendi (defendit)  
3248 vesti (vestit).

According to Pope (para. 998): “(In the early thirteenth century, ... the weak terminations -i and ü (fini, perdi, valu) and the form fiu began to be replaced by -it, üt and fiit, and these later on were generalised.)” The forms of R quoted above, then, together with fu (fut) in verse 2550 would point to the probability that the Rylands manuscript retains forms current at the time when Denis Piramus was composing the Life of St. Edmund. Similar indications are provided by the retention in R of the old forms of the imperfect indicative of -er verbs. On occasion, B also has these forms, but not as a regular feature:

1145 parlout (parlout).  
1146 sijnout (soujournout).  
1170 gettout (gettout).
Other isolated verb forms tend to confirm the antiquity of R as against B:

1714 ot < audit (out), see also 1963; (Pope, para. 950; Fouché, p. 152).
1850 dist < dixit (dit), see also 2657; (Fouché, p. 279).

(ix) Differences in Tense Usage between R and B

Whilst it is clearly impossible in the space of an article to examine every instance of a divergence in tenses throughout two long manuscripts, one of the most striking features of R is its preference for the preterite in contrast to B’s use of the imperfect:

741 out (aveit), see also 970, 1126, 1398, 1447, 1552, 1547, 1719, 2293, 2329, 2354, 3229, together with ot (aveit) 1121, 1147 and orent (aveient) 1383, 1915, 2812, 3108, 3113, 3174, ourent (aveient) 1459, 1917, 2669, 2677, 2679, 2684, 2809, 3429, eurent (aveient) 2000, 2022, 2081, 2086.
1099 firent (esseient), see also 1400, 1591, 1599, 1761, 2019, 2130, 2139, 3164, 3223, 3687, 3688, 3694, 3913.
1177 eissirent (isseient).
1178 estendirent (estendeient).
1568 sout (soleit), see also 2475, 3551, 3711.
1901 hairent (heiaient).
2008 distrent (disseient).
3138 volt (voileit).

(x) Cases where R uses the correct mood, B an incorrect one

812 Mort vousissent estre a lur voil  (Morz volient estre a lur voel)
1188-9 Si fist semblant ... (Si fist semblant ...)
Sicam ele nel veist mie Sicum ele ne vit mye)
1259-60 Mes jeo ne fis unhes semblant (Meis jeo n'i fis unhe semblant
K'jeo le visse tant ne quant Ke jeo le vis tant ne quant)
1269-72 E ke Deu vus donast tel eair Ke ... (E ke Deus vus donast tel heir
Muntast en si grant poeste Muntast en si grant poeste
K'ë[n] tuit le mund(e) en frist parlé K'ë[n] tut le mund en fut parlé)
1277 similar construction with frist in R and fut in B.
1412 ... cam ceo fuist une nue (. . . cam ceo fut une nue)
1940-5 Suz cieul nan ad home vivant (Suz cieul n'ad homme vivant
K'il n'espermaiast . . . Qu’il esparmaiast . . .
Ja ne ly frast si fin parent Ja ne li fut si fin parent)
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2429-30  Il n'out ne braz, ne poinz, ne pié  (Il n'out ne braz, ne poing, ne pié)  
          Ke plein ne fuist de darz fichié  (Que plein ne fut de darz fichée)  
2295-6   Prendre purreit confessiun  (Prendre purreit confessiun)  
          Quant alez s'en fust ly felan  (Quant alé s'en fut li felan)  
2929-30  Mult volut melz ke nul muster  (Mult volut melz que feire muster)  
          Ke just de pere ou de morter  (Ki fut de pere e de mortier)  
3034     Sicume il fut vifs e tut seus  (Sicam il fut vif e tut seus)  

Since the reference is to the long-dead St. Edmund, the subjunctive is required, denoting the unreal nature of the comparison. A similar construction in 3082 again has fut in R and fut in B.

1660-1  Mist par fey e par serement  (Mist par fey e par serement)  
          Ke quant nus returniisum . . .  (Ke quant nus returnerum . . .)  
2079-80  . . . ne puett guandiir  ( . . . ne puett guandir)  
          De Ubbe k'il n'estoioste morir  (De Hubbe qu'il n'estuet morir)  
3185-6   E si se fust einz purpensez  (Si s'en just einz purpensé)  
          Ne les eust pas a mort liv(e)rez  (Ne les out pas a morte livéré)  
3933-6   N'auva chastel . . .  (Ne auera chastel . . .)  
          Dunt nen ait la seignurie  (Dunt il nen averei la segnorie)  

5. Textual Differences Between R and B

From the preceding study of the grammar of the two manuscripts it is clear that in many instances R is closer to standard Old French than is B. This state of affairs is confirmed by very numerous cases where R may be seen to have preserved a coherent reading in Old French, without need of modification, whilst B has to be emended before satisfactory sense can be obtained. Naturally, R has no monopoly of correct sense, and its errors will be fully set out in the new edition of the poem, but there is no doubt that it is most helpful in resolving very many textual difficulties that beset Kjellman.

795-6    De cest Ofle dunt jw dis cy  (De cil Ofle dunt jw di ci)  
          Nest cil ke seint Ailbricht tray  (Ne de cil qui senit Ayelbrict trai)  

Kjellman finds it necessary to alter both lines, in order to get a sensible reading, but did not have the key word nest<nascit provided by R, which thus gives perfectly good sense.

816      Ja par plurs ne par dolusie  (Ja par plure ne par doluserie)  

The sole example of doluserie in Tobler-Lommatzsch is provided by B.

831      Quant il le oy  (Kant il oy)
The addition of the pronoun gives better sense and syntax.

871-2 Siir, nus sumes tuit a estrus (Rey, nus sumes tut a estrus
Pur grant bosoinz venuz a vus Pur grant chose venuz a vus)

B here is weak, the gravity of the situation being more fittingly expressed by the bosoinz of R than by the chose of B.

896 Le rey Offe ke mare fu (Le rey Offe qui prodom fū)

The barons of the good departed king lament his passing with the old epic formula mare..., probably unknown to the scribe of B.

929-30 Pur tuit l'aveir, c'est la sume, (Pur tut l'aveir, ceo est la summe,
Ke ad de Sessoine deske a Rome K'est de Sessoyne deske a Ramme)

The impersonal ad used in R is the normal form.

937 Sire rei, fet il, ne m'esmerueille (Rei, fet il, ne te pas meroayle)

The Saxon king has just refused to let his young son be taken across the sea to East Anglia, and the seneschal is trying to bring him to change his mind. In R the syntax and sense are both natural: "I am not surprised at your reaction, but..."; in B, Kjellman’s gloss ‘s'étonner ’ would lead to the meaning ‘do not be amazed ’, giving an inappropriate sense.

938 Mes pernez de ceo votre conseil (Mes pernez vus autre consayle)

In R the seneschal says to the king: “Consider this” and goes on to set out a convincing argument; in B he tells the king bluntly to change his mind. The result is that R can run down to verse 947 as a coherent sentence, whilst Kjellman feels it necessary to end the sentence unsatisfactorily at verse 940.

943 Bien i deit venir (Bien il deit venir)

Sense and syntax support R here—"It is right that he should come there" (i.e. to East Anglia).

950 Cum nus sumes, fussums dampné (Cum nus sumes, susum dampné)

Kjellman corrects to fussum, as in R.

954 Ja nuls home nel constreinererit (Ja nul hombre nel cunter estereit
Ke il ne peust revenir Qu'il ne pust revenir
Quant il voldreit a sun plaísir Kant il voldra a son pleysir)
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The sense of *constreinereit* in R—"restrict"—is perfectly normal, whilst Kjellman prints *cunestreitereit* but does not list the form in his glossary or provide a note to explain it. From the evidence at present available it would appear that *constreindre* is current in Anglo-Norman at least from the thirteenth century, whilst *contrester* seems to be a later formation.

1001-2  Quant dereinement s'en ala  
         De cest pais ou sojourna  

(Kant de li s'en ala  
De cest pais ou sujourna)

Both metre and sense support R here, the context being the final departure of the king from his country. Kjellman fills out verse 1001 by the addition of *li reis*, which satisfies the metre, but does not give as good a sense as R’s version.

1003 ff.  Ore m'estut vif conseil aver  
         De mun fiz fere remaner  
         E de ces messagers sauver  
         Lur fiances e lur jurer  

(Ore m'estoet vif conseile aver  
De mon fiz fere remaneir  
E de ces messagers sauver  
Des fiances e del vouer)

The *lur* of R in verse 1006 makes better sense than B’s *des* and *del*, since the king is anxious to save the pledges and oaths given by the messengers.

1047 ff.  Marinaus...  
         Ke tuiz conoissen les passages  
         E de la mer seyent apris  

(Mariners...  
Ke tuz conusent les rivages  
E de la mer seyent apris)

The voyage is to be across the North Sea, so that the frequently attested *passage* is better than *rivage*.

1065  Quant ces quaunante avere esliz  

(Kant ces vint averez esliz)

The discrepancy in numbers here arises from the fact that B has omitted two lines after verse 1064:

*E de voz ensement pernez  
Vint chevalers pruz, forz e bers*

so that B makes St. Edmund be taken across the sea with only strangers as escort, whilst R has the escort made up, more sensibly, from equal numbers—twenty each—of his own father’s men and of the strangers.

1093 ff.  E vostre fiz tuit ensement  
         Vus poez veer a sun talent  
         ... Une feiz ou deus en l'an  

(E vostre fiz tut ensement  
Vus poez venir veir sovent  
... Une feiz ou deus en le an)
Not only does the sovent of B fit less than perfectly with une fez ou deus en l’an, but, more importantly, the form poez of B indicates that the scribe has misunderstood his text. The context immediately before this point has said that the father will be able to visit his son and R follows on naturally with the statement that the son, likewise, will be at liberty to visit his father. B would have the father as subject of both statements. Kjellman alters poez to poet, as in R.

1104  Tuiz s’escrient granz e petiz  (Tuiz se greent granz e petiz)

T-L has no example of greer used reflexively, Godefroy only one example coming from a fourteenth-century legal text. The earliest example to date of a reflexive use of this verb in Anglo-Norman comes from the beginning of the fourteenth century. It would appear, then, that R has the original reading.

1106  Ne s’en deit pas ly reis retraire  (Ne se deït pas li reis retraire)

The addition of en (= ‘from the enterprise in hand’) improves the sense.

1121  Deu l’ot de bien si replenie  (Dieus l’aveït de bien replenie
Ke... Ke...)

The si here is necessary to make good sense with the Ke of the following line.

1164  Al departir  (A departir)

The correctness of R is obvious here, but Kjellman corrects to Al partir in order to fit the metre of B.

1172  Quant matin surst e nest vermail  (Kant matin surt en est vermaile)

The scribe of B has simply made a wrong separation of words, but Kjellman appears to have interpreted the sense as ‘in the east’, since he keeps the B reading.

1173-4  Vis ly ert ke ly rais s’estendi  (Avis li fu que le reis se tendi
Ke hors del piz al rei issi Ke hors del piz le rei issi)

The rais is a ray of light stretching out from the king’s breast up to heaven, so that the s’estendi of R is correct. Kjellman sees the need to alter B, but emends se tendi to tendi.
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1194 ff. Vint la bone dame romeine (Vint la bone dame romeine
Al rei des Sednes en Sessoine Al rey de Sessoigne en Sessoyme
A curt ou fist les soens venir . . . Ou sa cure enforcir e greindre
Par sun fyz Edmond retenir De Edmund son fyz feire remeindre)

Whilst the text of R is satisfactory as it stands, Kjellman has
to alter B to read . . . Ou sa cure est forçur e greindre.

1204 Ne de rien nel aresuna (Ne de rien nela reisna)

Kjellman corrects B to areisuna, as in R.

1232 E de vostre estre alques saver (E de vostre ove alques saveir)

The lady has come to Saxony to learn not about the king’s
works—ovre, but about his way of life—estre.

1331 Ly reis forement s’escreve en plus (Li reys forment s’escrient en plus)

Kjellman corrects B to read s’escrieve, as in R.

1341 ff. marinals . . . Cointes, duiz, sages en mer (marinals . . . Queintes
d’eve e sages en mer)

duiz ‘trained’ makes better sense here than d’eve.

1369 La nef fu une sneke bele (La nef fu forte e mult bele)

R is here using the old term for a fast ship.

1387-8 Un riche lit de noble atur (Un riche lit de noble atour
Ou il aluent lur seignur Ou il alient lur seignour)

R is here using aluer ‘to place’, whilst Kjellman emends to
aliter, not usually found in a non-reflexive sense and whose
meaning is ‘to make someone take to his bed’. R is more
normal here and makes better sense.

1392 Si s’entreveisent pur l’ennui (Si i parolent pur l’ennui)

The knights on the ship are amusing themselves, not just
talking, as both manuscripts make clear by going on to mention
chess and backgammon.

1401 Lex la costere de Sessoigne (Lex la costee de Sessoigne)

Kjellman corrects B to costere, as in R, on the strength of this
word in verse 1414.

1402 Dunt la nef gueres ne s’esloine (Ke la nef guaires ne s’esbaine)
Kjellman corrects B to read s'esloine, as in R.

1414-15 Siglent la costere de Frise (Siglent la costere de Frise)  
Tant ke il acostent Bevelande (Tant qu'il acostent Houtlande)

R goes on to say that on the fifth day the ship comes to Holland (Hothlande) and on the sixth day to Zealand. B makes no mention of Beveland, but gives Houtlande in both verse 1415, recounting the events of the fourth day, and in verse 1417, dealing with the events of the fifth day. It seems as though the scribe of B was unfamiliar with Beveland.

1417 Le quin jur Hothlande veient (Le quint jour de Houtlande veient)

The corruption of this line in B confirms the previous observation. Kjellman is obliged to correct B to read veient.

1442 Ke il a port de salu les mette (Ki a saue porte les mette)

The sailors are praying to God that He will bring them safely to port, so that R's reading is good, but Kjellman has to correct B to read a sauf port.

1457 Aspre est ly venz, li sigle leger (Aspre est le vent, li sigle-iegier)

After discussing this line in his Notes, Kjellman corrects to give the reading sigle legier, the sense as in R.

1454 ff. Lur lof unt einz mult tost lanciez (Lur lof unt enz mult tost lancièt
E estreinent lur bowelinis
Aspre est ly venz, li sigle leger
Lors lur cooent hanecher
Lur lof unt enz mult tost lanciez
E estreinent lur holgurdis.
Aspre est ly venz, li sigle leger
Lors lur cooent hanecher)

The sailors are running before the wind, they let out their bow-lines and then have to take in the light sails in the stiff wind, so that the wind does not take complete control of the boat. This seems more likely than that they should not have to take in sail.

1475-8 Tant ke il unt choisii e veu (Tant qu'il unt choisii e veu)
Les granz faleises vers Len
E dreitement sulunc l'asen
Cele part siglent a espleit
Tant ke il unt choisii e veu
E virent clerement la sen
Des granz faleises de vers Len
Cele partie siglent a espleit)

The sense of R is that, once they caught sight of the cliffs at King's Lynn, they sailed straight for them—dreitement sulunc
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l'asen, literally 'straight according to the direction'. B is less clear: 'until they saw and espied And saw clearly the direction of the great cliffs...'.

1491-2 ... un petit terel (... un petit terel
A merveilles haut e bel A merveille aate e bel)

After altering terel to tertrel, Kjellman keeps aate, although he admits in a note that "Le sens de l'adjectif aate est douteux". The haut of R fits the geographical situation of Hunstanton very well.

1497 E la vile del liu (la vile de li)

Whilst the sense of R is transparent, it is difficult to see what can be made of B's reading, though Kjellman keeps it.

1529 [The noble man sees beautiful fountains welling up out of the ground]
Ccontre ly curent vers la mer (contre curent vers la mer)

The sense of R is clear: the fountains run towards Edmund—ccontre—down to the sea. Kjellman realizes that B is defective, but alters to devers and runs ccontre and curent together to give a verb ccontre curent, explaining in a note: "Edmond vient de la mer. Les ruisseaux coulent donc dans la direction opposée à la sienne". He fails to see that ccontre in Old French could mean 'towards' just as readily as 'against'.

1549 Ou ly seint reis soleit urer (Ou li seint reys soleit aourer)

Kjellman recognizes that B is hypermetric and alters to ourer.

1571 E sun sauter i paraprist (E son salter il paraprist)

R is to be preferred here because the i refers directly to the cité of verse 1569, where Edmund stayed for a year learning his psalter.

1581 ff. Ceo est grant sens e curteisie (Ceo est grant sen e curteisie)
Quant prince e reis entent clergie Kant prince ou rey entent clergie
Al regne gouverner ly vaut Al regne gouverner li vaut
Quant ly sens as autres falt Kar quant le sen des autres falt
Par la clergie ke est aguie Par le clergie qu'est aguwe
Ad tost sun sens enresunie Ad tost sen e reisun suve

Kjellman's note to these lines expresses doubts about the value of aguwe in B, which he would interpret as the feminine of
the adjective *agu*. This leads him to admit a confusion between *la clergie* and *le clergik*. He does not, however, comment upon the form *suwe*, but lists it in his glossary as the past participle feminine of *saveir*, without explaining why it should be feminine when referring to a masculine person. The sense of R would appear to be as follows: “A man guided—*agué*—by learning does not take long to bring his intelligence into order”.

1595 ff.  
Ke ly barun plus poestifs . . .  
*Par le reaume estriverent*  
(Ke li barun plus poestis . . .  
*Par le realme Offe mesuvereient*)

R has the right verb here—*estriver* ‘to contend’—but the wrong tense; B has the right tense, but the wrong verb, as well as the intrusive *Offe*.

1637-8  
Seignurs, fet il, ore escutez  
*Ke mester de conseil avez*  
(Seignurs, fet il, ore escutez  
*Ke mestier de conseil en avez*)

Kjellman corrects *en avez* to *avez*, as in R.

1671-2  
*Offe seisi le damoiseel*  
*De cest regne par son anel*  
(Offe seisi le damisel  
*En cest realme par son anel*)

Kjellman corrects the *En* of B to *De*, as in R.

1683-4  
*Par nus ke les feiz enplevimes*  
*E le serement en feimes*  
(Par nus qui le fiz en pleuimes  
*E le serement en fesimes*)

Kjellman sees that *le fiz* is wrong in B and corrects to *la fei*, on the lines of R.

1681-6  
*Quant ly reis Ofles ad le regne*  
*A Edmund sun cusin devisé*  
... *Bien en deit estre rei e eir*  
(Kant le rei Offe ad le regnee  
*A Edmund son cosin devisé*  
... *Bien il deit estre e rei e heir*)

The *en* of R in verse 1686 is the correct syntax required.

1701-2  
Seignur, mult est ly enf[es] Edmund  
*De tenve sens e de parfunt*  
(Seignurs, mult est l'enfant Edmund  
*De acue sen e de parfunt*)

Kjellman alters B to give *De sen accu*, a perfectly possible reading, but the *tenve* of R cannot be dismissed as erroneous. T-L (x. 239. 27) has a quotation linking *subtils* and *teneres*, so that we could read in R: “of subtle and profound intelligence”.

1720  
*E tutt sun avis demuatre*  
(E tut son avis mustré)
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The R version needs no adjustment to fit the metre.

1721  

Li veskes de Bures parla  
(L'vesque de Norviz parla)

Since in both texts the coronation of Edmund takes place at Bures, the modern Bures-St.-Mary (in verses 1759-62), it is perhaps more suitable that the bishop of this place should hold forth, rather than the bishop of the more distant Norwich.

1731  

Ne tienc ne ne say plus dreit eir  
(Ne entent ne sey plus dreit heir)
Ke mielz deit le regné aver  
(Qui mielz deyve le regne aver)

The *tienc* of R is to be understood in the sense of ‘consider as’. Kjellman glosses the *entent* of B as ‘voir (par la pensée)’, not a usual sense.

1749  

Tuiz se crient  
(Tuz se greent)

See the note to verse 1104.

1751  

Dunc le levent tute la gent  
(Dunc se levent tute la gent)

The text of R picks up verse 1748 *E en haste a rei le levez*  
(*E mult tost a rei le levez*), using *lever* in the sense of ‘to make (king)’, whilst B is using the reflexive *se lever* in the sense of ‘to stand up’.

1754  

Trestuiz se sunt ja esbaudi  
(En un voler sunt parmi)
En une mesime volenté  
(En une mesme volenté)

Kjellman alters B to read *En un voler sunt paruni*, although neither Codefroy nor T-L has an entry *parunir*.

1761 ff.  

Iluk le frient corunner . . .  
(Illuc le feseient corumer . . . )
Del vesque Hubert . . .  
(Del evesque . . . )
Ke par mult grant devocian  
(Qui par mult grant devocian)
I fist le seroise a la feste  
(Fist le servise e la feste)

The reading *a la feste* of R fits the bishop’s role better than *e la feste* in B, since the bishop would officiate at the service, but not organize the feast.

1789  

Quant Edmund li seintime ber  
(Kant Edmund li seint ber)

Kjellman corrects to *seintime*.

1811-12  

Li ber seint Eadmund sa doctrine  
(Li ber seint Edmund sa doctrine)
Receut ben e sa discipline  
(Ke trtei bien e sa discipline)
Kjellman finds it necessary to alter B to read *Retreit* instead of *Ke treit* and glosses 'expliquer'. The sense of R is more in line with the context immediately preceding, where it is said that *sapience* is the creator of all things: ‘The good St. Edmund accepted her (= sapience’s) teaching and doctrine’.

1817-19  *Colsans san fel vers ses amis*  (Columb sanz fel vers ses amys)  
*Estoit e vers ses enemys*  (Estoit e vers ses enemys)  
*Veziez plus ke nuls draguns*  (Eveziez plus que draguns)

Kjellman is worried by the form *eveziez*, altering it to *enveziez* in his edition, but then proposing in his *Additions et Corrections* (p. 210) *veziez*, but with verses 1819 and 1820 inverted, so as to read *E veziez*. The reading of R needs no alteration.

1820-21  *(Estoit plus fiers que nuls leouns)*  (Estoit plus fiers ke nuls leuns)  
*(Encou tre pensez de purpens)*  (E contre pensez de purpens)

Instead of assuming the omission of the usual nasal bar in *E contre*, Kjellman makes a form *contrepensez*, which he glosses as ‘réfléchi’, because he interprets *purpens* as ‘pensée’, ‘réflexion’. *Purpens* here is to be taken more in the sense of *S Auban* verse 598 ‘invention’ ‘false imagining’, which makes the reading of R impeccable.

1824 ff.  *(... unkes diable)*  (... unkes diable)  
*Par engin ne pourent faire*  (Par engin ne purreit faire)  
*Ke il de dreit se volt retraire*  (De dreit de reisun retreire)  
*Ne male gent par coveitise*  (Ne malengin par coveityse)  
*K’il se recansist de justise*  (Qu’il se treisist de justise)

Faced with the text of B, Kjellman treats this passage as incomprehensible. The text of R needs no correction.

1832  *(Entendamment enquireit)*  (Atteinaument enquireit)

Kjellman corrects B to read *Ententivement; atteinaument* in R is guaranteed by Godefroy (i. 460a).

1836-8  *(... apuiait)*  (... apuiait)  
*As vics ne a l’iniquitd*  (A vices ne a iniquitd)  
*De humaine fragilité*  (Del humayne fragilité)

R’s reading is syntactically correct, and Kjellman corrects B on the lines of R.

1840-1  *(L’estreite linne de mesure)*  (L’estreite lyne de mesure)  
*Tint ke outre ne passa...*  (Tant que ultre ne passa...)
Kjellman corrects to Tint, as in R.

1851  
Establi te unt rei e princer  
(Estableté unt rei e princier)

Kjellman corrects to Estable t’unt . . .

1885-6  
Gupil arteillus vers ses parenz  
E enemi a tuiz genz  
(Gopil a tuz vers ses parenz  
E enemi a tutes genz)

Even though verse 1885 is hypermetric in R, the adjective arteillus is preferable to the a tuz of B, or to the acuz substituted by Kjellman.

1899-1900  
. . . il dotouent nule gent  
Neis les Gutteis  
(. . . il ne doteiènt nuls genz  
Ne les Guteis)

Kjellman corrects B to read Neis, as in R.

1901  
Ke cele gent de mort haïrent  
(Qui cele gent cum mort heiaient)

R has the correct idiomatic expression.

1921-2  
Icels genz . . .  
Furent de corsage mult grantz  
(Icels genz . . .  
Furent de curages mult granz)

Kjellman glosses curages here as ‘ désir’, but corsage is a well-attested Anglo-Norman word, meaning ‘size, physique’, which fits perfectly when applied to the fearsome Northmen.

1927-8  
Ynguar ert si fel e culvert  
E de felunie si covert  
(Yngar ert si fel e culvert  
E de felunie si overt)

Although Kjellman accepts the overt of B without question, it is not easy to see what is meant. Covert—‘underhand, deceitful’—fits much better.

1935-6  
Ja ne fust ost kil survenist  
Ke il od poy de gent nel venquist  
(Ja ne fust host qu’il surveist  
Qu’il od poy de gent ne venqueist)

Kjellman interprets surveist as coming from surveeir, which he glosses as ‘embrasser (du regard), dominer’. If we accept R’s reading, kil will stand for ki li: ‘no matter what army suddenly appeared before him, he overcame it . . .’. Surveenir is regularly used in this kind of context, whilst surveeir is not.

1970  
Lanier vassaus, mauveis requit  
(Lanier cee ait malveis requit)

Kjellman feels obliged to alter ait to dit and requist to requit. In a note to this line he mentions the difficulties of his predecessors and offers his explanation of requist as a form of
"requit (= recuit) 'rusé', 'pervers'". This is precisely the reading of R.

R's reading *dunjuns* fits with the idea of military conquest better than B's *mansiums*.

The syntax of R *Edmund par nun* is perfectly normal, that of B odd.

The verb *envaîr* 'to attack' is better here than the neutral *avoir*.

Kjellman sees that the *peres* of B is wrong and alters to *pers* 'peers' as in R.

The fact that *chalaniz* in B rhymes with *parz* indicates an error. The *canarz* of R is clearly the correct word (see Godefroy, i. 775).

Although Kjellman glosses *acés* as 'choc des flots, coup de mer', there is no support in Godefroy for such a nautical meaning. On the other hand, there is evidence for the linking of *acés* and *recés*, in the sense of 'waxing and waning', or 'rising and setting' of planets, with *acés* always meaning 'rising' and therefore not being suitable to be linked in opposition with *amuntes* which also contains the idea of 'rising'. To create the desired opposition, *recés* is needed, as in R.
Kjellman corrects to *D’ambedous*, on the lines of R.

2064  *E lur batailles conreerent*  
*(E lur batayles contreerent)*

Kjellman corrects to *conreerent*, on the lines of R.

2081  *Nen eurent guarison a dos*  
*(Ne aveient garisun ne ados)*

*De mort le poeple ke il unt enclos*  
*(Del morte le poeple qu’il unt enclos)*

Although Kjellman glosses *ados* as ‘protection, abri’, Godefroy does not list such a noun. The sense of R is that the people surrounded by Inguar had no escape from death to their rear, because his brother Ubbe was waiting for any who tried to flee towards the sea.

2106-9  *Jes4e la nuit atendu unt*  
*(Desque la nute attendu unt)*

*Quant il veient a la nuitant*  
*(E quant il veient a la nuitant)*

*Ke il vinrent le flot venant*  
*(Qu’il vinrent le flot muntant)*

*Mult tost se sunt desançré*  
*(Mult tost se sunt desançré)*

In both texts the general sense is that the Danes wait out at sea off Orford for night and the high tide before moving in to pillage. Kjellman alters *veient* in 2107 to *vient*, suspecting (probably rightly) the repetition of the verb ‘to see’ in consecutive lines. If we follow him in this and emend R likewise, it would read: ‘when it came to the turn of the tide, when they saw the water rising,…’. Both texts give good sense here, in fact.

2111  *En guise a larun cum gupilz*  
*(Tuit a larun cum gopilz)*

The expression used in R is a standard Old French formula.

2118-20  *Ynguar ly traitur*  
*(Yngar le treytour)*

*Ke en la tere est as Engleis*  
*(Ki en la tere de Estengleis)*

*Veau...*  
*(Vynt...)*

Whilst the reading of R is perfectly good, that of B needs to be altered to *la tere as Estengleis* or, perhaps, *la tere des E*. if it is to be satisfactory from the syntactical point of view.

2136  *Nuls ne se pout estortre vifs*  
*(Nul ne poet dels esturtre vifs)*

R uses the normal reflexive verb *s’estordre* ‘to escape’, but the *dels* of B causes Kjellman to read it as *d’els*, with the meaning ‘none of them’ (*Nul... d’els*), but then he is left with an unsatisfactory non-reflexive verb.

2137  *glaive*  
*(glayme)*
K corrects to glaive, as in R.

2151-2 Jofnes e vielz, petit e granz, Neis les enfanz alaitanz  (Jofnes e vielz, petit e granz, E les enfanz alaitanz)

The Neis of R is clearly better stylistically—‘ even nurslings ’.

2179-80 Ententioement l'enquereit  (Ententioement le quereit)
Car suent dire oy l'avezit . . .  Kar sovent dire oy aveit . . .

The context is that Inguar is asking a messenger about St. Edmund, so enquereit ‘ asked ’, attested in this sense from the earliest texts, is preferable to quereit ‘ sought ’.

2206-8 A grant espleit tenent lur oeie  (A grant espleit teint sa veie)
Tant k'a maismes venu sunt  Tanqu'il mesmes venu sunt
De la vile ou ert saint Edmund  A la vile ou ert seint Edmund

Apart from the change from a singular to a plural verb in the same sentence in B, the scribe has failed to recognize the expression a mesmes de ‘ right up to ’, correctly used in R.

2223 E si a mei ne veut obeir  (Si a mei ne se voulte obeir)

Kjellman corrects the reflexive verb in B to an intransitive one, as in R.

2227 Nen eiz ja nule pour  (Ne aez ja nul pour)

Apart from correcting the obvious gender error in B, Kjellman also alters Ne to N’en. The Nen of R, however, does not need to be read as N’en, but will stand perfectly well without alteration as the old weak form of the negative. Similarly in verses 2510 and 2808.

2237-8 Jeo irray a ly si enquerray  (Jeo irray a li, si l'enquerei)
K'il en voldra si l'vus dirray  Qu'il voldra, si vus dirrei)

The addition of en and the pronoun l’ in R improve the syntax.

2243 Ly messager tost vent avant  (Li messager est venu avant)

In order to restore the correct metre to this line, Kjellman has to replace messager by message in B; R needs no alteration.

2276-7 E si vus recreiez de rien  (E si vus vus retreiez de rien)
Vus perderez mult tost la vie  Vus perderez mult tost la vie)
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The sense of recraire/recroire is 'to fail, be beaten', the meaning here being that any failure will be punished by death. Retreire, 'to withdraw' makes less good sense.

2284 geinst (gemist)

Kjellman corrects to geinst, as in R.

2333 Es vus . . . (Ai vus . . .)

Kjellman punctuates Ai, vus, . . . treating Ai in his glossary as a form of the interjection Hai. The reading in R is the normal Old French for 'Behold!'.

2334 Ynguar ly encreme feluns (Yngar li engrés felun)

Kjellman corrects to Ingar, li fel engrés larun.

2336 Di mei tost le respuns al rei (Di mey tost les respons le rey)

R's singular respuns fits correctly with icesterpsuns in verses 2328 and 2329, whilst B changes gratuitously from singular to plural.

2364 E tres devant Ynguar . . . (E pardenant Yngar . . .)

Kjellman alters B to read par devant.

2380 Pur un petit ke mort ne fu (Pur poi que mort ne fu)

Kjellman corrects to Pur poi que li reis . . .

2381 E cil puis l'unt mené tut dreit (E dunc l'unt mené tut dreit)

Kjellman corrects to E dunkes . . .

2438-9 A ses comandemenz obeir (A ses comandemenz obeir
Ne a ses leis ne a ses comanz Ne obeir a ses comanz)

In both manuscripts verse 2438 is hypermetric, but R does not repeat obeir as does B.

2449-53 Sicum il pout mult reclama (Sicum il pout mult reclama
Jhesu Crist e sovent noma Jhesu Crist e sovent noma
Tant qu'avisanc ly seint martyr Tanques le seint martir
Pout de la langue mot furnir Pout de la langue mot furnir
Si fu ateint ke il ne pout plus Si fu ateint qu'il ne pout plus)

Realizing that verse 2451 is a short line in B, Kjellman changes seint to seintime, but R needs no emendation, both metre

11
and sense being perfectly correct. B has omitted *avisunc* 'hardly', that gives the correct sense: 'until the holy martyr could hardly utter a word'.

2479-80 *Sicum ly mutuns įe est esliz*  
*De trestut le fluc de berbiz*  
(Sicum li mutun qui est esliz  
De trestute la faude de berbiz)

The sheep is being chosen from the whole flock—fulc—not from the whole sheep-fold—faude.

2488-90 ... *De la pardurable lumere*  
*De la quele en ceste baillie*  
*Volt estre resanez ...*  
(De la pardurable lumere  
De la quele en cest bataile  
Volt estre resaziez ...)

The phrase *en ceste baillie* is an old Anglo-Norman expression for 'in this way' (see Godofroy, i. 557); *bataile* is out of place here. The eternal light is to heal the saint—resaner, not fill him—resazier.

2500 *Martyre, mort e passian*  
(Martir e morte e passian)

Kjellman emends to *Martire* 'martyrdom', the sense of R.

2518-20 *Sanz ses culpes e sa desire*  
*Mes k'il out sui la trace*  
*De Jhesu Crist ...*  
(Par lur mal nient par sa desert  
Qu'il out ensuwi la trace  
De Jhesu Crist ...)

In this account of the martyrdom of St. Edmund, R's version is more satisfactory than B's on several counts: firstly, *sanz ses culpes* concentrates the attention on St. Edmund and the parallel with Christ; secondly, R does not need to alter *desert* and *ensuwi* to *deserte* and *ensiwi*, as Kjellman feels obliged to do; thirdly, *Mes ke* 'except that' provides better sense than the simple *que*, presumably read as 'because'.

2520 ff. ... *Jhesu Crist ke par sa grace*  
*Suffri e mort e passiun*  
*Pur nus e nostre raançun,*  
*Ke pur nus vint en ceste vie*  
*Guarir de diable e de folie.*  
*A la columna u lié fu*  
*Pur sei r'ad pas sans espaundu*  
(... Jhesu Crist qui par sa grace  
Suffrit e morte e passiun  
Pur nus e nostre raanciun  
Cil dieus pur saner nus en ceste vie  
De pechien de mal de folie  
A la columna ou foi lié  
Ne pas pur sey son sans espaundie)

Aside from the spellings and forms of B in this passage, the sense is defective. Kjellman excises *Cil dieus* from verse 2523, but retains the reading of verse 2526, thereby being forced to take *espaundie* as pret. 3. Moreover, by his punctuation, he
indicates that he takes verses 2523-6 as one sentence and therefore as referring to St. Edmund. More appropriately, the sentence break could be put after folie in verse 2524, whereby the subject down to this point would be Christ, the reference to St. Edmund beginning A la columne . . . . The text of R is transparent throughout the passage.

2527 Mes pur nus i lessa enseines (Mes pur nus il leissa enseignes)  

The i of R refers to la columne of verse 2525 to which St. Edmund was tied, and so is more satisfactory than the simple personal pronoun subject il of B.

2536-7 Pur laver la grant felonie  
E le roil de nos pechez  
(Pur hoster de nus la felonie  
E le roil de nos pechiez)

The text of R needs no emendation and uses the Biblical image of the washing away of sin.

2555-6 Ke il out la teste colpé[e]  
E ben loin del buc desev(er)ée  
(Que il out la teste coupée  
E bien loinz del cors désévrée)

This is a case where R has an old word perhaps unknown to the scribe of B (cf. corsage verse 1922, canarz verse 2030, etc.); see also verse 2573.

2569 En la selve de Haylesdun  
(En le bois de Hailesdun)  
Kjellman corrects here and in verse 2666 to selve, as in R.

2595-6 Mes del chief puis ke il le colperent  
Ne sout cum loin il l'enporterent  
(Meis del chief puis qu'il le couperent  
Ne sout cum loinz le porterent)

In order to make verse 2596 metrically correct, Kjellman alters cum to cume, but the enporterent of R satisfies both metre and sense.

2599-600 E puis après quant pais venue  
Fu as Engleis e rendue  
(E puis après quant pais venue  
Fu as eglises e rendue)

The Engleis of R is preferable to the eglises of B, because the context has been dealing with the oppression of the English by the Danes.
Kjellman keeps frarins here, glossing it as ‘misérable, vil’, but the farin of R—‘wild beast’ ‘savage’—is much better from the point of view of sense.

2647-8 Par sa halte benignité  
    Lur ad lost les queors espiré  
    Kil...  

The syntax of R, Lur ad... les queors espiré..., is more usual than the construction used in B.

2666-7 Pur (l.Par) la selve se departiren  
    Od lur maidné, od lur efforz  

Whilst efforz is well attested in the sense of ‘troops’, forz does not have this meaning in Old French. Kjellman does not give forz in his glossary, or comment on it in his notes.

2673-5 Car il sucherent ben pur veir  
    Cil ke erent duit en saveir  
    Ke ly Sarazin suduant...  

Not accepting the rhyme veir:cerchir, Kjellman alters cerchir to the normal cercher, but is then left with the rhyme veir:cercher. The rhyme in R—veir:saveir—is perfectly normal and the phrase Cil ke erent duit en saveir makes better sense than B’s version in the context of understanding the motives of the pagans (Sarazin) who had hidden the saint’s head after cutting it off.

2692-3 Funt lur premer purposement  
    Ke el bois irrant demeintenant  

The syntax of R...purposement Ke... (‘proposal that’) is clearly preferable to the purposement Par of B, with its implicit break into two sentences.

2725-6 Tuit a ceste voiz trait se sunt  
    Envirun puis he oi l’unt  

Kjellman corrects as in R.

2730 E el palais  

Kjellman corrects to En le palais.

2763... entre ses jambes  

Kjellman corrects as in R.

R has runcerei ‘bramble thicket’, B runcei.
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Kjellman corrects to *entre ses chambes*.

2773  *Cil ke le virent esbai sunt*  (Cels qui virent esbai sunt)

The correctness of R is evident.

2774  *Lur cors, lur busins soné unt*  (Corres e busines coroné unt)

In a note to verse 2668 Kjellman writes: "il faut conclure que l'auteur s'est servi du mot monosyllabique sg. *corn*, pl. *cors*." In the present verse he alters accordingly to *Cors e...*, in line with the reading in R. The verb usually associated with *busine* in Old French is *soner*, as in R, not *corner*.

2804  *Dreit al bois ou il mist devant*  (Dreit al bois ou il fust devant)

*mist* = 'dwelt' < *manère* and makes better sense than the weak 'was'.

2816  *Del seint cors del tresseint seignur*  (Le seint cors del cher seignour)

Both *Del* and *Le* would stand here, but *tresseint* is clearly preferable to *cher* on the grounds of metre.

2819-21  *La seinte teste...*  (La seinte teste...)

*A sun seint cors ajusterent*  (Al seintim cors justerent)

Kjellman has to correct *seintim* to *seintime* and *justerent* to *ajusterent*.

2819  *al mielz*  (*a mielz*)

Kjellman corrects to R's reading.

2823-4  *E la char...*  (E la char...)

*Del col se joinst si ferm al cors*  *Del col si uinst si ferme al cors*

Kjellman corrects the obvious error *ferme* to *ferm*, but continues to read his other correction *uinst* to *juinst* as an intransitive, not a reflexive, verb. His glossary confirms this, but the reflexive of R is the normal form in this sense.

2843  *Revindrent as possessiuns*  (Revindrent a possessiuns)

Kjellman alters B to read as R.

2853-4  *Errer en volent pur saver*  (Errer en volent par saveir)

*Quel conseil de cee poent aver*  *E tut autre conseil avezir*

Kjellman corrects the spelling *Errer* to *Errer*, but makes no other change, glossing *errer* in this line as 'aller, voyager' and
par saveir as ‘sagement’. A more satisfactory reading of B would be to interpret errer as ‘to act, behave’ (see Godefroy, iii. 331e) and so to understand “they wish to act wisely”. Verse 2854 would then mean: “and arrive at a completely different decision” (sc. with regard to the disposition of St. Edmund’s remains). The sense of R is different: “they wish to travel in order to learn what advice they might be given on this matter.” This would fit with verse 2895 Tant unt cerchié par le pais . . .

2873-4 La rachail e la poure gent
N’i vindrent mye sulement,
Mes les plus riches del pais

“(La rascaile e la poure gent
N’i vindrent mye souvenere ment, 
Meis les plus riches del pais)

“Not only the base and the poor, but also the richest . . .” makes better sense than “the base and the poor did not come often, but the richest . . .”.

2882-4 Riches, povres, petiz e granz
I (sc. at saint’s tomb) soleient
mult repeirer
E od lumere e od veiller . . .

(Riches, povers, petiz e granz
I soleient mult repairer
E od lurner e od veiller . . .

Kjellman keeps the form esveiler in his edition, but glosses it by ‘veiller’, although the dictionaries of Old French give no support to this. The sense of R is clear and normal.

2929 Mult valut (sc. new church) (Mult valt mielz que feire muster . . .)
mez ke nul muster . . .

The sense of R is clearly more in line with the subject-matter than is B.

2975 En la cite’ entre’ se sunt (En la cite’ entré en sunt)

The use of entrer as a reflexive verb is common in Old French; on the other hand, it is difficult to account for the sense of en with entrer in B.

2987 Quant la veuz chasse est desfermee (Kant la vielz case unt descloee)

Although Kjellman lists viez in his glossary both for this line and for verse 3011, in both cases B has vielz. The veuz of R comes from vetus, is normally indeclinable in Old French, is not uncommon in Anglo-Norman and so needs no emendation.
Leaving aside the need to emend the des of verse 3017 in R to de and to excise the L' of verse 3019 in both manuscripts, R seems preferable in stating that the keys were handed over to holy people.

The reading of R not only satisfies the metre, it also gives more positive sense.

The repetition of d'or in B would entail the running together of e anelez if the metre is to be preserved.

The offerings (aport) would be brought from all points of the compass not to the people who visited the shrine (the sense of lur in B), but rather to the place of pilgrimage (the i of R). De suth should, of course, be Del suth, as Kjellman prints.

Kjellman corrects to oit, as in R.

In order to make up the missing syllable in verse 3112, Kjellman prints icles instead of cels: the oit of R is preferable to either, because it picks up the oit of verse 3107.

Apart from the spelling of purpallé in verse 3114, the use of the old compasser in R as against the more modern machiner in B shows that R is nearer to the original.
The sense of R is preferable here—"everything within the cemetery precincts".

Kjellman alters the second of these lines to read bald e seur, as in R, but keeps the verb fu of the first line, correcting nute to nut and oscure to oscur. In effect, this means that he is now reading fu not as a personal, but as an impersonal verb (estre oscur, 'to be dark'). The usual impersonal construction expressing this meaning in Old French, as in modern French, uses faire—as in R—not estre.

The reference here is to the various tools to be used by the thieves to accomplish their ends. The reading of R is perfectly clear, but B needs to be emended for metre and sense, Kjellman reading oés for oels and larcin for larin. Even so, according to the evidence available in Godefroy, the construction now made by Kjellman—aveir oés a+infinitive—would appear to be attested only towards the end of the medieval period. R needs no emendation either for sense or for metre.

Kjellman emends to serreière as in R. Both purfendre and limer would stand here.

R's reading is correct, as regards both sense and metre, pelle being the 'door-bolt' (Latin: pessulus). In order to make up the defective line in B, Kjellman adds fraindre e after volt.

The context here needs the reflexive se drescier 'to straighten up', as in R, not the intransitive drescier given in B.
Kjellman alters B to read Des as in R.

3175 ff.  

\begin{align*}
D'\text{i} & \text{l} \text{okes} \text{ le} \text{s (sc. the thieves)} & (\text{De} \text{l} \text{o} \text{q} \text{ues le} \text{st} \text{ostez e pris} \\
E & \text{fi} \text{rgiez e en pris} \text{un mis} & \text{En f} \text{i} \text{rges e en pris} \text{un mis} \\
\text{Puis} & \text{ furent par le jugement} & \text{Puis} \text{ furent par le venge} \text{ment} \\
\text{Del} & \text{se} \text{int evesque veirement} & \text{Del} \text{ se} \text{int evesque ve} \text{ryment} \\
& \text{Theodred ke le} \text{s mist tuiz a la hart} & \text{Theodred mis tuiz a la hart}
\end{align*}

The syntax in the two manuscripts is different. In R, the sense runs thus: ‘... they were then truly put in irons and cast into prison by the judgement of the holy bishop T. who had them all hanged’. B’s version is as follows: ‘... they were put in irons and cast into prison. Then they were all hanged by the vengeance of...’. Whilst both are acceptable, R’s use of \textit{jugement} fits better than the \textit{vengement} of B.

3192-4

\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{Heliseu Ke guari e re} \text{inst a} & (\text{Eliseu Ki garist e re} \text{mist a la vie} \\
& \text{la vie} & \text{la vie} \\
\text{Les laruncels de Samarie} & \text{les laruncels de Samarie}
\end{align*}

Whilst \textit{remettre a la vie} appears to be unattested elsewhere, the \textit{reinst} of R (from \textit{raembre} ‘ to redeem’) is well attested.

3207  

\begin{align*}
& \text{E pur ceo mist en grant dolurs} & (\text{E pur ceo se mist en granz dolours})
\end{align*}

Whilst B has the correct form of the adjective here, the correct verb is not \textit{se mist}, as in B, but \textit{mist} from the Latin \textit{manère}, ‘ to remain’, as is proved by the rest of the sentence which runs \textit{Lung tens en oreisuns e plurs}.

3230-1

\begin{align*}
& \text{A la chasse s’est aprociez;} & (\text{A la chase se est aprochie.} \\
& \text{La chasse ad pris a ouerir} & \text{La chase prist tost a uuerir}
\end{align*}

R runs the same tense naturally from one line to the next, avoiding an unnecessary change.

3236  

\begin{align*}
& \text{Frunt e vis, nes e mentun} & (\text{Frunt e vis e neis e mentun})
\end{align*}

Kjellman corrects to \textit{Frunt}, as in R.

3270  

\begin{align*}
& \text{Ly grant, ly maien e ly mendre} & (\text{E li grant e li mendre})
\end{align*}

Kjellman adds \textit{li maien} to fill out the line in B.

3274  

\begin{align*}
& \text{Pur s’amur demustra e fist} & (\text{Pur s’amur mustra e fist})
\end{align*}

The \textit{demustra} in R fits perfectly and is better than Kjellman’s correction \textit{Pur sue amur} ...
Kjellman emends *ad translâté* to *translate*, but leaves the incorrect *faïs*.

```
La clarté n'ert pas de main ouère
De engin de hume ne aurnee
```

"The brightness was not the work of human hands, nor fashioned by human skill." The verb *mainourer* in B is glossed as "*opCrer*", giving less good sense than R.

```
Ke Jhesu...
L'out donc en sun regne alué
```

The sense and syntax of R are clear: "That Jesus had placed him in his kingdom." The sense of B is clear enough—"... had elevated him...", but the *li* ought to be *le* and the usual preposition with *alever* is *a*, not *en*.

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Nuls nel osa prendre sur sei
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The meaning here is: "No-one was bold enough to take it on", but, the object pronoun being missing from B, Kjellman reads the weak negative *nen* as *n'en*, which is unsatisfactory from the point of view of syntax.

```
Cum il ainz porent se armerent
E par mi la tere passerent
De Normandie...
```

Whilst the marauding Danes might logically be said to arm themselves as quickly as possible (R) or to land as quickly as possible (B), there is no doubt that the reading of R in verse 3392—*passerent*—is preferable to B’s *enpasserent*, which Kjellman separates into *en passerent*. *Enpasser* seems not to be attested, but Kjellman does not explain the syntax of his emendation.

```
Sis en fist fuir e turner
A cue levee tuiz vers la mer
```

The justification for *a cue levee*—correct both as regards metre and sense—will be found in T-L, ii. 518.

```
Les colps des Franceis tant
doterent
```

"Les cols de France tant doterent"
Kjellman alters B to read des Franceis as in R.

3439-40 Car il voleient Engletere
   Enfin assailir e conquere
   (Kar il voleient Engletere
   E assaylir e conquere)

The Enfin of R is more positive than the weak E of B.

3441 Dunt rei Aluré avezit nun
   (De un rei Aluré avezit noun)

The meaning in R is: “whose king was called Aluré” ; in B the syntax is hardly satisfactory to produce this, the only suitable reading.

3453-4 Pestilences fortes e feres
   E cruelles de plusieurs maneres
   (Pestilences fortes e fieres
   D’enfermetez de plusieurs maneres)

In order to obtain metrical correctness, Kjellman emends B to read D’enfermetez plusieurs maneres, thereby altering the syntax and meaning. The text of R is preferable.

3473 Ne nuls guarde nen perneit
   (Ne nule ne sen perneit)

The meaning in R is: ”And no-one took any notice”; B has inadvertently omitted guarde (which Kjellman restores as garde).

3555 Pensant e enginiant coment
   (Pensant e ginnant coment)

Kjellman corrects to enginnant, in line with R.

3557 E cum il les poust mettre en perte
   (E coment il les mette apert)

Kjellman corrects to a perte, making the sense as in R.

3558 E enforser sanz lur deserte
   (E en forze sanz lur desert)

The verb enforser in the sense of ‘ to oppress ’ is well attested and fits the context perfectly; B’s en forze, governed by mettre in the previous line is less natural, the locution mettre en forfez not apparently being found elsewhere.

3567-70 Car mult duta la vie a perde
   Ne saveit aillurs ou aerdre
   Fors a Deu e al cors martrir
   (Mult par data la vie perdre
   Ne saveit alure ou aerdre
   Meis tries un tries altre s’en vait)

Apart from using the more frequent duter a+inf. as against B’s duter+inf., R’s reading aillurs and the subsequent line make better sense than B’s alure, read by Kjellman as a l’ure, given the
context of the poor oppressed woman whose only hope is in God and St. Edmund.

3617-18  ... la povre femme ...  (... la povre femme ...)
          Ke mult sovent merci criet        Ke mult sovent 'Marie' criet)

The poor woman had placed her trust in St. Edmund. The invocation of the Virgin in B clearly stems from the later period of the copyist.

3622-3  Quant li cler e cil ky esteyent  (Quant les cler e cels qui esteient
          Entur le martyr ...  Qu'en entur le martir ...)

Kjellman corrects B to read Entur le martyr, as in R.

3635  Ke il demustre sa poisance  (Qu'il mustre sa pussance)

The reading of R satisfies metre and sense.

3644  Vis ly ert ke trop demureit  (Avis li fut que trop damorerent)

Apart from the emendation of Avis to Vis for the sake of the metre, Kjellman keeps B's reading, although the singular demureit of R fits in with similar singulars from verse 3638 onwards describing the actions of the wicked sheriff as he rushes to the cemetery. The plural form demorerent in B must refer to the minions of the sheriff holding captive the woman, but there is really no question of their being tardy; it is the sheriff himself who cannot wait to get hold of the woman.

3645-6  E came el cimiterie entra  (Cum il en cimiter entra
           Od sa gent come il meuz erra  E sicum il mielz erra)

The reading of R satisfies both metre and sense better than that of B.

3653-4  Deus l'enjeta de ceste veue  (Dieu le engetta de sa vie
            E ly diable l'unt receue  E li diable resceiue le malbaillie)

Kjellman emends vie to baillie and resceiue le malbaillie to resceit sa vie, admitting in a note that the scribe of B has gone badly astray. The sense of R is that, once the sheriff has stopped short at the sight of the tomb of the priest, God snatched him away from the sight and he was taken in charge by the devils. The form receue referring to a masculine person is difficult, but, since Anglo-Norman has, on occasion, veue for the francien veue,
the original rhyme might well be *veu receu*. In any case, the reading of *R* does not cause the problems inseparable from *B* in this passage.

3663  *E puis tantost cum il i vindrent*  (. . . *cum il vindrent*)

The *i* in *R* improves the syntax. This is found again in verse 3667.

3696-7  *Une [piere] a san col pendu*  (*Une pire a son col penda*  
*Ke as funz l'ad ben retenu*  (*Ke afunz l'ad bien tenu*)

Kjellman separates *afunz* into *a funz*, but this form without article is not attested elsewhere.

3715  *Suaveis*  (*Suaneis*)

Kjellman keeps *B*’s form, but puts “Suaveis?” in his glossary.

3730  *Tant k’il vit ke ben pout estre*  (*Tant cam il vesqui si pout bien estre*)

Swein is gathering his people and ordering his affairs: “until he saw that all was in order”. Then he had his fleet made ready. For *pout estre* see *T-L*, vii. 1421.50.

3772  *N’i ad oes lanier . . .*  (*N’i ad ose lanier . . *)

Kjellman corrects to *oés*, as in *R*.

3776  *Nuls aprés sun colp ne se vante*  (*Nul aprés son colpe ne se avante*  
*Ke il ne poise s’il le veut dire*  (*K’il ne puisse s’il volt bien dire*  
*Ke ja mester n’i ly avera mire*  (*Ke ja mester n’i avera de mire*)

Kjellman corrects the obvious error of *colpe* to *colp*, but has difficulty in explaining the syntax of this passage in *B*’s version. The significant differences in *R* are twofold: firstly, instead of saying that the person struck will have no need of a doctor, *R* says—far more cogently—that a doctor will be of no use to him; secondly, *poise* in *R* comes from *peser* and is used impersonally, as against the personal *puisse* from *pooir* used in *B*. The result is that the text of *R* could be translated literally as follows: “After his blow no-one boasts for whom it is not difficult to say it, since no doctor will be of any use to him”; in other words: “After being dealt a blow by him no-one is in a position to boast, since he cannot speak and is beyond a doctor’s help.”

3780  *Se conteneit cum vifs lepart*  (*Se conteint cum urs e leopart*)
Apart from the different tense used, the comparison in R of the warrior king with the dash of the leopard is better than B's juxtaposition of bear and leopard.

Apart from altering vencue and veue to vencu and veu, the text of R needs no emendation. Kjellman, however, having no direct object for B's verb ad recelee, provides the object pronoun l', which he takes as feminine, referring to companye. This brings the emendation of vezié to veziée, and of enveié to enveiée, again referring to companye. R's version is simpler and better: a recelees 'in secret' is well-attested and veziiez refers to Ulfketel 'wily in warfare'.

Kjellman corrects to aprés, as in R.

Kjellman emends as in R.

Kjellman corrects a soens to as soens, as in R.

Kjellman corrects erité to cité, as in R.

Kjellman corrects de to des, as in R.
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Since messengers (plural) are meant, Kjellman alters to les, as in R.

3940  
_Pur quey il erent la tramis_ (Pur quei il erent tramis)

Kjellman adds _i_ to _B_ to fill out the line, where _R_ has _la_.

3952  
_E ces paroles lur charcha_ (E ces paroles les liuera)

Kjellman corrects to _livra_ for the purposes of metre, but _charcha_ fits the context better here, since King Swein is instructing English messengers to report back to their lords his resolve to invade England in the coming year.

3962  
_E ces paroles lur charcha_ (E ces paroles les liuera)

Kjellman corrects to _livra_ for the purposes of metre, but _charcha_ fits the context better here, since King Swein is instructing English messengers to report back to their lords his resolve to invade England in the coming year.

3980  
_Car n'i uoleit plus demorer_ (Ne les uoleit plus dernorer)

Whilst it is possible to justify _B_’s use of _demorer_ as a transitive verb with the meaning ‘to delay, hold back’, the contextual situation is more favourable to the normal intransitive use as found in _R_. King Swein has assembled a very large invasion force, and has paid them before setting sail for England, because he did not wish to tarry any longer. The keenness to be off stems from the king, rather than from the army.

4000  
_La voldrum a noit osteler_ (La voldrum a nute hosteler)

Kjellman corrects a _nute_ to a _nut_, glossing _hosteler a nut_ as ‘ _loger pendant la nuit_ ’. The correct sense is as found in _R_, _anoit_ = ‘ _tonight_ ’.

4009-10  
_Ulfketel esteit a icel tens_ (Ulfketsel esteit a cel tens)

Whilst both metre and sense of _R_ are perfectly satisfactory, Kjellman has to emend _B_ to read _Ulfketel_ and then _li lur vesquens_, changes which restore the correct metre but remain less good from the point of view of meaning than the _R_ version.

4014-17  
_Car ne se purrunt pas defendre_ (Kar ne se purrunt pas defendre)

Whilst both metre and sense of _R_ are perfectly satisfactory, Kjellman has to emend _B_ to read _Ulfketel_ and then _li lur vesquens_, changes which restore the correct metre but remain less good from the point of view of meaning than the _R_ version.
Whilst the locution used in R—*a mort traire*—is well attested, B’s use of *retraire* instead of *traire* does not appear to be found elsewhere. Kjellman, oddly enough, restores his metre here by cutting out *les* rather than by reducing *retraire* to the normal *traire*.

### 6. Cases where Kjellman Corrects Wrongly the Text of B

942  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Si l'em l'esguarde en lealté</th>
<th>(Si homme lagarde en lealté)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bien i deit venir, sire rei</td>
<td>Bien il deit venir sir rey)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kjellman reads *la garde*, although he does not list this instance under *garder* in his glossary. *Esguarder* and *agarder* are synonymous in Anglo-Norman. The meaning is as follows: "If you look at the question fairly, he must come with us". The king is reluctant to let his son be taken away out of the country, and the seneschal is trying to persuade him that his refusal would be morally unjustifiable.

989-90  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uncore i ad es covenances</th>
<th>(Uncore i ad es covenances)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El serement e es fiancés...</td>
<td>E serement e en fiancés)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kjellman emends to: *Uncore i ad escovenances, En serement...*, glossing *escooenance* as ‘convention, accord’. The parallelism of the three-fold repetition of *en* + definitive article is thus unnecessarily broken and the syntactical pattern upset.

1173  

... *ly rais s'estendi*  

(le reis se tendi)

Kjellman emends to *le reis tendi*, glossing *tendre* as ‘s'étendre, se diriger’. In the context of a ray of light stretching up to heaven the verb required is *s'étendre*.

1243-5  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quant aler vus en deviez</th>
<th>(Kant aler vus endeverez)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ainoeis ke unkes en alisez</td>
<td>Enceis que vus en alisez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I vinch jeo, rei, a vostre aler</td>
<td>I vinch, jeo, reys, a vostre aler)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kjellman corrects *endeveorz* to *en devriez*, thus introducing an unsuitable tense into the sentence. The sense is clearly: "When you were about to depart...", as in R.

1387-8  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Un riche lit de noble atur</th>
<th>(Un riche lit de noble atour)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ou il aluent lur seignur</td>
<td>Ou il alient lur segnour)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kjellman emends *alient* to *alitent*. R has the correct verb *aloer/al(o)uer* < *allocate* 'to place'; *aliter* seems to be attested only from the thirteenth century on and means 'to oblige (someone) to go to bed'.

1491

Les niefs ... arrivees  
Sunt ...  
Ames [me] d'un petit terel

(Kjellman emends *terel* to *tertrel*, 'promontory', justifying this in a note by claiming that *terel* 'constitue une mauvaise rime et satisfait mal au sens'. The rhyme with *bel* would seem to be acceptable, since it occurs in both B and R, whilst the sense of *terel*—Kjellman glosses it correctly as 'territoire, terrain'—fits perfectly with the next two lines, which describe it as being elevated (*haut*) and fair (*bel*) and name it as Maidenesburc.)

2203-4

Ynguar ...  
Ke unkes ure ne fit bien

(Kjellman reads *oure* as *ouvre* 'work, deed', when the correct locution is *unkes ure* 'never', 'at no time'.)

2215

E si me dune tuit sun tresor

(Kjellman emends *doune* to *dount*. This line forms part of a string of commands, indicated by a succession of present subjunctive forms, so that Kjellman is altering what he sees as a present indicative into a subjunctive. This alteration is necessary, however, only if it can be proved that *d(o)une* could not be used as a subjunctive form when the Life was copied.)

2243

Ly messager tost vent avant  
(Li messager est venu avant)

(Kjellman corrects *messager* to *message*, but the agreement of R with B would point to the former being correct.)

2421-4

E tant espes i vant ly dart ...  
Ke l'une eschoche l'autre en cors

(Kjellman not only corrects the wrong genders here, but also alters the *escoche* of B into *estoche*. Both B and R, however, agree on *escoche/eschoche*. Kjellman's form would come from *estochier*, which he glosses as 'frapper de la pointe, enfoncer',
but the forms found in R and B would come from escosser ‘to shake’. In view of the concordance of the two manuscripts here and the acceptable sense they give, it is perhaps unwise to alter, even if to a very plausible form.

2462-6  E les granz playes i remistrent  (E les fieres plaies remistrent
Tant espessemont el cors
Ke point d’enter ne pert dehors
Ou le point tuchast de un pointel
Ke blesmé ne just la pel)

In verse 2465 Kjellman emends tuchast to tucha, but both manuscripts are correct here. The meaning is that the saint’s body was so completely covered with wounds that not a single patch of undamaged skin was visible where the point of a sword might touch it. The subjunctive tuchast is essential, as indicating a hypothetical action.

2497-8  Issi otrea a sufrir  (Issi otrea a sufrir
Deus Eadmund sun trecher martyr  Dieus Edmund son cher marty)

Kjellman corrects to a Edmund, in order to restore the metre, but in so doing alters the syntax, against both R and B.

2545-50  ... Ke tuit sis cors de tutes parz  (... Ke tut son cors de tutes parz
De pilez, gavelos e darz  De pilez, gavelos e darz
Ert si covert ke rien ne pert  Ert si covert que rien ne piert
Del cors ke dedenz enclos ert  Del cors qui dedenz enclos ert
Ke tuit decire veirement Fu ...  Ke tut decire vereyment Fut ...)

Kjellman reads deciré in B as de cire without apparently noticing anything odd.

2654-5  E il lur dit sun avis  (E il les dist tut son avis
De mot en mot trestuit lur dit  De mot en mot trestut les dist)

Kjellman leaves dist in verse 2654, but alters it to dit in verse 2655, although its syntactical role is the same, presumably to make it rhyme with vit in the next line.

2815  Cel tresor, icel grant honour  (Cel tresor, cel grant honour)

Kjellman emends to cele grant honour, although he admits in his Introduction (p. xc) that the author treated honour as either masculine or feminine.

2842  E partuit esparplié fu  (E par tut esparplié fu)
Kjellman corrects to esparpilié, although the concordance of both manuscripts would point to the pronunciation esparplié (4 syllables).

2849-50  Trop longement l’unt laissé  
Gesir desuz si pouvre fié

Kjellman restores the correct metre in verse 2850 by replacing suz by desur. Since, however, the reference is to the buried body of St. Edmund, ‘underneath’ would seem more appropriate than ‘above’.

3216  E Nostre Seignur depreassent  
(E nostre seignur priaisent)

Kjellman emends to E Deu, nostre seignur, priaisent.

3447-50  Si enveia la Deu poissance  
Sur els tel ire e tel pesance  
A seint Edmund le bon martyr  
Ke de rien n’ama lur venir  
Car il les mist tuiz a la mort

Kjellman inserts between pesance and E seint . . . two lines which in both R and B appear as verses 3453-4, claiming in a note that verses 3449-50 have been interverted in the manuscript. The real stumbling-block, however, is the E at the beginning of verse 3449 in B, which confused Kjellman. Reading A instead of E here, R gives good sense, God sending his anger to St. Edmund to be passed on to the wicked.

3551-2  Loin (l. L’om) i sout les batailles  
Meint home i ad eu contraire

Kjellman corrects batailes to tailes, which he glosses as ‘impôts’, presumably in order to restore the metre, but R’s version with batailles needs no restoration.

3605-6  E respundirent erraument  
Ke il nen osereint nient

Kjellman alters to n’osereient, without any clear overriding reason.

3795  Si as chevalers surde destresce  
(Si as chivalers surde destresce)

Kjellman changes the Anglo-Norman subjunctive surde to
the *francien* indicative *surt*, apparently to avoid the elision in *Si as*.

Although not every difference between R and B has been dealt with, the foregoing catalogue of a large number of significant improvements to be found in R gives more than adequate support to the claim that the discovery of this new manuscript renders all previous editions of the *Life of St. Edmund* obsolete and makes necessary a completely new edition.