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Affective piety and the practice of penance in late eleventh-century Worcester:
the address to the penitent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121

HELEN FOXHALL FORBES

ABSTRACT

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, a manuscript written in Worcester in the early years of the episcopate of St Wulfstan (1062-1095), contains a unique, untitled, anonymous text which has previously been interpreted as a Lenten homily. This essay argues that this text is not a homily, but must be understood in the context of the penitential material surrounding it in Junius 121, for which it was probably specifically composed. The text has not attracted much attention, but it is an important early and vernacular witness to the developing tradition of affective writing which became prominent during the latter part of the eleventh century. In addition, the text itself and its placing in its manuscript context reveal the careful, deliberate decisions which Junius 121's compiler made about his material: by reusing earlier texts alongside newly composed English material, he provided practical pastoral and penitential materials for use in late eleventh-century Worcester.

Leofa man, ðe is mycel þearf þæt ðu þas drihtenlice tide georne geþence ...
(‘Dear man, there is a great need for you that you think eagerly about this time of the Lord ...’)

This homiletic address to an individual ‘leofa man’ opens a unique, untitled and anonymous text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, a manuscript written in Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, during the bishopric of St Wulfstan (1062-1095).¹ The text is quite short, occupying only two and a half pages in the manuscript, and is presented as the second part of a longer item, numbered XXVII by the main scribe. Unlike many of the texts in Junius 121, it has not been much studied, and it has been printed only once, by A. M. L. Fadda, who identified it as a Lenten homily.² A considerable number of the texts in Junius 121 and in the companion homiliary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113+114, were composed by Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d.1023) or were collected by him, but this text does not seem to have been written by him, nor by Ælfric of Eynsham (d.1009/1010), many of whose homilies are contained in Hatton 113+114.³ At first sight, the text’s content – which seems to present relatively uncomplicated theological ideas – suggests that it is simply one of the many vernacular homilies from later Anglo-Saxon England, but this impression is misleading. A closer examination reveals that this text raises a number of important questions about the production and use of both manuscripts and Old English texts in the latter part of the eleventh century, and provides an insight into contemporary penitential practice and affective piety. This essay explores the place and purpose of this text in its manuscript context before examining the text’s literary and theological content,

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¹ For St Wulfstan, see the essays in *St. Wulfstan and His World*, ed. J. Barrow and N. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005); for Junius 121, see H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 644.

² *Homily II*, ed. and tr. (into Italian) A. M. L. Fadda, *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina* (Florence, 1977), 33-9.

³ D. G. Scragg, ‘The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies & Prose Saints’ Lives before Ælfric’, *ASE* 8 (1979), 223-77, at 253; for Hatton 113+114 see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 637-638.

and turns finally to consider how the text might have been used in late Anglo-Saxon Worcester. This analysis demonstrates that the text must be understood in the context of the penitential material which surrounds it in the manuscript, and that the text shows signs of the theological developments of the latter part of the eleventh century.

An edition and translation of the text is printed as an appendix, but a summary is provided here. The text opens by encouraging the hearer to reflect on his sins, both those which he remembers and those which he does not, to ask for God's forgiveness and to love Him and to do what is right at this holy time (i.e. Lent). The text then invites the hearer to consider the temptation of Christ and his Passion by giving an outline of the events before the Crucifixion, focusing on Christ's condemnation and suffering. The hearer is reminded that He was fastened to the cross, that blood ran from His hands and He was robed in purple and crowned with thorns, that He was struck in the face and called the King of the Jews: 'they spoke the truth', the hearer is told, 'although they did not believe it'. Then comes an explanation that Christ, who is and always was and always will be King of Kings, could have released himself from death if He had wanted to, but He wanted instead for humankind to become clean through Him and to be released from the devil's captivity. Finally, the hearer is encouraged to guard himself against the devil and to think carefully about Lent, with church-going, fasting, almsgiving and praying, especially the Lord's Prayer.

The text is peculiar in seeming to take the form of a homily but addressing itself to an individual 'leofa man' rather than to a congregation, the 'leofan men' more usually found in Anglo-Saxon homilies. It is interesting too that while the main scribe of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 chose to copy most homilies together into the homiliary (Hatton 113+114), Junius 121 primarily contains regulatory material and texts for use in contexts associated with episcopal responsibilities such as the training of priests.⁴ This raises questions about what this text was for, where it came from, and why Junius 121 – rather than Hatton 113+114 – was considered the appropriate volume in which to copy it. Many of the texts in these volumes were copied from an earlier collection of material gathered by Archbishop Wulfstan, and similar texts can be found in a number of other manuscripts associated with him, often referred to as the manuscripts of his 'commonplace book' (though the usefulness of this term has been questioned).⁵ Since the text addressing 'leofa man' is unique, it is important to investigate whether it became available to the scribe as part of Archbishop Wulfstan's collection and, if not, where it came from and when it was composed.

MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT

⁴ H. Foxhall Forbes, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care in Late Eleventh-Century Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114', in *Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. D. Clarke and S. James (Farnham, forthcoming).

⁵ See M. Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections, Made c. 1000 AD', *EHR* 10 (1895), 712-3; D. Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *PMLA* 57 (1942), 916-29; J. E. Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1382 (U.109), Fols 173r-198v', *Jnl of Med. Latin* 2 (1992), 63-83; P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, I: Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 214-15; H. Sauer, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), pp. 339-93; M. Elliot, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of "Block 7," on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility', *Jnl of Med. Latin* 22 (2012), 1-48.

Although Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 together contain much material from the early eleventh century and before, much of which is linked to Archbishop Wulfstan, the books themselves can be quite closely connected with the activities of St Wulfstan in the second half of the eleventh century. A considerable amount is known about St Wulfstan, both from the large quantity of written material surviving from his episcopate, and from a Latin *Life* written by William of Malmesbury (d.c.1143) which was based (apparently, reasonably closely) on an Old English *Life* composed by Coleman (d.1113), a Worcester monk who knew St Wulfstan personally and worked with him and for him.⁶ The bulk of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 were copied by a single scribe, whose hand appears also in other Worcester books.⁷ As already noted, Junius 121 contains a collection of regulatory, penitential, instructional and homiletic texts,⁸ while Hatton 113+114 is a homiliary ordered according to the liturgical year. The homiliary was once one volume but seems to have been divided at an early stage, possibly as early as the thirteenth century.⁹ The opening quires of Junius 121 and of Hatton 113 contain signatures which run in sequence from one to the other: Quires 2-14 of Junius 121 are lettered from ‘a’ through to ‘n’, while Quires 3-16 of Hatton 113 are lettered from p to z and then &, ȝ, þ, ð. In both manuscripts, the quires following the two halves of this sequence are unlettered. It is also noteworthy that in Junius 121, only the material in the lettered quires was given item numbers by the main scribe and included in his (contemporary) table of contents (see Tables 1 and 2 below for the quiring of Junius 121 and Hatton 113).¹⁰ The implication of this is that the original plan for the compilation was reconceptualised at an early stage of production and that this new plan resulted in one volume containing primarily regulatory material (Junius 121) and one containing homilies (Hatton 113+114).

The close links between Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 and the fact that they were evidently part of the same scribal project are important for a number of reasons, not least because computistical material and early additions in the two manuscripts, if taken together, allow them both to be dated reasonably closely. Hatton 113 contains computistical tables which begin at the year 1064, and the scribe who copied these added the years 1062 and 1063 immediately beforehand.¹¹ This may have been to incorporate the commemoration of the ordination of St Wulfstan: ‘ORWE’, probably signifying ‘Ordinatio Wulfstani Episcopi’ is marked alongside the

⁶ William of Malmesbury’s *Vita S. Wulfstani* [hereafter *VSW*] was written somewhere between 1124 and 1142, and is ed. and trans. in *William of Malmesbury: Saints’ Lives. Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 7-155; and see pp. xiii-xxv for information about dates and sources. For information about Coleman’s scribal activities and the composition of the *Life* see N. R. Ker, ‘Old English Notes Signed “Coleman”’, *MÆ* 18 (1949), 29-31; W. P. Stoneman, ‘Another Old English Note Signed “Coleman”’, *MÆ* 56 (1987), 78-82; A. Orchard, ‘Parallel Lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ’, in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. J. Barrow and N. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 39-57; D. F. Johnson and W. Rudolf, ‘More Notes by Coleman’, *MÆ* 79 (2010), 1-13.

⁷ See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), nos. 331, 338; D. G. Scragg, *A Conspectus of Scribal Hands Writing English, 960-1100* (Cambridge, 2012), no. 898; see also R. Gameson, ‘St Wulfstan, the Library of Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book’, in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. J. Barrow and N. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 59-104.

⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338; E. M. Treharne, ‘Bishops and Their Texts in the Later Eleventh Century: Worcester and Exeter’, in *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, ed. W. Scase (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 13-28, at 20. The scribe is identified as ‘Hand 1’ by Ker, and as no. 898 by Scragg, *Conspectus*.

⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 331, and see especially p. 391.

¹⁰ See further Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 398-9, 417; Scragg, *Conspectus*, no. 898.

¹¹ F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham, 2010), p. 51 and n. 168.

year 1063.¹² An early addition to Hatton 113, placed before the calendar (on fol. i recto), is a copy of a letter to St Wulfstan which summoned him to the council of Winchester in 1070.¹³ The canons of this council, as well as those of the Council of Winchester in 1076, are among the early additions to Junius 121 (fols. 2v-3).¹⁴ Taken together, this evidence suggests that the main part of Junius 121 was probably written in the early part of St Wulfstan's episcopate, perhaps in the 1060s.

The immediate manuscript context of the address is essential to understanding the purpose of the text, and especially the specific sequence of texts into which this address was incorporated (the contents are tabulated below: see Table 3). The usual identification of this text as a homily is at least partly because of the use of homiletic phrases at the beginning ('Leofa man') and end ('on ealra worulda woruld a butan ende amen').¹⁵ However, it is copied not as part of a collection of homilies, but instead as part of a carefully ordered penitential sequence. It occurs on fols. 63r-64r, following the first book of the *Old English Introduction* (fols. 61v-62v), a penitential text probably dating from the second half of the tenth century (and perhaps composed in Worcester), which explains what should happen in the process of confession.¹⁶ Five different manuscripts contain versions of the *Introduction*, but each manuscript preserves a different selection and arrangement of material.¹⁷ In Junius 121 alone, the rubric which heads the *Introduction* is 'her is scrift & andetnes ægðer ge gehadodra ge læwedra þæra þe þæs andgites habbað & ðæs ledenes deopnesse ne cunnon' ('here is penance and confession both for ordained and lay, for those who have understanding and for those who do not know the profundity of Latin'); and it is numbered XXVII next to the rubric and in the contemporary table of contents, where it is given the heading 'Be scrifte and andetnesse' ('about penance and confession').

Given the careful numbering of the items in the first quires of Junius 121 and in the associated table of contents, it is significant that the address to 'Leofa man' is neither rubricated nor numbered separately from the first part of the *Introduction*. This suggests that the address was intended to be viewed with, and used as, part of the section from the *Introduction*. There is, however, a visual break between the *Introduction* and the address, since the first book of the *Introduction* finishes at the bottom of fol. 62v (with half a line to spare), and the scribe began copying the homily at the top of fol. 63r, with the first line written in majuscule letters. It is possible that the half-line at the bottom of fol. 62v was intended to be filled with a rubric, but in

¹² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 398; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 51 and n. 168.

¹³ The text is edited in D. Whitelock, et al., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. 1, Pt. 1: A.D. 871-1066; 1, Pt. 2: 1066-1204* (Oxford, 1981), II, 568 (no. 86.I, letter to Wulfstan).

¹⁴ For editions see Whitelock, et al., *Councils and Synods*, II, 574-6 (no. 86.IX, canons of the legatine council of Winchester, 1070); II, 616-20 (no. 93, canons of the council of Winchester, 1076).

¹⁵ E.g. Fadda, *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina*, p. 33; Scragg, 'Corpus', p. 253.

¹⁶ This is Frantzen's title: see his discussion and edition at A. J. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database* (2008), <<http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/>>; and A. J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), pp. 133-9. The text is also known as the *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* (the Confessional of Pseudo-Egbert), under which title it was ed. by R. Spindler, *Das altenglische Bussbuch, sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti. Ein Beitrag zu den kirchlichen Gesetzen der Angelsachsen. Kritische Textausgabe nebst Nachweis der mittellateinischen Quellen, sprachlicher Untersuchung und Glossar* (Leipzig, 1934). See also J. Raith, *Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches: sog. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Egberti* (Hamburg, 1933), p. v.

¹⁷ The other four manuscripts are Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8558-63; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 190; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482. See Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*; Spindler, *Das altenglische Bussbuch, sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti*.

light of the scribe's practices elsewhere in the manuscripts it seems more likely that the texts were arranged in response to the physical space of the quire: in general, this scribe seems to have been a tidy-minded individual who paid close attention to the spacing and placement of his texts.¹⁸ The effect is that the address to 'Leofa man' is visibly distinct in the manuscript even without a separate rubric or item number.

The manuscript context, combined with the singular form of address and the content of the text, points specifically to intended use in the confessional, rather than the other contexts (such as preaching or 'private reading') more usually envisaged for Old English homilies.¹⁹ The first book of the *Introduction* opens by explaining what the penitent should do when he goes to his confessor and how he should confess his sins. The priest is then instructed to enquire about the penitent's Christian belief and to lead him through the creed in a form reminiscent of the baptismal ritual, asking:

'do you believe in God Almighty, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit? Do you believe that all men will arise from death on Judgement Day? Do you regret everything evil that you have done, and thought, and said? Will you forgive each of those who have ever sinned against you?'²⁰

After this the *Introduction* continues with an exhortation to the penitent, presumably to be read aloud by the priest since it is phrased in the imperative: the penitent is instructed to fast through Lent, to avoid sin and to love the Lord, and to confess all his sins to the priest so as to avoid shame before the whole company of heaven, earth and hell on Judgement Day.²¹ The other two manuscripts which contain this section of the *Introduction* provide more instructions to the priest at this point about discretion and how to appoint fasting and penance according to the individual circumstances of the penitent.²² In contrast, in Junius 121's copy of the first section of the *Introduction*, the priest's exhortation is followed immediately by the address to 'Leofa man'. It is noteworthy too that three crosses have been marked in Junius 121 (possibly by the main scribe?) at the point in the *Introduction* where the priest's exhortation to the penitent begins, perhaps marking the place where the priestly user of the book might turn to the 'Leofa man' text as an alternative address to the penitent in the context of the confessional.

The manuscript's next item is also important in considering the scribe's purposes and the decisions he made in selecting his material. Following the address to an individual penitent, the scribe copied a catechetical homily by Archbishop Wulfstan (Bethurum VIIa) which both

¹⁸ This scribe often started paragraphs at the top of a new page even where they could have begun at the end of the previous page: see e.g. Junius 121 fols. 22r-v, 24r-v, 52v-53r, 63r, 82r, 101r-v, 110v.

¹⁹ M. M. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 16-17, 25-6, 40-58; M. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 207-42; S. Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. M. Swan and E. Treharne (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 41-61; J. Wilcox, 'The Audience of Aelfric's *Lives of Saints* and the Face of Cotton Caligula A. Xiv, Fols. 93-130', in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A. N. Doane and K. Wolf (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. 229-63.

²⁰ Junius 121, fol. 62r: 'Gelyfst ðu on god ælmihtigne· and on þæne sunu· and on ðone halgan gast· Gelyfst ðu þæt ealle men arisan sculon on domes dæg of deaþe· ofðinceð þe ealles þæs ðu to yfele geworht hæfst· and gepoht· and gecweden· Wilt ðu forgyfon ælcon þæra þe wið þe æfre agyltan·'.

²¹ For discussion of this last motif, see M. Godden, 'An Old English Penitential Motif', *ASE* 2 (1973), 221-39.

²² 32.01.01-32.03.01, Cotton Tiberius A.iii and CCCC 190: see Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentals: A Cultural Database*.

explicates the Lord's Prayer and Creed and provides vernacular translations of the prayers, instructing that all Christians should know these in English if they cannot learn them in Latin.²³ Despite being a discrete text, itemised as XXXVIII and rubricated as 'Be ðæs halgan sunnandæges gebede' ('about the holy Sunday prayer') in the table of contents and at the head of the homily, the copy of this text here also seems likely to have been intended for use in the confessional, either as an alternative text to be read to the penitent (or perhaps penitents, since it begins 'Leofan men'), or perhaps simply as additional instructional material. There are three main reasons for this assumption. Firstly, the homily itself is followed immediately in the manuscript by more material selected from penitential handbooks, suggesting that it should be understood as part of a coherent section rather than an incongruous insertion (see Table 3). Secondly, this homily is particularly appropriate in the context of confession since the priest was required to examine the Christian belief and faith of the penitent, and especially to ensure that he knew and understood the Creed.²⁴

Finally, and most importantly, there is evidence to suggest that at the point of compilation and/or copying the scribe made a deliberate decision to separate Wulfstan's catechetical homily from the other homilies in his exemplar in order to include it in this penitential section. This decision is reflected in a reference to 'the penitential' at the end of a homily copied by the same scribe in Hatton 113 at fols. 65r-66r, about Christian living (Napier 25) and rubricated simply 'To folce'. The homily closes with the statement 'Credimus in unum deum, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum qqr. þis is awriten on ðære penitentiale' ('we believe in one God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit and the rest; this is written in the penitential').²⁵ This 'penitential' is usually interpreted as a reference either to Junius 121 as a volume, or more specifically to the section including Wulfstan's homily about the Lord's Prayer and Creed (Bethurum VIIa).²⁶ This supposition is strengthened by comparison with a mid-eleventh-century manuscript (perhaps from Winchester), which also contains a Wulfstanian collection of texts, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201.²⁷ CCC 201 preserves the two homilies (Bethurum VIIa and Napier 25) together, and a great many of the texts in CCC 201 are found also in the lettered quires of Junius 121 and Hatton 113; moreover, many of these texts are found in the same sequences. It seems overwhelmingly likely that similar collections of material were available to the main scribe of CCC 201 on the one hand, and to the main scribe of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 on the other, though it is clear from the relationships between the texts contained in the manuscripts that they do not derive from a common exemplar.²⁸

CCC 201's treatment of the two homilies (Bethurum VIIa and Napier 25) suggests that they were contained in sequence in the scribe's exemplar, and so probably also in the material available to the scribe of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114. In fact, the main scribe of CCC 201

²³ Homily VIIa in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 166-8.

²⁴ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 143-4, 151-74.

²⁵ Hatton 113, fol. 66r. See A. S. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin, 1883), p. 124, n; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 393, art. 22.

²⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 393.

²⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49B; T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), xv, n. 10; M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997), I, 478-9; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 209-10; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 65.

²⁸ Foxhall Forbes, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care'.

ran the two homilies together as one, presumably through an error of eyeskip by leaping from ‘utan don swa us mycel þearf is, habban æfre fulne hiht on god ælmihtigne’ in the last lines of the first homily (Bethurum VIIa, ll. 44-6), to ‘utan don, swa us mycel þearf is, habban anrædne geleafan and fulne hiht’ in the second (Napier 25, p. 124, ll. 10-11).²⁹ The assumption that the scribe of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 also received these homilies in this sequence, but then separated them across his two volumes, would explain why the scribe drew attention in Hatton 113 to the catechetical homily in Junius 121, where it was isolated from the majority of the homilies copied into Hatton 113+114 and given a new, penitential context. It is striking to note too that someone (perhaps the main scribe?) has drawn attention to Junius 121’s item XXVII, the *Introduction* and address, by placing a cross in the left margin next to the opening of the text: this might possibly be intended to denote the beginning of the ‘penitential’ identified in Hatton 113.

The arrangement of texts in Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 is evidently the result of careful, deliberate selection, and not haphazard copying without attention to material or detail: when this scribe took the material he inherited from an earlier generation of ecclesiastical reformers, he shaped it to create the most appropriate and useful collections for his own age. His treatment of texts in general suggests that he felt himself to be something of an editor: minor verbal differences and flourishes are found the copies of texts in Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 which suggest alteration as part of the process of copying.³⁰ The evidence of careful selection and arrangement of texts lends further support to the idea that the ‘Leofa man’ address was chosen for, and intended as part of, a body of material for use in the confessional, and not as a homily but as an address to a penitent. The texts which follow the *Introduction*, the address and the catechetical homily are likewise penitential and provide the priestly user with more information about the importance of discretion in judgement, how to receive the penitent and hear his confession, and a series of tariffs from penitential handbooks.

LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL CONTENT

While the manuscript context shows what the address was for, and why it was included in the particular sequence in Junius 121, much of the information about the text’s origin and composition must be derived from its content. There are signs that the address was composed for oral delivery, beginning with the unique opening ‘Leofa man’, a singular form of the more familiar ‘Leofan men’ with which many Old English homilies open. The intention of oral delivery is suggested too by other stylistic aspects of the text, such as the use of word-pairs, some of which are alliterative, rhythmic, or rhyming.³¹ The hearer is encouraged to do what is his soul’s need ‘oððe on setle oððe on stealle· oððe on gange· oððe on æriste· oððe on gesihðe· oððe on gehyrnyssse oððe on suman weg’; and to ask that God ‘getihte to rihte’. Some aspects of the way that the text is presented visually on the page hint at the relationship between the written word and spoken delivery, such as the paratactic narrative of Christ’s suffering where a series of phrases (or sense-units) are presented each with the initial tironian ‘and’ (ʒ) heading a new line in the manuscript. This might have been intended to help the reader navigate (or memorise?) the

²⁹ See Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 157-65.

³⁰ J. C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection* (London, 1967-8), I, 377; Treharne, ‘Bishops and Their Texts’, p. 21 and n. 23.

³¹ Compare the discussion of Wulstan’s alliterating doublets for rhetorical and aural effect in A. Orchard, ‘Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the Sermones Lupi’, *ASE* 21 (1992), 239-64, at 245-7.

text for effective oral delivery; elsewhere, the punctuation in the manuscript likewise breaks the prose up into sense-units and there are accent marks over some of the stressed syllables, both of which were perhaps to aid reading aloud.³²

The middle section of the text builds up by enumerating the insults and torments which Christ suffered, before the statement that the truth was spoken when Christ was named King of the Jews. This seems to be intended as the climax of the piece, before the careful explanation that Christ's death on the cross was voluntary for the salvation of humankind, and finally the closing exhortation to prayer and good deeds, and to avoid sin. There is a clear structure here: the penitent is encouraged to ask for forgiveness, and the following passage listing Christ's sufferings is evidently intended to elicit an emotional response to His Passion; the penitent then learns about the importance and purpose of Christ's sacrifice, and finally is once again encouraged to do good deeds and avoid wicked ones, in order to come closer to God. As a whole, however, the address is a somewhat fluid mixture of exhortation and instruction, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is a rather free composition, perhaps from memory and without reference to written sources.

This is reinforced by an examination of the possible sources for the address. Much of the text has no obvious sources in either English or Latin, with the exception of the section which discusses the events of Christ's temptation and Passion and which is naturally derived in large part from the Gospels. Even here though the specific details included and the order in which the events are recounted does not match any one Gospel account, not least because Pilate has been written out of the retelling of Christ's Passion, so that all the blame is thrown upon the Jews:

þæt ungetreowe folc· and ða unlædan iudeas hine ascunian ongunnon· and his lare hyrwan· and him heora þegna þreat to gelæddon. and hine gebundon· and hine to heora demum. and to heora ealdormannum gelæddon· and hi hine syððan to deaðe forræddon. and hine on rode ahengon. and gefæstnodon· and hi þær his hand blod ut aleton· and hine mid readbasuwan hrægle gegeredon· and him ðyrnenne cynehelm worhton· and hi him þærtœacan fela bysmæra gebudon and gespræcon· and heo hine mid bradre handa· under þæt wange slogan and heo him fullice on þæt neb ræhton and him huxword spræcon and on bysmor cwædon· þæt he iudea cyning wære.³³

In this section there are occasional phrases which bear similarities to late Anglo-Saxon homilies, but it is difficult to ascertain whether there is any genuine textual influence because such phrases are minimal and isolated, and because these homilies are usually based either on the accounts in the Gospels, or on texts which themselves drew on the Gospels.³⁴

³² M. B. Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', in *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley (CA), 1978), pp. 127-14; M. B. Parkes, 'Rædan, Areccan, Smeagan: How the Anglo-Saxons Read', *ASE* 26 (1997), 1-22, at 6-9; A. Orchard, 'Re-Editing Wulfstan: Where's the Point?', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. T. Matthew (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 63-91.

³³ '... the faithless people and the wretched Jews began to detest him and to speak badly of his teaching, and led a band of their thegns to him; and they bound him and led him to their judges and to their ealdormen, and they condemned him afterwards to death and hung him and fastened him on a cross, and they let blood out of his hands there and they clothed him with a purple robe and fashioned a crown of thorns for him, and in addition they mocked and insulted him, and they struck him with the full breadth of a hand on the cheek and they hit him full in the face, and they spoke shameful things to him and mocked him, that he was king of the Jews ...'

³⁴ See for example a homily on the Harrowing of Hell copied into the margins of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (pp. 295-301), a book given to Exeter by Bishop Leofric in the mid eleventh century. Christ speaks from the cross, saying: 'ic gefafode þæt me man mid bradum handum sloh on min nebb, and ful spatl man spau on min neb,

In passing it is worth noting an unusual lexical choice which may relate to the rendering of Latin into English. When the author refers to Jesus being tempted by Satan to throw himself down from the top of the temple, he refers to this as the ‘temples gehwing’. The word ‘gehwing’ is a unique attestation in the Old English Corpus,³⁵ but it seems to be the earliest form (and, though previously unnoticed, the first attestation) of ModE ‘wing’, probably derived from ON ‘vængr’ (and which replaced OE ‘feþer’/‘feþra’).³⁶ The phrase ‘temples gehwing’ seems to be based on the Latin ‘pinnaculum templi’ in Matt. IV.5; interestingly, here and elsewhere there seems to be some association with the Latin ‘penna’ (or ‘pinna’) meaning ‘feather’, and a word for a high point or crag: in the glosses in the Blickling Psalter (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, M776) ‘pinnas’ (corrected to ‘pennas’) is rendered both as ‘feþera’ (Pss. LIV.7, XC.4) and ‘scylf’ (Ps. CIII.3).³⁷ In any case, it is clear from context that ‘temples gehwing’ is intended as an architectural term to designate the top of the temple; whether at this stage this was local dialect or a word simply unattested elsewhere is unclear, but it suggests a fairly free rendition of the Latin terms found in the Gospels.

It is also worth considering a homily found uniquely in Hatton 114 (at fols. 111r-114v) which was copied by the same scribe who copied the address in Junius 121.³⁸ The rubric (‘Feria tertia de laetania maiore’) identifies it as a Rogationtide homily, and the text focuses on Judgement Day and the signs of the end, perhaps echoing or drawing on *Sermo* 57 of Caesarius of Arles in its description of the wounded and suffering Christ.³⁹ The recent editors of this homily in Hatton 114 note that there are some verbal similarities between it and the address in Junius 121 (marked in bold below); the homily describes that:

hine man **mid bradum handum** on þæt **neb sloh** and him **þyrnene** helm for oðerne **cynehelm** on þæt heafod sette; and eall he þæt eadmodlice for ure þearfe geþrowode and micle maran and mænifealdre þing þonne ic nu on þisse hwile areccan mæge oððe asecgan, þa þe he for **mancynnes hælo** and are on him sylfum **aræfnode** and forbær ...⁴⁰

and eced and geallan ic birigde; and me man swang mid swipan, and þyrnenne helm man sette on min heafod ...’, ed. W. H. Hulme, ‘The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus’, *Modern Philology* 1 (1904), 579-614, at 612-13. See also Ælfric, *CH* II.11, ll. 440-1, in *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies, the Second Series Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979), p. 105: ‘Se eadige benedictus þa sloh ðone munuc under þæt wengce. mid anre handa’.

³⁵ This was ascertained via an online search of , *Dictionary of Old English Corpus on the World Wide Web*, <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/index.html>>, (accessed August 2014).

³⁶ ‘wing, n.’: *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/229324?rskey=Hcin3p&result=1> (accessed August 2014). Note also that Richard Dance suggests that in the South-West Midlands, ON words with initial /w/ sometimes attracted excrescent <h> when they were adapted into English, perhaps because of orthographic confusion or variant hypercorrective pronunciation when /w/ and /hw/ were merged (R. Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts* (Tempe (AZ), 2003), 136, and see also the entry for ‘WENGEN’ on 384.

³⁷ See E. Brock, ‘The Blickling Glosses’, in *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris (London, 1876), pp. 251-63, at 255, 261). In contrast, the tenth-century Old English gloss by Aldred in the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.iv) renders the ‘pinnaculum templi’ of Matt. IV.5 as ‘hornscæde temples’ (f. 32v), and the ‘pinnam templi’ in Luke IV.9 as ‘hornpic temples’ (f. 148v); the Old English Gospels offer ‘temples heahnesse’ at Matt IV.5 and ‘temples hricg’ at Luke IV.9 (*The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, EETS os 304, 314 (Oxford, 1994-2000), I.7, 106.

³⁸ Homily 11, in *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. J. Bazire and J. E. Cross, Toronto Old English Series 7 (Toronto, 1982), pp. 140-3.

³⁹ Bazire and Cross, pp. 136-137; Fadda, *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina*, p. 122.

⁴⁰ Homily 11, ll. 13-17 (ed. Bazire and Cross, 140): ‘and he was struck with broad hands on the face and on his head was set a crown of thorns in place of another [kind of] crown; and he suffered all that humbly for our need, and

These similarities are not overwhelming though, and it is difficult to draw strong conclusions about textual influence in either direction. This is perhaps because, as the most recent editors suggest, the Rogationtide homily was composed from memory as a simple sermon for an unlearned audience, and drew on phrases and ideas which were common and found in other vernacular homilies.⁴¹ A similar process of composition seems to lie behind the address to the penitent in Junius 121, and it is therefore noteworthy that both of these texts are found uniquely in this collection and copied by the same scribe: it is just possible that they are the product of the same author.

For the introductory part of the address, closer parallels to other texts can be found: some phrases are reminiscent of late Anglo-Saxon penitential texts such as the *Old English Introduction* which immediately precedes the text. While the exhortation in the *Introduction* instructs the penitent, ‘lufa þinne drihten mid eallum mode· and mid eallum mægene and mid eallum mihtum· and mid ealre innewardre heortan’ (‘love your Lord with all your mind and with all your might and with all your power, and with all your innermost heart’); the address urges the ‘leofa man’, ‘lufa þinne drihten mid innewardum mode· and mid innewardum mægene’ (‘love your Lord with your innermost heart and with your innermost might’). The statement that ‘He is and always was and always will be King of all Kings’ (‘He is and a wæs· and a bið ealra cyninga cyning’) sounds vaguely liturgical, but there is no one obvious source from which it might have been drawn. In the absence of close textual parallels, and in view of the free style of composition, it is interesting to consider how the theological content itself might relate to the historical context of the manuscript in which the address is preserved.

The content, focus and tone of the address are different from most late Anglo-Saxon exhortatory writing found in tenth- and eleventh-century homilies. A considerable proportion of these focus on the Last Judgement and the need to be prepared for it, as well as the terror of the last days and of the Judgement itself.⁴² In contrast, the address takes a much gentler and more personal approach, and although the context is penitential and the penitent is urged to reflect on his sins and ask for forgiveness, the Last Judgement is not mentioned at all. The focus on Christ’s temptation, sufferings and Passion, and the love which motivated His redemptive sacrifice, as well as the idea of an individual response to these, is much closer to the mode of affective piety which developed particularly through the eleventh century and into the twelfth, and which was itself connected with broader developments in western European theology in this period.⁴³ A related concern in this context was contrition, which was understood to be necessary for penance and absolution to be effective in wiping away sin: unless the penitent was truly

much greater and more various things than I now can recount or explain at this time, those which he suffered and bore upon himself for the salvation and honour of humankind ...’.

⁴¹ Bazire and Cross, 137-8.

⁴² See for example the comments in M. M. Gatch, ‘Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies’, *Traditio* 21 (1965), 117-65, at 164; P. Lendinara, ‘“Frater Non Redimit, Redimit Homo...”: A Homiletic Motif and Its Variants in Old English’, in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. E. Treharne and S. Rosser (Tempe, Arizona, 2002), pp. 67-80, at 67.

⁴³ See for example R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 209-44; B. C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 66, 162-87; R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York, 2002), pp. 60-4; S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, 2010), p. 58-; E. C. Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word* (Washington, D.C., 2012); see also A. J. Frantzen, ‘Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials’, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), 117-28.

contrite, there could be no remission of sin.⁴⁴ Contrition was ultimately understood to be so important that some medieval authors argued that confession itself, if accompanied by proper contrition, could result in the remission of sins.⁴⁵

The address to 'leofa man' does not go so far, but it does represent the early stages of the affective movement in theology and devotion which encouraged meditation on the Passion of Christ and His life, temptations and sufferings, as well as identification with and compassion for the human Christ, as a way of stirring the emotions and moving the soul closer to God.⁴⁶ One of the most noted exponents of this type of affective writing was Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109, and although it is clear that he did not invent this mode it is often difficult to find clear precedents or antecedents in a style of writing which evidently developed and found written expression quite gradually.⁴⁷ Recent work has underlined the earlier origins of the affective turn and emphasised that it is not entirely absent from pre-twelfth-century literary culture; even so, the kind of affective writing which became especially popular in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries is found relatively infrequently in the early Middle Ages. Though there are exceptions, in the Insular world and western Europe alike, texts which discuss Christ's wounds or His Crucifixion tend to link Christ's death and the image of his presentation as the fearful judge on the Last Day, demanding good deeds and obedience in return for his suffering, rather than focusing on the personal and emotional response to those sufferings by the individual.⁴⁸

A good example is found in one of Archbishop Wulfstan's homilies which is for the most part a close paraphrase of Matthew 24.1-42, and which is found copied among other Wulfstanian homilies in Hatton 113.⁴⁹ Towards the close of the homily, Wulfstan states that:

'And on þam dome, þe ealle men to sculan, ure Drihten sylf eowað us sona his blodigan sidan and his þyrlan handa and ða sylfan rode þe he for ure neode on ahangen wæs, and wile þonne anrædlice witan hu we him þæt geleanedan, and hu we urne cristendom gehealden habban'.⁵⁰

Wulfstan does encourage his audience to love God above all and to do his will eagerly, but it is clear nonetheless that the fear of being found wanting at the Last Judgement, and what humankind owes to God, is what drives the presentation of Christ's Passion here. Christ's sufferings serve to enhance His awefulness as judge because of what He bore for humanity, and

⁴⁴ B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick* (Freiburg, 1964), pp. 163-4; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 118-19.

⁴⁵ One of the earliest statements to this effect is found in the eleventh-century treatise *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, PL 40.1113-1130; see also K. T. Wagner, 'De Vera Falsa et Penitentia: An Edition and Study' (unpubl. PhD thesis dissertation, University of Toronto, 1995).

⁴⁶ G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 159-65, 179-95.

⁴⁷ Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word*, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁸ For other examples and discussion, see C. M. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (New York, 2001); M. Swan, 'Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature: Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts*, ed. E. Trehearne (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 19-39; J. Mullins, et al., 'Introduction', in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. J. Mullins, et al. (Dublin, 2013), pp. 1-10, at 5-6; R. Hawtree, 'Christ on the Cross and Eriugena's *Carmina* for Charles the Bald', in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. J. Mullins, et al. (Dublin, 2013), pp. 125-40.

⁴⁹ Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Homily II, ll. 65-9 (ed. Bethurum, p. 121): 'at that judgement, to which all men will go, straight away our Lord himself will show us his bloody side, and his pierced hands, and that same cross on which he was hung for our need; and he will then surely know how we have repaid him, and how we have kept to our Christian belief'.

this suffering Christ is not intended to invoke compassion and contrition as much as the terror of the last day.⁵¹ In the same way, the eighth homily in the Vercelli book⁵² opens with a discussion of the importance of avoiding shame on the Day of Judgement before turning to consider how the suffering Christ will appear on that day: Christ's address asks the reader or hearer to look on His wounds, but Christ warns that the one who turns from him will be sent to Hell on that Day.⁵³ In contrast, Junius 121's address to the penitent is much more concerned with compassion for Christ's suffering, and especially that 'on þisse halgan tide swyðe mycel adreah and aræfnode and geðrowode for mancynnes lufan and hælo. þæt he wolde us of ðam ecan witan alysan' ('in this holy time He bore and endured and suffered very much for the love of men and for their salvation, that He wanted to release us from eternal punishments'). Love, compassion and contrition, rather than fear and shame, are the essential focus here.

In other texts, even where love and mercy rather than fear and shame are emphasised, the personal introspection and the focus on the individual response may be lacking. Here the narrative of Christ's sufferings presented in the first Vercelli homily offers a good example. This homily is a closely literal account of the Passion (based on John 18-19) followed by a brief mention of the Harrowing of Hell and an exhortation to the listener to be true and upright, and so come to Heaven.⁵⁴ Another version of this homily is found in some later manuscripts: it seems to have been rewritten to modernize the language and to offer a more fluent and less literal translation, and it includes an introduction which discusses the Old Testament prefiguring of the Redemption, as well as a closing section which reminds the audience of Christ's mercy.⁵⁵ The beginning and end of this later version of the homily point the audience towards Christ's mercy and love, and use this to frame the account of his sufferings and his Passion, stating that He bought and redeemed us by pouring out his blood. However, both the close individual contemplation of Christ's sufferings and the suggestion of a personal emotional response which appear in late eleventh- or early twelfth-century examples of affective writing is lacking both in Vercelli I and in the revised version.⁵⁶ In Junius 121, by contrast, the individual is directed to consider Christ's passion and instructed to remember that Christ's sufferings were borne for us out of love, because He wanted to redeem humankind. While the address in Junius 121 does not show the extremes of emotion that would appear in texts such as Anselm's prayers to Christ, it is the focus on the individual and the personal and emotional response to Christ's loving redemptive sacrifice which is particularly important here.⁵⁷

It is worth remembering that meditation on the suffering Christ was often linked with painted or sculpted images of Christ's Passion or Crucifixion, and considering the specific Worcester

⁵¹ For similar representations see also *Christ III*, ll. 1081-1127 and 1199-1207, in *The Exeter Book*, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR 3 (New York, 1936), pp. 33-4, 36; Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, III ('Invocatio'), PL 101.58.

⁵² Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII (s. x², with a provenance in Canterbury or south-eastern England); the homilies are edited by D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (London, 1992); see also Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 39; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 941.

⁵³ Homily VIII (ed. Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 143-8).

⁵⁴ Homily I (ed. Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 16-42).

⁵⁵ Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ See below on Goscelin.

⁵⁷ See for example Anselm, *Oratio 2* (ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh, 1946-61), III.6-9).

context here.⁵⁸ While a reasonable amount is known about the cathedral buildings in Worcester in the latter part of the eleventh century, information about what kinds of images or sculptures might have adorned the church walls is, for the most part, sadly lacking.⁵⁹ St Wulfstan is said to have often shut himself away for prayer in a chapel of All Saints in the western *porticus* where there was a crucifix, though whether this was like the large crucifixion scene on the wall at St Mary's, Breamore (Hampshire), or a smaller portable crucifix or cross reliquary such as the Brussels Cross (though this is an exceptional example), is not clear; these surviving examples may, however, provide some indication of the sorts of images that might have been visible to those attending church or making confession in Worcester.⁶⁰ It is also worth comparing an earlier painted chapel described by Goscelin of St Bertin (c. 1040-1114), who arrived in England in the early 1060s and had joined the household of Bishop Hermann of Ramsbury and Sherborne.⁶¹ In his *Life* of St Edith, written probably in the 1080s, Goscelin describes the chapel of St Denis constructed for St Edith (d. 984), noting that Benno of Trier painted the walls with images of the Lord's Passion as Edith had imagined them in her heart.⁶² This seems to indicate that Edith conceptualised the images which Benno then painted, although it may also be intended to emphasize Edith's internal focus on Christ and his Passion; earlier in the *Life*, Goscelin described Edith as carrying the cross of Christ wherever she went.⁶³ It is not clear how much this owes to actual events in the mid tenth century, based on remembrances at Wilton, and how much to Goscelin's ideals in the eleventh. In any case, although meditation before images was of course not new in the eleventh century, again developments in theology began to change the purpose and focus of meditation towards compassion and contrition. This stands in some contrast, for example, to the much earlier description by Bede of the painted images on the walls of St Peter's, Monkwearmouth, which were apparently intended to encourage the viewers to consider the Last Judgement, and to inspire fear more than love.⁶⁴

Another work of Goscelin's, the *Liber confortatorius*, composed in England probably only about fifteen to twenty years after the writing of Junius 121, provides an interesting comparison with Junius 121's address to the penitent. The *Liber Confortatorius* is directed to Eva, a young nun who

⁵⁸ See in particular Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 59, 96, 157-75.

⁵⁹ S. Crawford, 'A Late Anglo-Saxon Sculptural Fragment from Worcester Cathedral', *Trans. of the Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.* 17 (2000), 345-48.

⁶⁰ *VSW* i.3.4, ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, p. 24; R. Gameson and F. Gameson, 'The Anglo-Saxon Inscription at St Mary's Church, Breamore, Hampshire', *ASSAH* 6 (1993), 1-10; W. Rodwell and C. Rouse, 'The Anglo-Saxon Rood and Other Features in the South Porch of St Mary's Church, Breamore, Hampshire', *AntJ* 44 (1984), 298-325, at 299-300, 315, 319; Brussels Cross: Cathédrale SS Michel et Gudule, Brussels.

⁶¹ F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward, Who Rests at Westminster* (London, 1962), pp. 134-6; R. C. Love, 'Goscelin of Saint-Bertin', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, et al. (Oxford, 1999), pp. 213.

⁶² *Vita S. Edithae*, I.vii.20, in A. Wilmart, 'La Légende de Ste Edithe en Prose et vers Par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), 5-101 and 265-307, at 86-7; see also Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 6; S. Hollis, 'St Edith and the Wilton Community', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius*, ed. S. Hollis (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 245-80.

⁶³ *Vita S. Edithae*, I.iii.15 (ed. Wilmart, 'La Légende de Ste Edithe', pp. 75-6).

⁶⁴ Bede, *Historia Abbatum* 6, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow; Bede's Homily I. 13 on Benedict Biscop; Bede's History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow; the Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith; Bede's Letter to Egbert, Bishop of York*, ed. C. W. Grocock and I. N. Wood, OMT (Oxford, 2013), pp. 34-7; see also B. Raw, 'Pictures: Books of the Unlearned?', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. P. Cavill (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), pp. 103-119. Even so it is worth noting that elsewhere Bede explains that although contrition can come either from fear or from love, he clearly believes (probably following Gregory the Great) that perfect contrition comes from love rather than fear: see Bede, Homily I.18, ll. 173-99, in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera, Pars III: Opera Homiletica*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL (Turnhout, 1955), p. 133.

had been at Wilton, where Goscelin may have been a chaplain; he certainly encountered and became close to Eva there. The work was composed probably in about 1082-1083, after Eva left Wilton (without telling Goscelin) to become an anchoress at Angers.⁶⁵ At one point Goscelin shows a concern with meditation on the sufferings of Christ which bears resemblance to the address to the penitent in Junius 121, although Goscelin's writing is tailored to the anchoress' life of prayer. Goscelin instructs Eva to devote every liturgical Hour to Christ's sufferings, by considering in turn the stages of His betrayal, Passion and death.⁶⁶ He also exhorts her to hold Good Friday in particular reverence, and to devote the time between sext and nones (the time of the Crucifixion) to the Lord hanging on the cross, with weeping and a contrite heart; he suggests devotional recitation of five psalms during this time, one for each of Christ's five wounds. The liturgical Hours had long been associated with specific moments in the Passion of Christ; in fact Junius 121 also preserves an Old English work explaining the biblical events remembered at each Hour, based on a ninth-century Latin text by Hrabanus Maurus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.⁶⁷ But while such earlier texts often simply outline these associations, Goscelin and the address to the penitent in Junius 121 suggest more involved personal consideration of and response to these events, as well as meditation on them, as a way of focusing on the salvation which Christ's Passion bought.

It is particularly striking to see an early example of this kind of approach in Junius 121's address to the penitent, both because it seems to provide a relatively rare glimpse into the earlier stages of the tradition of affective piety which was developing in the late eleventh century; and because, unusually in the context of early affective writings, the address is in English rather than in Latin.⁶⁸ This suggests that this type of affective writing may have been more widespread and far-reaching than is often assumed, and in this context the rubric for the Old English *Introduction* and the address in Junius 121 is noteworthy. The rubric states that 'this is penance and confession for ordained and lay people', and in the light of the careful selection and ordering of texts here, and since the rubric is unique to the manuscript, it seems likely that the rubric too was produced specifically for the sequence of texts in this manuscript. If so, this may provide an unusual early insight into how this kind of affective mode might have reached laity too, even if it remains impossible to know how lay people might have responded to such an address.

It is interesting to find this address in a manuscript which contains a substantial body of texts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan, and which therefore to a great extent represents the re-use and adaptation of a collection inherited from an earlier generation.⁶⁹ As already noted, the address does not appear to be his work, and the fact that it is preserved uniquely in Junius 121 and shows signs of belonging to a tradition of theological writing which had developed away

⁶⁵ A. Wilmart, 'Eve et Goscelin', *RB* 50 (1938), 42-83, at 62; C. H. Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', *Analecta Monastica* 37 (1955), 1-117, at 8; Hollis, 'Goscelin and the Wilton Women', pp. 219-20; R. Hayward, 'Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius*: Complaints and Consolations', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius*, ed. S. Hollis (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 355-67.

⁶⁶ Book III (ed. Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', pp. 83-5).

⁶⁷ This has been printed most recently in *Old English Shorter Poems. Volume 1: Religious and Didactic*, ed. C. A. Jones (Cambridge, MA, 2012), pp. 284-343; an earlier edition is *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. J. M. Ure (Edinburgh, 1957). See also Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 164-6 and M. B. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 123-6.

⁶⁸ See also McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, pp. 25-7; S. DeGregorio, 'Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and Alfred the Great', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), 129-139.

⁶⁹ See also Treharne, 'Bishops and Their Texts', p. 20.

from the primarily eschatological focus which dominated much of Archbishop Wulfstan's output suggests instead that it was composed later in the eleventh century, closer to the time of the writing of the manuscript itself.⁷⁰ The context of the manuscript suggests that a greater influence may rather have been the circle of St Wulfstan, who can be reasonably closely connected with the production of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114.⁷¹ Since the writing of the manuscript can be dated relatively closely, it is evident that the address must have been composed by the 1060s at the latest, though it is not clear whether earlier or later in that decade. Here it is worth remembering the careful treatment of texts in Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114, and the fact that the scribe seems to have been deliberately adjusting and re-organising material as he created his books: it is possible, although not provable, that the address was composed specifically for inclusion in the penitential sequence in Junius 121. In the end, whatever the circumstances of the text's production, the creation of a penitential sequence which included this address raises significant questions about how exactly such texts might have been used in relation to the formal rituals of penance outlined in liturgical books, and how precisely they fitted into the practice of penance in late eleventh-century Worcester, when the book was produced and used.

PENITENTIAL CONTEXT

Information about the practices of penance in the central middle ages comes from a variety of sources representing different aspects of penance and how it was regulated, administered and performed.⁷² Surviving liturgical *ordines* present an idealised picture of the formal rituals of penance; handbooks of penance (like the *Introduction*) often provide general information and include canonical statements about the penances required for specific sins, but may or may not include liturgical rituals; sometimes glimpses of confessional forms or rituals are also visible in private prayerbooks; and any of these kinds of texts may be found in books which might be characterised as liturgical, regulatory, penitential or miscellaneous.⁷³ It is also not always clear which books were intended for practical pastoral use and which were intended for reference or more general information, although recent work (especially by Rob Meens, Sarah Hamilton and Katy Cubitt) has gone a considerable way towards establishing how this might be assessed.⁷⁴ A

⁷⁰ Scragg states that in this text only the phrase 'oft and gelome' is reminiscent of Wulfstan, but that the text was not composed by him: see Scragg, 'Corpus', p. 253.

⁷¹ Here it is perhaps also worth noting the 'saintly simplicity' of St Wulfstan recorded by William of Malmesbury which apparently caused other bishops to think that he was illiterate, though this is probably simply a hagiographical trope: see William, *Gesta Regum* iii.303, in *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum / The History of the English Kings* I, ed. R. A. B. Mynors with R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), 538-9; and E. M. Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford, 2012), p. 111.

⁷² S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001), esp. pp. 13-20, 25-50 and 104-35; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 4-18.

⁷³ C. Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', *EME* 14 (2006), 41-63, at 42-3; R. Meens, 'Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *EME* 14 (2006), 7-21.

⁷⁴ In particular R. Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in *Handling Sin. Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 35-6; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*; S. Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. H. Gittos and M. B. Bedingfield (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 65-103; C. Cubitt, 'Bishops and Councils in Late Saxon England: The Intersection of Secular and Ecclesiastical Law', in *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900*, ed. A. Grabowsky and W. Hartmann (Munich, 2007), pp. 151-68; Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England'; Meens, 'Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries'; C. Cubitt, 'The Politics of Remorse: Penance and Royal Piety in the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', *Historical Research* 85 (2012), 179-192. See also F. Kerff, 'Libri Paenitentiales und kirchliche Strafbarkeit bis zum Decretum Gratiani: ein Diskussionsverlag',

relatively rich body of material relating to pastoral care survives from late Anglo-Saxon Worcester, and it is therefore possible to set the address to the penitent both in the general context of penance in later Anglo-Saxon England, and to consider it more specifically alongside other surviving material from contemporary Worcester.⁷⁵ It is worth noting too that Worcester played a particularly important role in the transmission of penitential materials in later Anglo-Saxon England: a significant number of the surviving manuscripts containing penitential texts were either written in Worcester, have a Worcester provenance, or show connections with other Worcester manuscripts or with Archbishop Wulfstan.⁷⁶

In the absence of liturgical forms in this section of Junius 121, it is not immediately obvious whether the penitential sequence of texts which includes the 'Leofa man' address was intended specifically for public or for private penance, both of which were practised in late Anglo-Saxon England. At least in theory, serious (or 'public') sins were to be atoned for through the performance of public penance, a rite reserved to the bishop which required the ceremonial ejection of the penitent from church on Ash Wednesday, followed by formal reconciliation on Maundy Thursday.⁷⁷ In contrast, less serious (or 'private') sins required a more private penance which did not involve a public liturgical ritual, although private penance, like public penance, also seems to have been customary during Lent.⁷⁸ Despite being termed 'public' and 'private', both types of penance could be administered either to a group of penitents or to an individual: Sarah Hamilton suggests that 'communal' and 'personal' may be more helpful labels for understanding the purpose and character of these different forms and how they were viewed and understood.⁷⁹ Both types of penance also required the penitent to make confession of his sins before penance could be assigned (and presumably, at least theoretically, the type of penance required could only be determined once the penitent's sins had been confessed).⁸⁰ This means that in theory there is no reason why the address to 'Leofa man' and Wulfstan's homily on the Lord's Prayer and Creed might not have been used in the context of confession before either public or private penance, or both.

It is possible to get some sense of where and how the address to 'Leofa man' might have fitted into a confessional ritual by comparison with material found in contemporary books, even though the sequence in Junius 121 does not contain liturgical forms for confession. Confessional *ordines* differed from place to place and often continued to be copied long after they were initially composed, but broadly speaking the form of confession (as separate from the more elaborate liturgical rites for penance itself) tends to follow a roughly similar outline in the main points,

Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung 75 (1989), 23-57 and A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *TRHS*, 6th ser. 3 (1993), 51-81.

⁷⁵ This is discussed in detail by Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 225-314.

⁷⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 304-5; Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', pp. 59-60.

⁷⁷ See M. de Jong, 'What Was Public About Public Justice? Paenitentia Publica and Justice in the Carolingian World', in *La Giustizia nell'alto Medioevo (Secoli IX-XI), 11-17 Aprile 1996* (Spoleto, 1997), pp. 863-904; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 38-44; B. Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 31 (2002), 223-55; Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance'; S. Hamilton, 'Remedies for "Great Transgressions": Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 83-105.

⁷⁸ Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 96-107, 131-48; Meens, 'Frequency and Nature', pp. 38, 50-5; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 38-49, 166-70; Hamilton, 'Remedies', pp. 85-6.

⁷⁹ Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 125-8.

⁸⁰ A. J. Frantzen, 'The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 11 (1983), 23-56, at 24-7; Meens, 'Frequency and Nature', pp. 50-5; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 58-61, 69-71, 108-117, 122-8.

even if the specific details of the prayers differs.⁸¹ After the opening prayers, the confessor examines the penitent's belief and interrogates him about his willingness to confess his sins, forgive those of others, and receive penance. The penitent then makes his confession before the confessor assigns penance and offers prayers of forgiveness. The considerable volume of books produced in Worcester in the eleventh century, particularly during the episcopate of St Wulfstan, allows for a close comparison with confessional and penitential texts which were known to be copied in Worcester at roughly the same time as Junius 121.⁸² These include those which look like reference books, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265, a book produced in the second half of the eleventh century at Worcester during St Wulfstan's episcopate, which (like Junius 121) contains regulatory and liturgical texts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan;⁸³ as well as those which look more like practical handbooks, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482, a small, slim volume from the mid eleventh century which contains confessional and penitential material followed by liturgical rites for the sick and the dying.⁸⁴

The only *ordines* in Laud misc. 482 are those of the rites for the sick and the dying, which is noteworthy given that it seems one of the most likely of the surviving Anglo-Saxon books to have been a practical manual.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, after the penitential handbooks copied in the first part of the manuscript, Laud misc. 482 does contain English instructions to the priest for hearing confession: these are unique, although clearly based on the handbook-material in the first part of the manuscript.⁸⁶ The priest is encouraged to ask the penitent about his misdeeds and to teach him what is right; he is also warned that no sin is too big or small to go unconfessed.⁸⁷ This material is analogous to the sequence of penitential texts in Junius 121, which give general instructions about the practice of confession and penance but no formal liturgical ritual. But in contrast to the penitential sequence in Junius 121, this confessional material in Laud misc. 482 is followed by instructions about the anointing of the sick which lead directly into the rite for the sick itself.⁸⁸ While the material in fols.1-45 of Laud misc. 482 could in theory have been used for confession outwith the context of the rites for the sick and dying, the book itself seems primarily to be directed towards these rites.

⁸¹ For fuller discussion see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 105-6, 117-18, 131-2, 165-70; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 122-8, 224-5.

⁸² R. Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 194-243, at; Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library of Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book'; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 287-314.

⁸³ Bateson, 'Worcester Cathedral Book'; Budny, *Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi*, no. 40, pp. 599-608; C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 71-91; Sauer, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book'', p. 341; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 73.

⁸⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 343; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 656; V. Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and Parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106-120. The volume measures 202x91mm, and now has 47 folia, though some pages are missing at the end.

⁸⁵ V. Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 67: the few missing pages at the end of the book probably contained funerary rites rather than penitential *ordines*.

⁸⁶ Thompson, *Dying and Death*, pp. 67-73, though NB fols. 46-7 do not contain formulae for absolution, as Thompson states.

⁸⁷ Laud misc. 482, fols. 46r-47v (ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*).

⁸⁸ Laud misc. 482, fols. 47r-v (ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*); the rituals for the sick and the dying are found on fols. 47v-68v, ed. B. Fehr, 'Altenglische Ritualtexte für Krankenbesuch, Heilige Ölung und Begräbnis', in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte: Festgabe für Felix Liebermann zum 20. Juli 1921*, ed. H. Boehmer (Halle, 1921), pp. 20-67, at pp. 46-66.

In contrast, CCC 265, which looks more like a reference book, contains a copy of the *Old English Handbook* which opens (on p. 72) with a liturgical order for confession ‘according to Jerome’.⁸⁹ This *ordo* is found also in a number of tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts (though not always attributed to Jerome).⁹⁰ The ritual in CCC 265 begins by outlining the purpose of confession, and states generally what should happen in the process, before giving the incipits of the opening prayers: ‘Christe audi nos. Sancta Maria. Omnes sancti orate et reliquum’. The full form as found in other manuscripts includes a lengthy litany which calls upon a large number of angels and saints individually, asking ‘ora/orate pro me peccatore ut merear uitam possidere aeternam’ (‘pray for me, a sinner, that I may be worthy to possess eternal life’).⁹¹ The *ordo* then requires the penitent to confess his faith, and again CCC 265 gives only an incipit for what looks like the Nicene Creed (‘Credo in unum deum. et reliquum’), but which probably indicates an abbreviation of a credal statement like those found in other manuscripts which contain this *ordo*.⁹² This credal statement stands in contrast to, but clearly fulfills the same role as, the interrogative form provided in Junius 121 in the outline in the *Introduction*. After the Creed, the ritual in CCC 265 requires the penitent to confess his sins, and finally the priest says a prayer (‘Praeveniat hunc famulum’) asking for God’s mercy and indulgence on the penitent so that his sins might be wiped out.⁹³

Junius 121’s address to ‘leofa man’ exhorts the hearer to ask forgiveness of his sins, but there is no encouragement to confess them, suggesting that at the point at which this address might be used the penitent had perhaps already made his confession, following his profession of faith through the Creed. But whether the address was to be read before or after confession, it is clear that its place is in the context of the confessional since the hearer is encouraged to ask for forgiveness ‘þonne þu arisan wylle’ (‘when you get up’). In theory this might simply mean the daily act of getting up and out of bed; but in the context of the confessional, where the penitent might kneel or lie prostrate before the priest, this may refer more specifically to the penitent’s actions once he finishes confession and is appointed a penance.⁹⁴ Even without the Latin *ordo* for confession, Junius 121’s *Introduction* and address together seem to offer a rare glimpse into a structured conversation surrounding the intimate ritual of confession. Presumably, a priest using Junius 121’s instructions and address would subsequently say a prayer for forgiveness for the

⁸⁹ The *Old English Handbook* is ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*; see also R. Fowler, ‘A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor’, *Anglia* 83 (1965), 1-34; M. Heyworth, ‘The Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor: Authorship and Connections’, *NeQ* n.s.54 (2007), 218-22.

⁹⁰ The *ordo* is found for example in a late tenth-century penitential, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718, fols.15v-21r; on this manuscript see further below.

⁹¹ See e.g. Bodley 718, fols. 16r-17r.

⁹² See e.g. Bodley 718, fol. 17v, where the form given is: ‘Credo in unum deum patrem omnipotentem. credo in filium. credo in spiritum sanctum. credo uitam post mortem. credo me resurgere in die iudicii. et haec omnia credo In deum uiuum. amen’.

⁹³ This prayer features in a large number of confessional *ordines* and in the rites for public penance. See for example the ritual for Maundy Thursday in the ‘Egbert Pontifical’, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 10575, fols. 157r-164r, in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H. M. J. Banting, HBS (London, 1989), pp. 128-32, at 130; or the *ordo* in Bodley 718, at fol. 15v. The ‘Egbert Pontifical’ dates probably from c. 1000, and perhaps originated in western or southwestern England (see J. L. Nelson and R. W. Pfaff, ‘Pontificals and Benedictionals’, in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. W. Pfaff (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 87-98, at 90; D. N. Dumville, ‘On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts’, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 10 (1991), 40-57, at 51); on Bodley 718 see further below.

⁹⁴ A. Cameron, et al., *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online* (2007),

<<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/index.html>>, accessed August 2015: see especially definitions A.1 and A.3.

penitent (like the one which closes the ritual in CCCC 265), before appointing a penance. The text copied following the address and the catechetical homily in Junius 121 was clearly selected for precisely this need, since it is a part of the *Old English Handbook* which advises the priest on discretion and how to assign penance, as well as how to hear confession. More specifically, it is the part of the *Handbook* which in CCCC 265 immediately follows the liturgical *ordo*,⁹⁵ suggesting again that although no liturgical forms are given in this part of Junius 121 the texts were selected carefully by the scribe and ordered for a particular purpose, and were intended to be used following the general outline of a confessional ritual.

Neither the sequence in Junius 121 nor the *ordo* in CCCC 265 gives any clear indication about when absolution was supposed to take place, even though receiving absolution and so remission from sins was of course the primary purpose of making a confession and performing penance.⁹⁶ Theological ideas about absolution developed gradually through the course of the eleventh century and into the twelfth, and these developments are important for understanding how confession, penance and absolution were believed to work together to wipe away a person's sin.⁹⁷ In the modern Roman Catholic rite of confession, absolution is pronounced immediately, after a penance has been assigned and before it has been completed.⁹⁸ Early medieval rites of penance generally required that penance be performed before absolution could be granted, although the way this worked depended according to the type of penance.⁹⁹ In the rite of public penance there was a fixed time for absolution, which was pronounced on Maundy Thursday when the penitent was formally received back into the Church.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, some of the surviving instructions for private penance suggest greater flexibility in when absolution might be pronounced. At least initially the ideal seems to have been that the penitent would be dismissed to complete his penance and only then should return to the priest to receive absolution, although there is some variation on when this was to happen, whether on Maundy Thursday with all other penitents or at some other time.¹⁰¹

Two *ordines* for confession which offer a good example of this are found incorporated into the copy of Ecgberht's penitential in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718, a manuscript of the late tenth century which has connections with Exeter and Dorchester-upon-Thames.¹⁰² The second

⁹⁵ *Old English Handbook*, 53.01.01-53.10.01 (Book III) (ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*). Book III also follows the *ordo* in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 8558-63, while Part II (52.01.01-52.03.04) comes between the *ordo* and Book III in CCCC 201 and Cotton Tiberius A.iii.

⁹⁶ Poschmann, *Penance*, p. 147; see also M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), pp. 219-21; M. Driscoll, *Alcuin et la pénitence à L'époque carolingienne* (Münster, 1999), pp. 95-8.

⁹⁷ See M. C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1995), pp. 200-10; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 120-1, 153, 159-60.

⁹⁸ M. Dudley, 'The Sacrament of Confession in Catholic Teaching and Practice', in *Confession and Absolution*, ed. M. Dudley and G. Rowell (Collegeville, MN, 1990), pp. 56-90.

⁹⁹ Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁰ See for example Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 236-7.

¹⁰¹ Poschmann, *Penance*, pp. 143-5; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 6; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 65, 111.

¹⁰² Opinion is divided on the provenance of the manuscript: see M. Bateson, 'The Supposed Latin Penitential of Egbert and the Missing Work of Halitgar of Cambrai', *EHR* 9 (1894), 320-6; D. N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 82, 85, 90, 133-4; P. W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 38-9; R. Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *ASE* 25 (1996), 135-185, at 161-9, 177-8; Sauer, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book'', p. 341; J. Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of C.1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *EHR* 116 (2001), 114-23; Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', p. 58; on the *ordines*, see further Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 169-70.

ordo in Bodley 718 is the full version of the ritual which opens the *Handbook* in CCCC 265. The first *ordo* in Bodley 718 is much shorter, and requires that the priest interrogate the penitent on his faith and on his sins before praying for the penitent's forgiveness, either using the prayer found also in CCCC 265's *ordo* ('Praeveniat hunc famulum') or one which asks God to spare those who confess to Him so that their sins may be absolved.¹⁰³ The ritual then gives instructions for how and when absolution should be pronounced, and here a distinction is drawn between a 'sensible person' ('homo intelligibilis'), who should complete his penance first and then return to be reconciled later, and a 'simple or stupid' person ('simplex uel brutus'), who should be reconciled immediately.¹⁰⁴

The possibility of immediate absolution in such a case raises questions about how this was understood to work, and may suggest that the absolution granted was understood to be conditional on the performance of penance (although one might question whether a 'simple' individual of the sort envisaged here would really understand that he had to complete his penance anyway). A statement found in some manuscripts of the eleventh-century *Handbook* (including CCCC 265) emphasizes the importance of examining whether penance has been completed before 'forgiveness' was granted, a rather vague term which perhaps specifically means 'absolution' here, but this seems to be in the context of public penance since it follows a discussion of this custom.¹⁰⁵ Sections of the *Handbook* in Laud misc. 482 and CCCC 201 include information about how wealthy men may commute penance by offering masses, and note in this context that absolution may only be granted at the last mass offered, suggesting again the importance of completing the penance before absolution was pronounced.¹⁰⁶

An additional fleeting glimpse of confession in late eleventh-century Worcester may be found in a manuscript which seems to have been the personal prayerbook (or 'Portiforium') of St Wulfstan, and this is a useful comparison to the material in Junius 121, CCCC 265, and Laud misc. 482. This book, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, contains a range of liturgical material and at one point includes a prayer marked 'Confessio' which begins 'Ego uolo esse confessus deo omnipotenti et angelis eius et tibi homini dei de omnibus peccatis meis ...' ('I want to be confessed to God Almighty and to his angels and to you, a man of God, about all my sins ...').¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately a lacuna of one leaf means that the end of this prayer is lost and it is not clear what followed it immediately, but the next leaf resumes in the middle of a prayer asking for forgiveness of the penitent, a prayer which is prescribed elsewhere to be said by the priest following a confession.¹⁰⁸ After this is copied a prayer ('Da nobis domine ut sicut publicani')

¹⁰³ Bodley 718, fol. 15r: 'Exaudi domine preces nostras. et confitentis tibi parce peccatis. ut qu[i] conscientiae suae reatus accusat indulgentia tuae miserationis absoluat. per dominum nostrum'.

¹⁰⁴ Bodley 718, fol. 15v: 'Post expletam paenitentiam. si homo intelligibilis est. ueniat ad sacerdotem. et reconcilietur ab eo. Si uero simplex uel brutus fuerit. statim reconciliet eum'.

¹⁰⁵ 54.04.01 (ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*): this statement is found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8558-63, CCCC 201 and CCCC 265. For discussion of the Old English vocabulary of penance, see Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', pp. 44-7, though she does not discuss terms for absolution.

¹⁰⁶ 56.06.01 (ed. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*).

¹⁰⁷ CCCC 391, p. 616, in *The Portiforium of St Wulfstan: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS 89-90 (Leighton Buzzard, 1958-60), II, 23; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 104.

¹⁰⁸ CCCC 391, p. 617 (ed. Hughes, II, 23): the end of the prayer suggests that it was one like that beginning 'Misereatur sit tibi omnipotens deus', found for example in Bodley 718, fol. 20v where it is supposed to be said by the priest following the penitent's confession.

which is included in liturgical rites for the reconciliation on Maundy Thursday, to be said over the prostrate penitent.¹⁰⁹ Here too there are no formal prayers of absolution, although it is theoretically possible that the prayers of forgiveness were intended to be used for absolution; the missing leaf evidently makes it impossible to determine precisely how the sequence was intended to work.

It is worth noting that the addition (perhaps by a different scribe) of first person pronouns to some of the prayers of forgiveness in CCC 391 suggests that one usage of this confessional sequence was private devotion rather than private penance. However, the potential use of this sequence in the context of a private confession by a penitent to a priest is implied both by the fact that the opening confessional prayer is directed ‘to you, a man of God’, and by the fact that a confessional prayer is (or perhaps prayers were) followed by prayers which are usually prescribed to be said by the priest in response to confession. If the prayers were used in the context of private penance then it is interesting to consider how penance might have been assigned: presumably a priest (or bishop) relying on this book alone would have assigned a penance without reference to the tariffs contained in penitential handbooks. But for a bishop who travelled with his personal prayerbook, as St Wulfstan is said to have done,¹¹⁰ the inclusion of a confessional ritual in the book might have been considered particularly useful for hearing confessions when away from the cathedral, in which case the consultation of penitential handbooks would presumably have been highly impractical in any case.

The evidence presented here shows that several different ways in which confession and penance might be heard and assigned were recorded in writing in eleventh-century Worcester, and that the address to the penitent in Junius 121 must be understood in this context. The range of different ways in which penitential instructions and rituals were preserved and organised in late Anglo-Saxon Worcester suggests firstly that confession and penance were seen as a matter of some importance, and secondly that there was considerable flexibility in the way in which confessions might be heard and private penance assigned. In this context it is noteworthy that William of Malmesbury describes that St Wulfstan was known for his concern with penance, and especially for the kindness and compassion with which he received penitents, although of course it is difficult to be certain how much this description owes to the hagiographical genre in which William was writing.¹¹¹ In passing William mentions the reconciliation of penitents on Maundy Thursday, the events of which were evidently described in some detail by Coleman (since William complains that all bishops performed these rites, and there was therefore no need to include this kind of information to be included in a hagiography, as Coleman had).¹¹² The formality of public penance and its incorporation into more elaborate liturgical celebrations at least suggests that in this context the performance of these rites would have followed the *ordines* and have been fairly consistent.

¹⁰⁹ For example the ‘Egbert Pontifical’ (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10575: the prayer is on fol. 162v, and is accompanied by an Old English prayer of absolution on fol. 163r (ed. Banting, pp. 131-2).

¹¹⁰ *VSW* iii.3.2 (ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, p. 110).

¹¹¹ *VSW* iii.7, 18.3 (ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 116-17, 134-5). More generally, Wulfstan’s concern for pastoral care is noted at (for example) *VSW* i.7-8, 15, ii.9, 14, iii.10, 14 (ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 32-7, 52-7, 78-81, 86-9, 120-1, 126-9); see also Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 306-9.

¹¹² *VSW* iii.18 (ed. and tr. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 134-5).

However, William also includes some information supporting the idea that confession and private penance occupied a more flexible conceptual space which encompassed a greater range of potential situations and responses. An anecdotal story in the *Life* of Wulfstan shows how informally a confession might be made (indeed, the confession itself is not actually the story's main focus). William relates that a wealthy woman in Worcester became attracted to St Wulfstan and approached him to suggest a liaison: seeing her coming up to him, 'Wulfstan thought she wanted to confess her sins, and he stopped and drew aside with her'.¹¹³ William's main point in recounting this incident is that Wulfstan rejected her advances like 'a second Joseph' (first verbally, and then with a hearty slap), but in the course of the tale he reveals that a priest or bishop might hear someone's confession quite spontaneously, simply by drawing aside in church to find some privacy. Looking at all the evidence taken together, it seems that confession and private penance might be structured in a range of ways, from a tightly ordered liturgical ritual to an informal, private conversation with a priest or bishop. In the same way, the penitential tariffs for specific sins exist alongside general guidelines that the priest must use his discretion and assign penance according to the circumstances of the penitent, suggesting more flexibility than is evident at first glance. In turn, this flexibility may explain why the written evidence for private penance is so variable in form and the information about absolution so unclear, if in fact the authors and copiers of written texts assumed that they were guidelines rather than absolute decrees. A confessor in late eleventh-century Worcester would hardly be short of books to turn to if he needed guidance on his duties; but, it would seem, in some circumstances books were not considered essential. Perhaps, then, the address to the penitent in Junius 121 was intended as an example, or model, for priests or for those learning to be priests as the kind of response to the penitent after confession, so that the text could be memorised, or copied up into a priest's personal handbook or booklet, or read and remembered for adaptation, or as the basis for a spontaneous address to the penitent when the need arose.

CONCLUSION

The short text around which this discussion has centred allows a glimpse into the ways in which people thought about and performed the rituals of penance in the second half of the eleventh century in Worcester. Going beyond the brevity and simplicity of the text and placing it in a broader context, it is possible to discern the signs of developing ideas in theology as well as some of the concerns which informed the production of texts and books for pastoral care. This text in its manuscript context also highlights that although a conversation in the confessional might be structured, it was not rigid; and that the users of this text, at least, wanted to make sure that the penitent understood Christian belief and teachings. In a sense, this is not surprising: anyone who has attended a modern church service (or confession) will know that it does not always conform exactly to a printed schedule, and even in a context of printed orders of service and widespread literacy. The confessional was a place where flexibility was particularly important because for the confession to be made and penance assigned properly required more than a priest simply following a liturgical *ordo* to the letter. Confession required a personal and individual response from both the priest and the penitent, who had to respond to questions about his faith, perhaps to be taught what he did not know, or to be encouraged to confess every last sin. Above all, it

¹¹³ *VSW* i.6 (ed. and tr. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 30-33): 'Tum Wlstanus, arbitratus eam peccata uelle confiteri, substitit et in partem concessit'.

was clearly considered essential that both priest and penitent understood each other so that the process of confession was a dialogue.

It seems likely that the impetus which led someone to write this text into Junius 121 in late eleventh-century Worcester (and perhaps to compose it for this purpose) was the same as the impetus which led to the inclusion of Old English prayers for confession and forgiveness in a number of late Anglo-Saxon penitential manuscripts, often alongside Latin penitential texts or *ordines*.¹¹⁴ In this context too should be understood the Old English prayer of absolution added to the ritual in the 'Egbert Pontifical' (c. 1000) for the reconciliation of penitents: this is particularly interesting because it is written on one side of a small scrap of parchment and bound (now as fol. 163) in the middle of a ritual for penance alongside Latin prayers for forgiveness and absolution.¹¹⁵ Many of these are texts are unique survivals, and in a number of cases it is clear that they have been added into what were originally blank spaces rather than being an integral part of a planned volume, such as the Old English prayer added to the beginning of the Latin penitential in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 320, written possibly at St Augustine's, Canterbury, by three tenth-century hands.¹¹⁶ In other cases, as in Junius 121, these texts were incorporated into the main sequence of items in the manuscript, such as the Old English texts for confession and absolution in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, a Canterbury manuscript from the first half of the eleventh century which seems to have been carefully planned for the needs of an archbishop.¹¹⁷ Junius 121's address to the penitent was likewise part of a carefully planned sequence in a large-scale production of volumes for pastoral care, created probably in the decade of the Conquest for an English audience at least partly out of a collection of material inherited from an earlier generation. However, the range and number of these vernacular penitential and confessional texts shows a concern to fill a perceived need for English material in the context of the confessional, and one which seems to have been met with the *ad hoc* composition of texts in different religious centres.

Just how closely the address to the penitent can be associated with St Wulfstan's own concerns is unclear, but the early additions to Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 do indicate that these manuscripts are closely connected with him, and with his episcopal duties. As well as the copy of the letter inviting him to the Council of Winchester in 1070, Hatton 113 contains the obits of his parents, and of one of his brothers, as early additions to the calendar, perhaps indicating that

¹¹⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 521-2; H. Sauer, 'Altenglische Beichtermahnungen aus den Handschriften CCCC 320 and Laud. Misc. 482: Edition und Kommentar', in *Anglo-Saxonica: Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der englischen Sprache und zur altenglischen Literatur: Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. R. Grinda (Munich, 1993), pp. 21-51; T.-A. Cooper, 'Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005), 47-61; Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', pp. 53-63.

¹¹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10575, fol. 163r (ed. Banting, 132). The manuscript can be viewed online at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gallica Bibliothèque Numérique, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90667571>>. For date and provenance, see n. 93.

¹¹⁶ Sauer, 'Altenglische Beichtermahnungen aus den Handschriften CCCC 320 and Laud. Misc. 482; K. M. Delen, et al., 'The *Paenitentiale Cantabrigiense*: A Witness of the Carolingian Contribution to the Tenth-Century Reforms in England', *Sacris erudiri* 41 (2002), 341-73, at 343-4.

¹¹⁷ For the texts see H. Sauer, 'Zwei Spätaltenglische Beichtermahnungen aus Hs. Cotton Tiberius A. III.', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 1-33; for discussion of the manuscript see Cooper, 'Lay Piety'; T.-A. Cooper, 'The Homilies of a Pragmatic Archbishop's Handbook in Context: Cotton Tiberius A.iii', *ANS* 28 (2006), 47-64.

these manuscripts were of use to him personally.¹¹⁸ In his *Life*, St Wulfstan was noted as a preacher, and William notes that he took care to collect material which would allow him to ‘put Christ before his hearers’.¹¹⁹ There is also evidence that Coleman, the author of the Old English *Life* ‘translated’ by William, helped Wulfstan with his preaching; Coleman probably used Hatton 113+114 to find texts and inspiration for this task, since his hand is found making annotations in these books.¹²⁰ Junius 121 shows a more particular focus on episcopal duties and especially pastoral care, both in the form of texts designed for use in pastoral contexts, and in a collection of texts which look like they were intended for training priests. The size and especially the thickness of all of these books, as well as their comparative lack of wear, suggests that they may have been intended as reference volumes, but it is worth bearing in mind that they may not have been bound immediately, and so in the time of St Wulfstan and Coleman selections might have been more easily pulled out for use than now appears in their bound state.¹²¹ Moreover, as noted above, while the address to the penitent might have been read from a book, it might equally have been memorised, or used as a model for new compositions, or as a basis for a more spontaneous address to a penitent. Reconstructing the private conversations of a late eleventh-century confessional may (and perhaps should!) be impossible, but the production of the address to the penitent and its placing in the careful sequence of texts in Junius 121 is nonetheless deeply revealing. The address to the penitent in its manuscript context shows both the care with which materials for confession and penance were provided in late eleventh century Worcester, and the vibrancy of a devotional tradition in its infancy.

¹¹⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 51 and n. 168. The names are printed and discussed in J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: mit einem Katalog der Libri Vitae und Necrologien* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 258-68, as also are those included in what seems to be St Wulfstan’s personal prayerbook, CCC 391.

¹¹⁹ *VSW* i.14.2 (ed. and tr. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50-1): ‘Ipse quoque ultro rapiebat materiam ut semper Christum sonaret, semper Christum auditoribus proponeret’; Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, p. 111.

¹²⁰ *VSW* ii.16 (ed. and tr. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 92-5); Ker, ‘Old English Notes Signed “Coleman”’; Stoneman, ‘Another Old English Note Signed “Coleman”’; Johnson and Rudolf, ‘More Notes by Coleman’; Scragg, *Conspectus*, no. 87.

¹²¹ P. R. Robinson, ‘Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period’, *ASE* 7 (1978), 231-23; P. A. Stokes, ‘The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context’, *RES* 63 (2012), 529-50. For further discussion of Junius 121 in this context, see Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 110-13 and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Making Books for Pastoral Care’.

APPENDIX: ADDRESS TO THE PENITENT

Since it seems likely that the text here was composed only shortly before the manuscript was produced, and perhaps specifically for its particular place in the manuscript, editorial intervention here is minimal. To this end, the capitalisation and punctuation of the manuscript have been retained, though abbreviations have been expanded. My translation aims for fluency of expression rather than a literal rendition of the text.

<p>[f. 63r] Leofa man ðe is mycel þearf· þæt ðu þas drihtenlican tide georne geþence· þonne þu arisan wylle. bide þinne drihten eadmodlice forgifenness ealra þara synna þe þu wið godes willan geworht hæbbe· þara þe þu gemunan mæge· and eac þara þe ðu gemunan ne mæge· and lufa þinne drihten mid innewardum mode· and mid innewardum mægene· and bide hine georne þæt ðu mote on þisse halgan tide hwæthwyge gewyrcean þæs þe his milda willa sy. and ðinre sawle þearf sy· oððe on setle oððe on stealle· oððe on gange· oððe on æriste· oððe on gesihðe· oððe on gehyrnysse· oððe on suman wege· þæt god ælmihtig þin mod geteo and getihte to rihte and to ðinre sawle ðearfe· and ðenc þæt god ælmihtig on þisse halgan tide swyðe mycel adreah and aræfnode· and geðrowode for mancynnes lufan and hælo. þæt he wolde us of ðam ecan witan alysan· and he sylf ða gesette þas feowertig daga and nihta togædere· and he sylf hi gesette butan æghwylcan eorðlican bigleofan [f.63v] and he wæs geset ofer þæs temples gehwung¹²² and he wæs gecostnod þurh þone ealdan feond mancynnes gewinnan. and he þær ðone deofol oferswiðde· and geðreatode· þæt ungetreowe folc· and ða unlædan iudeas hine ascunian ongunnon· and his lare hyrwan· and him heora þegna¹²³ þreat to gelæddon. and hine gebundon· and hine to heora demum. and to heora ealdormannum gelæddon· and hi hine syððan to deaðe forræddon· and hine on rode ahengon· and gefæstnodon· and hi þær his hand blod ut aleton· and hine mid readbasuwan hrægle gegeredon· and him ðyrnenne cynehelm worhtan. and hi him þærtocæcan fela bysmæra gebudon and gespræcon and heo hine mid bradre handa· under þæt wange slogan and heo him fulllice on þæt neb ræhton and him huxword spræcon and on bysmor cwædon· þæt he iudea cyning wære: soð hi þæs sædon· þeah hi his na wendon·</p> <p>He is and a wæs· and a bið ealra cyninga cyning· and he mihte eaðe him gebeorgan [64r] æt ðam deaþe· gyf he swa wolde ac he wolde þæt we clæne þurh hine wurdon· and he wolde þa· and gyt wile þæt we onfon rihtne geleafan <u>fordon þe he us</u>¹²⁴ of deofles hæftnydnysse alyscde·</p>	<p>Dear man, there is a great need for you that you consider this Lenten time carefully: when you get up, ask your Lord for forgiveness for all the sins which you have committed against God's will, those which you remember and also those which you do not remember. And love your Lord with your innermost heart¹²⁵ and with your innermost might, and ask him eagerly that in this holy time you might do something which is His gentle will, and your soul's need, whether seated or standing, whether going or getting up, whether in sight or in hearing or in some [other] way, so that God Almighty may guide your mind and encourage you to do what is right and for your soul's need. And consider that God Almighty in this holy time bore and endured and suffered very much for the love of men and for their salvation, that He wanted to release us from eternal punishments, and He himself established these forty days and nights together, and He himself held them without any earthly nourishment, and He was placed over the temple's roof and He was tested by the old fiend, the enemy of mankind, and He overcame and restrained the devil there; and [remember] that the faithless people and the wretched Jews began to detest Him and to speak badly of His teaching, and led a band of their thegns to Him; and they bound Him and led Him to their judges and to their ealdormen, and they condemned Him afterwards to death and hung and fastened Him on a cross, and they let blood out of His hands there and they clothed Him with a purple robe and fashioned a crown of thorns for Him, and in addition they mocked and insulted Him, and they struck Him with the full breadth of their hands on the cheek and they hit Him full in the face, and they spoke shameful things to Him and mocked Him, that He was king of the Jews: they spoke the truth, although they did not believe it.</p> <p>He is and always was and always will be king of all kings, and He could easily have defended himself from death, if he so wanted; but He wanted that we should become clean through Him, and He wanted then and still does that we accept correct belief, because He released us from the devil's captivity.</p>
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¹²² See above, p. 000.

¹²³ The use of 'þegn' is relatively unusual in this context since 'þegn' is more often used of the disciples; but see the Old English translation of John XVIII.12, in Liuzza, I, 195.

¹²⁴ Added by the main scribe above *geleafan*.

¹²⁵ The translation of 'mod' is difficult: for the complex range of meanings, see M. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 271-98; L. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto, 2011), pp. 16-17, 33-43, 52-3. I have chosen to use the English phrase

And þonne is ðe leofa man mycel nyðþearf þæt ðu on ælcne timan wið deofles lare wær sy· and þæt þu þas drihtenlican tide georne geþence mid þinre cyricsocne. and mid þinum gebedum· and mid þinum fæstene· and mid þinre ælmessylene· and mid þinum paternostræ oft and gelome· and beorhðe georne wið ealle unnytlice þing· and wið ealle idelnessa· and geearna ðe to gode ælmihtigum· þæt ðu to him cuman mote· and mid him wununge habban· and mid eallum his halgum on ealra worulda woruld a butan ende· amen·

And so, dear man, there is a very great need for you that at every time you are wary against the devil's cunning, and that you think about this time of Lent carefully, with your church-going and with your prayers, and with your fasting and with your almsgiving, and with your paternoster often and frequently, and defend yourself strenuously against all unprofitable things and against all frivolity, so that you might earn for yourself from God Almighty that you might come to Him, and dwell with Him and with all His saints, forever world without end, Amen.

innermost heart (thinking of the phrase 'in your heart of hearts') because it seems better in modern English than 'innermost mind'.

TABLES

leafnumber	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Quire 1	1	early additions: canons of councils etc			5	table of contents		8		
Quire 2	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		a
Quire 3	17: b	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Quire 4	25: c	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
Quire 5	33: d	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		
Quire 6	41: e	42	43: half-sheet	44	45	46: half-sheet	47	48		
Quire 7	49: f	50	51: half-sheet	52	53	54: half-sheet	55	56		
Quire 8	57: g	58	59	59*	60	61	62	63		
Quire 9	64: h	65	66	67	68	69	70	71		
Quire 10	72: i	73	74	75	76	77	78	79		
Quire 11	80: k	81	82	83	84	85	86	87		
Quire 12	88: l	89	90	91	92	93	94	95		
Quire 13	96: m	97	98	99	100	101	102	103		
Quire 14	104: n	105	106	107	108	109	110	111		
Quire 15	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119		
Quire 16	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127		
Quire 17	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137
Quire 18	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145		
Quire 19	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153		
Quire 20	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161: paper		

- main scribe (Scragg's no. 898, Ker's 'Hand 1'): ff 9r-110v appear to have been written in one stint, the table of contents on ff 5r-8r cover only the material written in this stint.
- change in appearance of hand, although possibly still the main scribe: ff 111r-137v form a contiguous addition to the original material in the lettered quires.
- Quires 18-20 seem to be an independent booklet which was added at an early stage, containing homilies in a number of hands; some of these hands made early additions on ff 1-4.

Table 1. The quire structure of Junius 121

leafnumber	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Quire 1	calendar and computus tables: multiple hands				vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
Quire 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Quire 3	9: p	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
Quire 4	17: q	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Quire 5	25: r	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
Quire 6	33: s	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		
Quire 7	41: t	42	43	44	45	46	47	48		
Quire 8	49: u	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		
Quire 9	57: p	58	59	60	61	62	63	64		
Quire 10	65: x	66	67	68	69	70	71	72		
Quire 11	73: y	74	75	76	77	78	79	80		
Quire 12	81: z	82	83	84	85	86	87	88		
Quire 13	89: &c	90	91	92	93	94	95	96		
Quire 14	97: 7	98	99	100	101	102	103	104		
Quire 15	105: p	106	107	108	109	110	111	112		
Quire 16	113: p'	114	115	116	117	118	119	120		
Quire 17	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128		
Quire 18	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136		
Quire 19	137	138	139: half-sheet	140	141	142: half-sheet	143	144	145-146: added by William Dugdale (Ker, <i>Catalogue</i> , p. 398)	

- Main scribe (Scragg's no. 898, Ker's 'Hand 1')
- This looks like the main hand writing some time later, as Junius 121 at f. 111r; in Hatton 113 this hand wrote the letter to St Wulfstan on f. iir.
- This hand added the table of contents on f. xiv, and wrote homilies at the the end of the book (Hatton 114, ff 230v-235v, and 242v-246v).

Table 2. The quire structure of Hatton 113

Scribe's numbering	Folios	Text title / incipit	Published
	5r-8r	Incipiunt capitula canonicorum	
I	9	Be heofonlicum cyninge	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , p. 39
II	9r-10r	Be eorðlicum cyninge	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 41-51
III	10r-v	Be cynedome	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 52-4
IIII	10v-11r	Be cynestole	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 55-58
V	11r-12v	Be ðeodwitan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 62-66
VI	12v-13v	Item de episcopis	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 67-74
VII	13v-15r	Item [Episcopus]	Whitelock, <i>Councils & Synods</i> , no. 56
	15r	Item. Bisceopes dægweorc	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 75-76
	15r-v	Item. A genist bisceopum wisdom	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , p. 77
[VIII]	15v-17r	Incipit de synodo	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 210-16
VIII	17r-v	Be eorlum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 78-80
X	17v-18r	Be gerefan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 81-82
XI	18r-v	Be abbodum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 122
XII	18v-19r	Be munecum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 123-27
XIII	19r-v	Be mynecenan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 128
XIIII	19v	Be preostan 7 be nunnan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 129
XV	19v	Be wudewan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 137
XVI	20r-v	Be godes þeowum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 167-69
XVII	20v-23v	Be sacerdum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 85-108
XVIII	23v-24r	Ad sacerdotes	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 170-72
XVIII	24r-25r	Ad sacerdotes	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 173-77
XX	25v-31v	Item sinodalia Decreta	Fowler, <i>Canons of Eðgar</i>
XXI	31v-32	Be læwedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 130-34
XXII	32r-34r	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 109-21
XXIII	34r-35v	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 217-22
XXIIII	35v-42r	De ecclesiasticis gradibus	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 223-47
XXV-XXXIII	42r-55r	De officiis diurnalium nocturnalium horarum	Ure, <i>Benedictine Office</i>
XXXIIII	55v-57v	De regula canonicorum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 248-55; Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xa
XXXV	57v-59r	Be cynican	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 138-52
XXXVI	59r-59*r	Be eallum cristenum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 154-64
XXXVII	59*r-61v	Be godcundrewamunge	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIX
XXXVIII	61v-62v	Her is scrift 7 andetnes ægðer twegra. ge gehadodra. ge læwedra.	Spindler, <i>Buðbuch</i> , Ia, 170-71
	63r-64r	Leofa man ðe is mycel	Fadda, <i>Nuove Omelie</i> , no. 2 Appendix
XXXVIII	64r-65v	Be ðæs halgan sunnan dæges gebede	Bethurum, VIIa
XL	65v-66r	Be þæs mæssepreostes gesceadwisnysse	Fowler, 'Handbook', no.3, pp. 19-20
XLI	66v-67r	Be scriftum	Fowler, 'Handbook', no.5
XLII	67r-v	Be synna lacnunge	Fowler, 'Handbook', no.5
XLIII	67v-69v	Be þeodores gesetnysse hu man sceall fæsten alysan.	Spindler, <i>Buðbuch</i> , Ic, 172-74
I-XVI, I	69v-87r	Incipit liber primus cum capitulis atque cum suis sentialis	Raith, pp. 1-53
II-XXVIII	87r-101r	Iudicium de peccatis multis	Spindler, <i>Buðbuch</i> , 2-28, 174-94
XXVIII	101r	Gif hwylc man wifige on his nextan magan.	Raith, p. 25
XXX	101v-110v	Incipit epistola de canonibus.	Fehr, <i>Hirrenbriefe</i> , no. I
	111r-124r	De seunda [sic] epistola quando diuidis crisma	Fehr, <i>Hirrenbriefe</i> , no. III
	124r-130v	Evangelii. Esto consentiens aduersano.	Assmann, <i>Angelsächsische Homilien</i> , 1, 4/90-12
	130v-136v	Dominica post ascensionem domini	Pope, <i>Supplementary Homilies</i> , no. IX
	136v-137v	De anticristo	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ib
	138r-142r	Dominica I de aduentu domini	Clemones, <i>CHI</i> 39
	142r-148v	Dominica II de aduentu domini	Clemones <i>CHI</i> 40
	148v-154v	De descensu Christe ad Inferos	Fadda, in <i>Studi Medievali</i>
	154v-157r	Ælfric's preface to CHI, adapted as a homily	Clemones, <i>CHI</i> , pp. 174/57-176/119
	157r-160r	In assumptione sancte marie uirginis	Godden <i>CHII</i> .29

Table 3. Outline of the contents of Junius 121. The penitential section of the manuscript is outlined in the black rectangle; the first part of the *Old English Introduction* and the text beginning 'Leofa man' are printed in bold. The shading corresponds to the scribal hands, as in Tables 1 and 2.