

Folcard of St Bertin

The Life of St Botolph
Latin & English
Together with abbreviated versions

(*BHL* 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431 & al.)

Edited & Translated by Roger Pearse¹

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Contents

Introduction	3
BHL 1428 – the Life by Folcard.....	6
English translation.....	6
Latin text	11
BHL 1429 – Epitome by John of Tynemouth (= NLA)	20
Introduction	20
English translation.....	21
Latin text	24
Introduction to the Breviaries.....	29
BHL 1430 – The Schleswig and Uppsala Breviaries (1496/1512).....	29
Introduction	29
English translation.....	30
Latin text	31
The Linköping Breviary / Breviarium Lincopense (1493)	35
English translation.....	35
Latin text	35
MS Uppsalensis C446 (1493).....	36
Introduction	36
English translation.....	36
Latin text	37
The York Breviary / Breviarium Eboracensis (1493)	38
English translation.....	38
Latin text	39
The Aarhus Breviary / Breviarium Arhusiense (1519).....	39
English translation.....	39
Latin text	40
The Nidaros (Trondheim) Breviary / Breviarium Nidrosiense (1519)	41
English translation.....	41
Latin text	42
Concerning Saints Thancred, Torhtred and Tova.....	44
Introduction	44
English translation.....	44
Latin text	45

Introduction

BHL 1431 – The Translation of the Saints Who Rest at Thorney Abbey	48
English translation.....	48
Latin text	50
Appendix 1 – The Manuscripts and Editions.....	53
Manuscripts of the full text.....	53
Editions of the Full Text	53
Manuscripts and Editions of Derivative Texts.....	54
Appendix 2 – Analysis of the Manuscript Tradition.....	56
Later manuscripts	57
Table of Manuscript Differentiators	58
Stemma	58

Introduction

This document contains an English translation of each of the medieval “saints’ lives” about St Botolph, together with a critical Latin text for each and a collation of the manuscripts and editions.

St Botolph (d. 680) was an Anglo-Saxon saint and abbot. Together with his brother Adolph, he founded a monastery in 654² at Icanhoe. This is probably the modern Iken, on the Suffolk coast. He was notable as a monastic reformer, introducing continental observances. The monastery was destroyed during the Viking raids, and his remains, together with those of his brother Adolph, were removed – translated –, and divided between Ely, Thorney Abbey, Bury St Edmunds and Westminster. He is commemorated on 17 June, and his translation is commemorated on 1 December.³

There are quite a large number of English parish churches dedicated to St Botolph. There is also a Society of St Botolph, which issues a newsletter including useful scholarly analysis of the primary sources about Botolph and the churches dedicated to him.

A “Life” of Botolph, with related documents, was written in Latin by Folcard of St Bertin, Abbot of Thorney Abbey, in 1070. The “Life” was dedicated to Wakelyn, the Norman Bishop of Winchester, who was promoting the cult of St Swithin there in place of that of St Botolph. The circumstances of the creation of this dossier have been analysed in full by Rosalind Love.⁴

The “Life” then passed into liturgical use, which led to an abbreviated version, and was then the basis for collections of readings on St Botolph’s day in breviaries.

² The date comes from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

³ D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (2003), p.73: Botulf.

⁴ Rosalind Love, “The Anglo-Saxon Saints of Thorney Abbey and their Hagiographer”, in: L. Lazzari &c (edd.), *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: Adopting and Adapting Saints’ Lives into Old English Prose (c. 950-1150)*, Brepols (2014), pp.499-534. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TEMA-EB.4.01024>.

Introduction

No translation of any of this material is available to the public, so this document has been made in order to provide one. The Latin text is given as well for each version, together with a collation of the sources for the text.

Rosalind Love has been at work preparing an edition of the “Life,” with English translation, since at least 2015. When it appears this will become the standard work. In the mean time, it is hoped that this document will prove useful.

The *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* gives the following list of recensions of the “Life”:

BHL 1428 – the full “Life” by Folcard, including the prefatory letter to Wakelyn.

BHL 1429 – an abbreviated “Life” made by John of Tynemouth for his *Sanctilogium* and printed in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*. The literature wrongly associates this with the name of John Capgrave. This text includes an abbreviated text of the “Translatio.”

BHL 1430 – a much shorter version of the “Life” printed in the *Breviarium Upsalense* in 1496 and in the *Breviarium Slesvicense* in 1512.⁵ Other, still shorter and still more heavily revised versions exist in breviaries.

BHL 1431 – a narrative of the movement - “Translatio” - of the remains of St Botolph, and other saints of Thorney Abbey.

Not listed in the BHL is the *Vitae Thancredi, Torhtredi et Tovae*, three hermits of Thorney Abbey, which must have been part of Folcard’s dossier.

All these have been edited and translated below. The manuscripts and editions of BHL 1428 are discussed and analysed in the appendices; those for the rest are listed at the start of the Latin texts.

The Latin text of BHL 1428 was created only in order to make the translation. The only excuse for making the attempt is that neither of the existing early modern editions are fit for use. The d’Achery edition is the better of the two, but marred by minor arbitrary changes.

The upcoming edition of Rosalind Love will no doubt become the standard critical edition and translation when it appears. In the meantime it is hoped that this edition will be useful.

Apart from the breviaries, the Latin texts are not intended as a diplomatic copy. Anyone wishing this will find that all the printed sources can be found online and consulted directly. Instead these texts are intended to be read by modern Latin readers. They are punctuated accordingly, use “u” and “v” etc, punctuation, and “ae” where a medieval might well write “e”, with or without a squiggle underneath. Spelling has been lightly normalised, but not relentlessly. The breviary texts are mainly given as printed.

The apparatus gives the readings without such normalisation. Because there is a limited number of manuscript witnesses, the apparatus is a positive apparatus, containing the reading in all those witnesses; rather than only those where a manuscript is different from the main text. Not every

⁵ John Toy, “St Botolph: An English saint in Scandinavia”, in M.O.H.Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, York (2003), pp.565-570.

Introduction

single variant is listed, however. The purpose of collating the manuscripts was to allow the stemma to be constructed, and to explain significant variants.

After analysing the tradition, the edition of BHL 1428 is mainly based on MSS J and H.

It is difficult to decide how to spell the name of the saint. The earliest Latin manuscripts spell his name as Botulf. This has been retained in the Latin texts included here. However every parish church in England spells the name as Botolph, and therefore this name is the one that will be recognised by the general reader. It seemed best to use this spelling in the English translations, therefore.

I am grateful to Denis Pepper, secretary of the Society of St Botolph, who gave me a copy of an English translation of all the Botolph material in the *Acta Sanctorum*, including the introduction and notes. The Word file in which this is contained is dated 13 May 2004, and the author is identified as D. G. Dalziel. This came into my hands after I had created draft translations of all the texts. I have taken the opportunity to improve my translations by adopting some of its phrasings.

I would truly like to thank all those library staff who very kindly and promptly enabled me to obtain photographs of the manuscript material.

Roger Pearse
Ipswich
8 December 2025

BHL 1428 – the Life by Folcard

English translation

Prologue

To his most beloved Father and Lord, and likewise most reverend Bishop, Walkelin,⁶ the least of monks, Brother Folcard,⁷ (offers) the service of all devotion.

Without any previous merit in life, but on the contrary, alas! while living in my sins, I found myself, under the appearance of pastoral care, in the monastery of Thorney, and there, captivated by the loveliness of my most distinguished habitation, I held fast to the very delight of that place. Various things came to mind which inclined my unwilling and sinful mind to love it. First of all, because the title of the same place is most especially ascribed to the Blessed Mary, the Mother of God, who, because she is known as the Mother of Mercy by those who have fallen and wishing to be restored, is held as the first and foremost refuge to obtain forgiveness. In next place, there is that solitude, the friend of holy religion, impervious to carelessness, and watered by the most pleasant woodlands, continuous marshes, and interflowing streams; moreover ennobled by the desire and affection of the most devout bishop in God, Ethelwold,⁸ and enriched through his pious zeal with so many relics⁹ of the Saints; among which, so they say, and it is quite believable, he chose to end the course of his present life in the way of spiritual communal living. For I was bound by these motives of worldly matters, like an ass or an ox to the manger of the Lord; at which place, after I was made his donkey, I have resolved to remain, always, until my sin passes away through His grace.

But seeing the saints resting in the same basilica, recommended by no written record, and jealous for antiquity, I wanted to offer those things that I was able to learn about them to your ears first, lest an unlearned discourse, unsupported by any defender, exposed to mockery, should obtain more a guffaw of rivals rather than a hearing. However certain things have been found in old books, albeit badly written, and some were briefly recorded by the foremost bishop himself among the privileges of the same monastery, the rest were gathered from the narration of the older monks, as they were told to them by those older still. However, I present everything to you, distinguished Father, out of the devotion of my heart and to be examined by your judgment, so that, if any rival should raise his dog-like hackles against our effort, then the paternal shield of your authority may protect the little work of our humility.

⁶ Lit. Walcelinus. Norman bishop of Winchester after the conquest. See R. Browett, “The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest of England: St Æthelwold of Winchester as a Case Study”, in: *History* 101, no. 2 (345) (2016), pp.183-200: “Importantly, Folcard’s text was dedicated to Walkelin. In manuscripts, the *Translatio* is prefaced by his dedicatory letter, and Folcard’s *Life of St Botolph*. The letter survives in two manuscripts: the century London, BL, Harley 3097, fos 61b-64b, and the thirteenth century London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D III, fos 223b-225b.” In fact it is also found in J.

⁷ Folcard was also abbot of Thorney Abbey.

⁸ St Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, who refounded Thorney Abbey ca. 972 as a Benedictine abbey. (*Wulfstan, Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ch. 24).

⁹ Lit. “pledges.”

1. The benevolence of almighty God – compassionate towards the error of the human race, which, after it was stripped by the ancient serpent of the glory granted to it by heaven, is condemned to the darkness of ignorance – wished to display the riches of His mercy in the restoration of it, so that (the human race) might return to the glory of the light from which it had blindly strayed, through the Light which He bestowed upon it, by His ineffable grace. For the fall of the first man had blocked up the entrance to Paradise with the guard of the Cherubim and a flaming sword, which the forgiving mercy of the eternal Father unlocked through the passion of His Christ, and illuminated most brightly the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem through the radiant splendour of glittering precious stones; so that, illuminated by their light, and cleansed from the old darkness, we may enter without offense the hall of the heavenly banquet, which the grace of our King has changed¹⁰ us to eternally receive. His grace gives light to those precious stones of infinite brightness, which are indeed the worthy examples of the saints set before us, so that, by imitating their teaching and life, we may attain to their holy fellowship. Among these He exalted, for their preeminent virtues, through His free mercy, the fathers of venerable life Adolph and Botolph, whose merits we strive to celebrate with the praises and acclamations of this day; so that, educated by their teaching, we may follow in their unerring footsteps along the path they trod. Let us first declare, as the grace of God has granted, and the justifiable fame of this world sometimes teaches,¹¹ who they were, and how they completed life's course in our present theatre.

2. Before the Christian religion had spread widely in Britain, [these two]¹², born of noble blood, bound together by brotherly kinship and affection, were already initiated into the studies of heavenly matters. They were born of the Saxon race, which had conquered Britain by martial prowess, and had learned the faith of the Christian religion through various teachers, but as yet, being undeveloped, it had not attained perfection in heavenly instruction and the higher life. So all the nobles sent their offspring to Saxony, the ancient homeland of their race, so that there they might learn more fully both the glory of the holy faith, and the discipline of holy communal living in apostolic institutions. In this way, they both crossed the sea, and, just as bees for the sake of honey eagerly settle on various flowers, so did they seek out the monasteries of the saints, requested meetings, and obtained instruction. There, therefore, soaked in the monastic rules and trained in the disciplines of the stricter holy life, they finally put off the habit of the world and put on the armour of God; ready, that is, to resist the attacks of the devil. After tonsuring the hair of their heads, they climbed up the step of holy orders,¹³ and by the grace of God, they acquired the ability among more perfect men, not only to be taught, but to teach.¹⁴

3. By means of this grace the older of the brothers, namely St. Adolph, became famous in the court of the king, and so, by his favour and at the petition of the people, he was raised to the episcopal chair, and he became foremost in labour and teaching in the church of Christ. Then, once enthroned

¹⁰ "invited" - Edd.

¹¹ This statement shows us that the author wrote about both saints based only upon common report, and that he only had something in writing about the end of the life of Botolph, beginning with chapter 4. But [Capgrave] omitted this [prologue]. – DP.

¹² The subject of the sentence is "they". C inserts here "the holy brothers Adulf and Botulf."

¹³ Order of St. Benedict.

¹⁴ A large section of this sentence is accidentally omitted in the Bollandist edition.

in the dignity¹⁵ of the church of Utrecht he did credit to the honour that he had received by worthy hard work. For he was vigilant, like a wise man, over the commandments of the Lord,¹⁶ keeping watch¹⁷ over his flock with unceasing care, in case the lurking wolf by some harmful means should offer insult to the flock committed to his care. He devoted himself to works of mercy, feeding the poor, clothing the needy, correcting the erring, and comforting the sorrowful¹⁸, so that he might obtain from the Lord the same reward of piety, as promised in the Gospel. “Blessed,” He says, “are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.”¹⁹ He accompanied his fasting with vigils, he extended his vigils with psalm-singing, he sanctified the psalm-singing with pious tears, he prefixed his doctrine with works, leading a holy life in all things. Finally, to bring an end to our account, in everything he showed himself as befits a servant of God.

4. But the blessed Father Botolph, preserved by the divine mercy so that he might benefit his native land by this teaching and this holy way of communal living, after becoming more perfect by the grace of God and by his long fervour for holy religion, now resolved to return to England out of eagerness to do good. Now in the same monastery where he was staying there were two sisters of King Ethelmund,²⁰ who then ruled over the southern English, and they valued Father Botolph as a leading teacher of holiness and chastity, and especially on account of his zeal for his nation. For while still very young, they had been sent beyond the sea, to learn the discipline of heavenly wisdom in the monastic gymnasium.²¹ But on hearing that their blessed and beloved teacher wished to return home, sorrowfully they entrusted him with instructions to be carried to their brother the king and to their mother the queen, who was named Siwara, and jointly held the sceptre of the kingdom, because of the immature age of her quite young son. When at length he arrived in his native land, father Botolph brought to the hitherto uninformed the standard of the regular life, and, as a great legislator on monastic observances, he taught this previously unknown approach. He was then received honourably by the king and queen, who, after hearing and seeing him, approved in reverence of his religious life, and in devout goodwill they contributed generous support for his necessary expenses.

5. But once the petitions and instructions of his sisters were heard, [asking] that he grant some land to him for building a monastery, out of love for a divine reward, and as the queen whom we mentioned earlier strongly was interceding [for him], he became increasingly beloved, both by the king himself, and all the nobles of the kingdom. For, in order to encourage His servant, God stirred up the king’s heart with His grace, and made him well-disposed towards his petition and desire. At the same time the other kings of the Angles, Ethelhere and Ethelwold,²² kinsmen of the same Ethelmund, had come together, and they suggested to him that he should agree to the petition of the man of God. They also wanted to offer and bestow upon him lands from their own estates, with

¹⁵ Lit. “honour”.

¹⁶ Cf. Mt. 25:13; Mark 13:33-7; Luke 12:37.

¹⁷ Keeping vigil, or nightly vigils. “excubias celebrans”, “celebrating the watches” (of the night). Cf. Sylvia Parsons, David Townsend, “Gender”, in: R. Hexter and D. Townsend (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature* (2012), p.440.

¹⁸ Reading “maerentibus” rather than “merentibus”, “deserving.”

¹⁹ Matthew 5:7.

²⁰ The spelling of the king’s name varies in the manuscripts – see note to Latin text.

²¹ I.e. the monastery, where the “athletes of Christ” trained.

²² The spelling of these names also varies considerably in the manuscripts.

a devout intention for the service of heavenly worship, if he would accept them. But the blessed religious man Botolph, to avoid causing trouble to anyone on his account, and because his own carnal relatives at court²³ were handling royal property confidentially²⁴ under the same king, persisted in his own petition. For he simply asked, not that anyone should be deprived of their hereditary right for his sake by royal violence, but rather that he should grant him only something out of his own uncultivated lands, or those lacking an owner, to build a church to God and in it be able to gather brothers to serve there under divine laws,²⁵ whose God-pleasing way of communal living²⁶ and devout intercessions would strengthen his kingdom in this world, and eternally would repay him in heaven with everlasting rewards. What more need be said? At length the most gracious King assented to his pious petition, and granted him a free choice to build a monastery wherever the grace of God might show him.

6. Accordingly the tireless traveller, the blessed father Botolph, traversed regions laid waste by men and deserted, and while surveying them minutely from all sides, at last Ikanho by the mercy of God was found acceptable to establish the monastic life there, once appropriate buildings had been constructed. Now the same wilderness as it was forsaken by Christians, so it was occupied by demons, whose baseless apparition, on the arrival of so mighty a soldier of Christ, was from that time onwards banished, and devout way of life of the faithful introduced; so that, where the deceit of the devil had hitherto always abounded, the grace of our most gracious Originator would henceforth abound even more.

7. At the entrance of the blessed teacher Botolph, therefore, the foulest-smelling smoke billowed forth, and, realising that its exile was at hand, with horrendous shrieks it screamed, “We have inhabited this place for a long time, we thought we would inhabit it forever, since we have nowhere else. Why, O Botolph, most savage visitor, do you drive us out of these dwellings? We have offended you in nothing, we have disturbed nothing belonging to you. What do you seek through our expulsion? What do you intend to prepare for yourself in this land of ours? When the whole world is illuminated by your merits, why are you probing into our dark corners? You are behaving inhumanely, and after disregarding all compassion, because you are driving us wretched ones out, banished from every corner of the world, from even this wilderness.”

8. But the blessed Botolph, that excellent athlete of Christ, firmly restrained the empty mob with a preliminary prayer, and making the sign of the cross, put them to an unwholesome flight, and by the mighty power of his words he barred them from the land which had been divinely granted to him. So the minions of temptation were expelled by means of the cross of Christ, and the standard of heavenly authority was set up at the front, and a hall of divine residence was constructed. A short time had not yet passed when he completed the work that he had begun, following the model of the

²³ Lit. “around the same king.”

²⁴ A difficult sentence. “*a secretis*”, i.e. confidential councillors or secretaries. In France “in the eleventh century certain councillors are *a secretis*.” (L. B. Dibben, “Secretaries in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries”, *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), p. 431) “tractabant” could be “manage (affairs)” (OLD 6), but more usually is “dragging away” (OLD 1) or “handling” (OLD 2). So possibly the sense might also be “were carrying away royal property secretly”, i.e. engaged in fraud. In either case the suspicion would be that any “gift” to Botolph was unauthorised.

²⁵ i.e. the monastic rule.

²⁶ “*conversatio*.”

monasteries in which he had practised the way of communal living in the regions of Gaul, and the divine mercy worked with him in all things.

9. Then like a good shepherd he gathered Christ's sheep into the heavenly fold, and, leading them through life-giving pastures, he taught them to avoid the divisions of hell, and to prepare for the joys of the paradise which flourishes for eternity. The most mighty labourer devoted himself in the vineyard of Christ to cultivating it faithfully, working therefore day and night unceasingly, to cutting back with the sickle of heaven whatever was growing unprofitably, and²⁷ to cleansing more studiously the faults of life, so that, from his more abundant fruit he might rejoice in eternal delight. For observing with unwavering diligence the apostolic teaching and the institutions of the Holy Fathers in himself, he exhorted and taught his disciples by example, to avoid being condemned for failing to keep to his own teaching. What he had learned in lands beyond the seas about the stricter life and regular practice of the monks, repeating from memory, he accustomed his disciples to, through daily instruction, with his usual gentleness. Yet where circumstances demanded, with pastoral authority he summoned them and enforced the commandments of salvation, compassionate, like the apostle, to the obedient, but more stern towards those more lax and neglectful. Following the example of the blessed father Benedict, mixing the old with the new, and the new with the old,²⁸ he taught his disciples now the institutions of the ancients, now things understood by himself, and established them in every path of truth and holiness.

10. He was valued by all, as much by those who knew him across the seas, as by the native inhabitants of his homeland,²⁹ because he had demonstrated by his pious example the actions which he was preaching by his speech and words. He was never arrogant, never puffed-up, even when pointing out what was wrong, but in everything he was notably gentle and humble, pleasant and approachable. It was often reported by those who were trained under his discipline and who enjoyed his presence while he lived, by what great signs of miracles he became conspicuous through the grace of God; by what a great spirit of prophecy he shone forth as a truthful seer so that sometimes, instructed by God, he revealed future things as if already past; and also by what a great weakness of body he was oppressed, yet he nevertheless persisted most patiently in giving thanks, just like the blessed Job. He was always holding a discussion about the progress of souls; always there was a eulogy resounding in his mouth about the joy of eternal happiness, lest at any time, when unoccupied with these things, he should seem to have neglected the organ of the tongue. So in such arguments and teaching of life he passed his days, and in such a way did the Angelic Father reach a worthy old age.

²⁷ AASS inserts here “[he did not fear to expose his body]”, as a second main clause, with the explanation “Not in the *Uticense*, [i.e. Ach.] but again required by the sense.” Evidently DP felt that the sentence should be split into two parts, each with its own main clause.

²⁸ Cf. the Rule of St Benedict, probably chapter 64: “Oportet ergo eum esse doctum Lege divina, ut sciat et si unde proferat nova et vetera...”; “It behoves him therefore to be learned in the divine law, that he may thence bring forth things new and old...” Tr. W.K. Lowther Clark, SPCK (1931).

²⁹ I.e. his neighbours. An important variant appears at this point in manuscript R, clearly introduced by the copyist. This says, “by the nearby Scots of his homeland.” Manuscript R contains a revised and abbreviated version of the text which often reads differently. Unfortunately the editor of the AASS introduced the reference to Scotland into his own text, and this has misled modern writers. The reading made its way into the text used in breviaries.

11. But as the end of his life drew near, and his illness grew more serious, his pious resolve did not fail. But he admonished his dear sons, whom he had begotten for Christ through divine teaching, with a kindly word, and he found it pleasant and delightful to frequently repeat [the instructions] about observing the rules of the monastery, which he, as a pilgrim, had sought out. But this unwearied soldier of Christ, distinguished by his long pursuit of the virtues, this glorious old man, who lingered even in long illness among the brothers, at last, by God's summoning him, was released from his prison of flesh, from the earthly man, while his disciples stood around, and following his departure with heavenly funeral rites and tender lamentations. Accompanied by their groans and tearful sighs, after the long labours of this world, he was carried up to heaven to be crowned, so he was found worthy to hear that joyful voice of his Lord in the heavenly places, (saying), "Well done, good and faithful servant, I will set you over many, enter into the joy of your master!"³⁰ He was then buried by his disciples in the same monastery that he had built, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July,³¹ where through his intercession many glorious miracles take place, to the praise and glory of Almighty God, who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

Latin text

Details of the manuscripts and an analysis of the tradition may be found in appendices 1 and 2.

Sigla

Manuscripts of the Full Text

- **J** = Cambridge, St Johns College, H.6.
- **H** = London, British Library Harley 3097.
- **T** = London, British Library Cotton Tiberius D. iii.
- **P** = Paris BNF lat. 13092 (= S. Ebrulfi Uticensis).
- **G** = London, Grays Inn 3.
- **C** = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker 161.
- **Ⓞ** indicates the consensus of J, H, P, G.

Editions

- **Ach.** = Luc d'Achery, & Jean Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 3: *Saeculum III: quod est ab anno Christi DCC ad DCCC*, Paris (1672), pp. 3-7. Copy of P.
- **AASS** = *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. vol. 3, 402 (1701), pp.398-406
- **Har.** = T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, Part 1, London (1862) pp.373-4. Prologus only.

Manuscripts of Abbreviated Texts

- **L** = Lincoln Cathedral Library 7.
- **K** = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 706.
- **R** = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, SN12814 (olim Rooklooster).

³⁰ Matt. 25: 21.

³¹ 17 June.

*Prologus*³²

Desiderantissimo Patri et Domino suo, et aequae reverentissimo praesuli, Walcelino, monachorum minimus, frater Fulcardus, obsequia totius devotionis.

Nulla praecedente vitae merito, sed econtra,³³ proh dolor! peccatis meis agentibus, sub specie pastoralis curae in coenobium Thornense incidi, ibique venustate illustrissimae habitationis captus, ipsa eadem loci delectatione inhaesi. Res diversae occurrebant quae nolentem iniquitatis animum ad affectum sui inclinabant; in primis, quia titulus eiusdem loci Beatae Dei Genitrici Mariae potissimum ascribitur, quae³⁴ quia Mater misericordiae dinoscitur lapsis resurgere volentibus, sub optentu veniae prior et principalis respectus habetur. Deinde solitudo illa, sanctae religionis amica, nulli incuriae pervia, silvisque amoenissimis et continuis paludibus atque interfluentibus aquis irrigua; praeterea desiderio et affectu devotissimi Deo praesulis Adelwoldi illustrata, et tot sanctorum pigneribus³⁵ pio ipsius studio ditata; in qua, ut aiunt, et satis credi potest, cursum vitae praesentis³⁶ finire delegerit in conversatione theorica. His enim infirmarum rerum causis alligatus sum, ut asinus vel bos ad praesepe Domini; apud quem, ut jumentum factus, semper adhaerere, donec transeat iniquitas ex eius gratia, proposui.

Videns autem sanctos in eadem basilica pausantes, nulla scriptorum memoria commendatos, indignatus antiquitati, quae de eis addiscere potui, tuis auribus primum offerre volui, ne rusticior sermo, nullo suffultus defensore, derisioni expositus, aemulorum cachinnum potius optineret quam auditum. Reperta sunt tamen quaedam in veteribus libris vitiose descripta, quaedam ab ipso praecipuo praesule in privilegiis eiusdem coenobii sunt breviter annotata, caetera ex relatione veterum, ut ab antiquioribus sunt eis exhibita. Omnia tamen ex devotione cordis tibi, eximie pater, tuoque examini discutienda, exhibeo, ut si quis aemulus caninas erexerit cristas labori nostro, humilitatis nostrae opusculum tuae auctoritatis paterna contegat defensio.³⁷

I.³⁸ Omnipotentis Dei benignitas, compatiens errori humani generis, quod ab antiquo serpente caelitus concessa denudatum gloria, ignorantiae damnatur tenebris; divitias misericordiae suae in eius restauratione exhibere voluit, ut ad gloriam lucis de qua caecum aberraverat, rediret per lumen quod ei ineffabili gratia administravit. Aditum siquidem paradisi lapsus hominis primi cherubim custodia et³⁹ flammeo obstruxerat mucrone, quem propitia patris aeterni pietas in Christi sui reseravit passione, portasque caelestis Jerusalem rutilantium gemmarum clarissime lucenti illustravit splendore, ut earum lumine illustrati et veteribus tenebris purgati, ingrediamur absque offensione aulam caelestis convivii, ad quod aeternaliter percipiendum mutavit⁴⁰ nos gratia regis nostri.

³² "Incipit prologus in vita beati Botulfi abbatis." – J; "Prologus sequentis opusculi" – H (in margin "Fulcardus" in much later hand); "Incipit prologus ??|tis opusculi in vitam beati Botulfi ab???" – T.

³³ "econtra" – J, H, T; "e contra" – Har.

³⁴ "quae" – J, H; "cui" – Har.

³⁵ "pigneribus" – J, H; "pignoribus" – Har.

³⁶ "vitae praesentis" – J; "praesentis vitae" – H, Har.

³⁷ "Explicit prologus" – J; none – H; "Explicit pro|???? sancti Botulfi abbatis." – T;

³⁸ Chapter 1 is omitted in the NLA.

³⁹ om. – Ach.; & – Φ, C, AASS;

⁴⁰ "mutavit" – J, H, P; "mutavit" changed to "invitavit" – C; "invitavit" – Ach., AASS, G. ("mutavit"=changed, "invitavit" = invited. "mutavit" is the original, lectio difficilior, and fits the sense better)

Gemmas illas infinitae claritatis sua illuminat gratia, quae scilicet sanctorum sunt nobis proposita exemplaria merita, ut eorum doctrinam et vitam imitando perveniamus ad eorum sancta consortia. Inter quos venerabilis vitae patres Adulfum et Botulfum, quorum merita hodiernis celebrare conamur laudibus et praeconiis, gratuita pietate praeclaris extulit virtutibus,⁴¹ et competentibus vitae documentis, ut eorum institutione eruditi per viam qua praecesserunt inoffensis sequamur vestigiis. Dicamus in primis prout donaverit Dei gratia, et mundi interdum probabilis edocet fama, qui fuerint, vel qualiter cursum vitae in praesenti theatro compleverint.⁴²

II. Antequam in Britannia Christiana religio dilataretur,⁴³ nobilibus orti natalibus, germana nativitate et caritate devincti, studiis mox initiantur caelestibus. Nati sunt de saxonica gente, quae Britanniam bellica adquisierat⁴⁴ virtute, et fidem Christianae religionis per diversos doctores didicerat, sed adhuc rudis perfectionem caelestium documentorum et altioris vitae non attigerat. Soboles ergo suas quique nobiles ad antiquam stirpis suae altricem dirigunt Saxoniam, ut ibi plenius addicerent et sanctae fidei gloriam, et sanctae conversationis in apostolicis institutionibus disciplinam. Hoc modo uterque⁴⁵ transfretant medium pelagus, et ut apes mellis gratia fervide diversis insident floribus, sic sanctorum requirunt coenobia, expetunt colloquia, percipiunt documenta. Ibi ergo monasterialibus imbuti regulis, et sanctis vitae artioris informati⁴⁶ disciplinis, tandem exuunt habitum mundi, et induunt armaturam Dei, parati scilicet resistere impugnationibus diaboli. Attonsi⁴⁷ comam capitis, gradus⁴⁸ conscendunt sacri ordinis,⁴⁹ et non solum doceri, sed ex gratia Dei inter⁴⁸ perfectiores⁵⁰ potestatem adepti sunt docendi.

III. Qua gratia priorem fratrum⁵¹, sanctum videlicet Adulfum, personuit fama in regis aula, unde eius favore populique petitione sublimatur in pontificali cathedra, fitque summus opere et doctrina in Christi ecclesia. Inthronizatus autem in Trajectensis ecclesiae honore, susceptum honorem condigno decoravit labore.⁵² Vigilavit enim, ut vir sapiens, in praeceptis Domini, assidua sollicitudine excubias celebrans ovilis sui, ne insidians lupus detrimento aliquo insultaret sibi commisso gregi. Instat operibus misericordiae in pascendis pauperibus, vestiendis indigentibus, corrigendis errantibus, consolandis merentibus, ut eadem pietatis vicem consequeretur a Domino, sicut promittit in evangelio. “Beati, inquit, misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.”⁵³ Ieiunia prosequitur vigiliis, vigiliis intendit psalmodiis, psalmodias sanctificat piis lacrymis, actu praevenit

⁴¹ “virtutibus & competentibus vitae ... mundi interdum” –Φ, T, Ach., AASS; “virtutibus. De quibus prout donaverit dei gratia, &” – C.

⁴² “compleverint.” – Φ, T, Ach., AASS; “compleverint, in medium proferamus.” – C.

⁴³ om. –Φ, T, NLA, Ach., AASS; “sancti fratres Adulfus et Botulfus” – C.

⁴⁴ “adquisierat” – J, H, T, G, C, NLA; “adquisiverat” – P, Ach.; “acquisiverat” – AASS.

⁴⁵ “uterque” – Φ, C; “utrique” – Ach., AASS.

⁴⁶ “informati” – J, P, G, C, NLA, Ach., AASS; “infirmati”, corrected to “o” – H (obvious scribal error in H).

⁴⁷ “: attonsi” – Ach., AASS; “. Attonsi” – Φ, T, C.

⁴⁸ “conscendunt... inter” – all, NLA; om. – AASS.

⁴⁹ C begins a new sentence here, the rest do not.

⁵⁰ “perfectioris” – AASS.

⁵¹ “priorem fratrum” – H, J; “prioris fratris” – G; “priorem fratrem” – P, C, Ach., AASS.

⁵² Rest of chapter 3 omitted in C.

⁵³ Mt. 5:7 – “beati misericordes quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur.”

doctrinam, in omnibus sanctam agens vitam. Postremo, ut finem prosequamur verbi,⁵⁴ in omnibus se exhibet sicut decet servum Dei.⁵⁵

IV. Beatus vero⁵⁶ pater Botulfus divina reservatus pietate, ut doctrina et sancta conversatione⁵⁷ prodesset nativae patriae suae, postquam Dei gratia et diutino⁵⁸ profecerat sanctae religionis fervore, disposuit iam ad Angliam pro caritatis studio repedare. Erant autem, in eodem monasterio quo morabatur⁵⁹, sorores duae Edelmundi⁶⁰ regis qui tunc australibus praeerat Anglis, diligebantque⁶¹ praecipuum patrem Botulfum sicut doctorem sanctitatis et castimoniae,⁶² et plurimum ob studium gentis suae. Adhuc siquidem tenellulae missae fuerant ultra mare, ad discendam scilicet⁶³ in monasteriali gymnasio⁶⁴ disciplinam caelestis sophiae.⁶⁵ Audientes⁶⁶ autem beatum et dilectum doctorem velle repatriare, maerentes mandata imponunt, perferenda⁶⁷ regi⁶⁸ fratri et⁶⁹ genitrici reginae, quae Siwara⁷⁰ nomine sustinebat pariter regni sceptrum, propter adolescentioris filii aevum immaturum. Perveniens tandem beatus pater Botulfus in nativam patriam suam, imperitis⁷¹ eatenus vitae regularis attulit normam, et in⁷² monasticis observationibus magnus legislator⁷³ antea incognitam edocuit⁷⁴ viam.⁷⁵ Suscipitur autem honorifice a rege et regina, pro audita et visu⁷⁶ approbata religiositatis eius reverentia, et devoto affectu in necessariis sumptibus larga impenduntur obsequia.⁷⁷

⁵⁴ “prosequamur verbi” – all, NLA; “imponamus verbis” – AASS.

⁵⁵ C restarts, L starts here.

⁵⁶ “vero” –Φ, T, C, Ach., AASS; om. – L, R, K. The MSS used by the Bollandists started here (DP).

⁵⁷ “sancta conversatione” –Φ, C, L, Ach.; “conversatione sancta” – R, K, AASS.

⁵⁸ “diutino” –Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “diuino” – L. (probably just a typo by the copyist of L).

⁵⁹ “monasterio quo morabatur” –Φ, C, L, K, NLA, Ach.; “quo morabatur monasterio” – R, AASS.

⁶⁰ “Edelmundi” – J, H, P, C, Ach., AASS; “Ethemundi” – L, NLA; “Ethmundi” – R; “Edmundi” – K; “Aepelmundi” – G. (Possible sign of a Scandinavian connection?)

⁶¹ “diligebantque” –Φ, C, Ach., AASS; “quae diligebant” – L; “quae patrem Botulfum diligebat sicut praecipuum doctorem” – R; “quae patrem Botulphum diligebant sicut praecipuum doctorem” – K.

⁶² “castimoniae” –Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “castimoniae amatorem” – L.

⁶³ “scilicet” –Φ, C, L, Ach.; om. – R, K, AASS.

⁶⁴ “gymnasio” –Φ, C, L, Ach.; om. – R, K, AASS. At this point P starts to include additional material in a smaller hand, apparently from the medieval sanctoral office of St Botolph.

⁶⁵ “caelestis sophiae” –Φ, C, Ach.; “sophiae caelestis” – L, R, K, AASS.

⁶⁶ “audientes” – J, H, G, C, L, K; “udientes” - actually “Audientes”, but missing the initial ‘A’ and gap, and the “u” looks like “V” – P; “videntes” – Ach. (misread P); moved to after “velle”, “beatum” put before “autem”. – R, AASS.

⁶⁷ “perferenda” – H, P, G, C, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; “preferenda” – J. (scribal error in J)

⁶⁸ om. – J, G, L, R, K, AASS; “&” – H, P, C, Ach.

⁶⁹ “&” – Φ, C, L, K; “ac” – R; “” – Ach., AASS.

⁷⁰ “Siwara” – J, H, P, L, Ach.; “Sinuara” – C; “Sylbara” (?) – R; “Silbara” - K; “Sywara” – AASS; “Sipara” – G. (Sign of a later copy?)

⁷¹ “imperitis” –Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; om. – L.

⁷² “in” –Φ, C, Ach.; om. – L, R, K, AASS.

⁷³ “magnus legislator” –Φ, T, C, L, K, Ach.; om. – R; indicated in brackets – AASS.

⁷⁴ “edocuit” – Φ, C, L, K; “docuit” – Ach.; om. R, AASS.

⁷⁵ “viam” –Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “vitam” – L.

⁷⁶ “audita & visu” –Φ, C, K, Ach.; “audita & visa” – L; “auditu & visu” – R, AASS.

⁷⁷ P adds here in tiny letters (near impossible to read in the microfilm): “Suscipitur inclitus Botolfus leto honore a rege & principibus patrie gracia domini in omnibus comitante. Exultat fidelis populus preconem salutis ante faciem domini advenisse. Gratia.” These are more extracts from the office of S. Botolph. See Toni Schmid,

V. Auditis vero sororum suarum petitionibus et mandatis, ut scilicet in construendo monasterio aliquem fundum illi⁷⁸ concederet, ob amorem divinae⁷⁹ mercedis, interveniente studiosius regina quam praediximus, gratior⁸⁰ factus est tam ipsi regi quam cunctis regni principibus. Ad consolationem enim servi sui Deus cor regis gratia sua inspiravit, et eius petitioni ac desiderio benevolum reddidit.⁸¹ Convenerant in eodem tempore alii Anglorum reges Adelerus et Adewoldus⁸² eiusdem Edelmundi⁸³ regis propinqui; eique suggerunt ad exaudiendam petitionem viri Dei.⁸⁴ Ipsi quoque de suis praediis, si suscipere vellet, cupiebant illi largiri,⁸⁵ et offerunt devota mente ad cultum caelestis officii. Sed vir religiosus beatus⁸⁶ pater⁸⁷ Botulfus, ne qua alicui inferretur molestia sui causa,⁸⁸ et quia circa eundem regem carnales consanguinei sui tractabant a secretis⁸⁹ regalia sub eodem rege persistit in petitione sua.⁹⁰ Petit⁹¹ enim simpliciter,⁹² non ut aliquem regia violentia de hereditario jure causa sui depellat, sed potius⁹³ ut de incultis⁹⁴ terris suis sive possessore carentibus sibi tantum concedat, ut ecclesiam Deo construere, et in ea divinis legibus servientes possit fratres adunare⁹⁵, quorum Deo placita conversatione et devoto interventu regnum eius temporaliter firmari, et aeternaliter in caelis posset perennibus praemiis remunerari. Quid plura? Annuit tandem benignus rex piae petitioni, eiusque in construendo⁹⁶ monasterio ubicumque illi Dei gratia ostendet⁹⁷, liberae concessit dispositioni.⁹⁸

"Problemata", in: *Fornvännen: Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research* 58 (1963), p. 174-190.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fornvannen/html/1963_174

⁷⁸ "fundum illi" – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; "locum" – L.

⁷⁹ "divine" – J, P, T, C, L, R, K, NLA; "divinae" (e with under-squiggle) – H, G, AASS; "divina" – Ach.

⁸⁰ "gratior" – Φ, T, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; "gratiorum" – C.

⁸¹ "Ad consolationem... reddidit" – Φ, T (T ends in "reddit."), L (but L adds "assensum" after), R, K, Ach., AASS (but adds "ipsum regem" after); sentence om. – C.

⁸² "Adelerus & Adewoldus" – Φ, C, R, K, Ach.; "??rus & adelwo???" – T; "Adelherus & Adewoldus" – AASS; "Ethelredus & Ethelwoldus" – L.

⁸³ "Edelmundi" – J, H, C, AASS; "Adelmundi" – P, Ach.; "Ethelmundi" – L, "Aepelmundi" – G; "Edmundi" – R, K.

⁸⁴ P adds here: "Aspirante suo domini pietate botulfo reges lucum templi loca dant statuen."more unreadable. From the sanctoral office.

⁸⁵ "cupiebant illi largiri" – H, P, G, C, K, Ach.; "illi cupiebant largiri" – L; "cupiebant largiri illi" – J; "cupiebat illi offere et largiri devota" – R, AASS.

⁸⁶ "beatus" – Φ, C, Ach., AASS; "-us" – L, following tear in folio; om. – R, K.

⁸⁷ "pater"; om. – R, K, AASS.

⁸⁸ "causa" – Φ, C, L, R, K, AASS; "caussa" – Ach.;

⁸⁹ "secretis" – Φ, R, K, Ach., AASS; "secreta" – L.

⁹⁰ "et quia ... sua" – Φ, G, L, R, K, Ach.; most of sentence om. – C.

⁹¹ "Petit" – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; "Stetit" – L.

⁹² "enim simpliciter," – Φ, L, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; om. – C.

⁹³ "potius" – Φ, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; "poenis" – Ach.; (Presumably "poenis" is an editorial correction by d'Achery).

⁹⁴ "incultis" – Φ, C, R, K, AASS, NLA, Ach.; "multis" – L.

⁹⁵ "adunare" – Φ, T, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; "adjuvare" – Ach.; "The *Utic. Ms.* reads "help," but this reading from Capgrave and our own mss seems preferable. – DP" but in fact DP is merely repeating the reading of the d'Achery edition.

⁹⁶ "in construendo" – J, H, G, C, L, R, K, AASS; "instruendo" – P, Ach.; (the "in 9struendo" in L and R shows how the Ach./P version exists – by omitting the unfamiliar abbreviation).

⁹⁷ Start of N.

⁹⁸ "dispositioni" – Φ, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; "dispensationi" – C. "depositione"? – T (sole unique reading in this MS, nearly unreadable, but definitely "e". Probably a unique copying error); Then P has more prayers: "Signifer Christi Botulfus ...???"

VI. Circuit indefessus viator beatus pater Botulfus⁹⁹ vasta ab hominibus et deserta¹⁰⁰, et subtiliter circumquaque consideranti¹⁰¹ tandem Ikanho¹⁰² complacuit ex Dei clementia,¹⁰³ ut constructis inibi competentibus aedificiis religio pararetur monastica.¹⁰⁴ Erat autem eadem eremus ut a Christicolis¹⁰⁵ derelicta,¹⁰⁶ sic a daemonibus possessa, quorum phantastica illusio per tanti militis Christi adventum inde erat fuganda, et pia fidelium conversatio inducenda,¹⁰⁷ ut ubi superabundaverat tunc usque¹⁰⁸ diaboli fallacia, superabundaret benignissimi¹⁰⁹ Conditoris nostri¹¹⁰ gratia.¹¹¹

VII. Ad ingressum ergo beati doctoris nostri Botulfi fumus exhalat teterrimus, et agnoscens¹¹² fugam suam¹¹³ imminere, horridis personat clamoribus: “Locum hunc longo incoluimus tempore, in¹¹⁴ sempiternum putavimus incolere,¹¹⁵ nusquam¹¹⁶ alium habemus; cur, Botulfe saevissime¹¹⁷ hospes, nos his depellis sedibus? nihil te offendimus,¹¹⁸ nihil tui juris inquietavimus. Quid petis in expulsione nostra? quid tibi parare vis in hac¹¹⁹ regione nostra?¹²⁰ Cum totus orbis¹²¹ tuis clarescat meritis, quid tenebras nostras scrutaris? Inhumane agis, et omni neglecta pietate, quod ab¹²² omni profligatos orbe ab hac etiam miseros exturbas solitudine.”

VIII. Beatus vero Botulfus Christi athleta eximius, oratione praelibata constanter¹²³ inanem¹²⁴ compescit turbam, et edito crucis signo¹²⁵ in obscenam vertit fugam, et potenti verborum virtute

⁹⁹ Here and elsewhere, “Botulphus” – N.

¹⁰⁰ “deserta” – Φ, T, C, R, K, N, Ach., AASS; “deserta loca” – L.

¹⁰¹ “consideranti” – Φ, T, C, R, K, N, Ach., AASS; “considerans” – L.

¹⁰² “Ikanho” – H, P, G, C, Ach.; “Ykanho” – J, NLA; “Ikanhou ei” – L. (see SIAH article p.525); om. – R, K; “Inkanho” – N; “Ykanno” – AASS.

¹⁰³ “ex dei clementia” – J, H, P, T, L, Ach.; “dei clementia” – G; om. – R, AASS; “complacuit” – K.

¹⁰⁴ “ut...monastica” – all; om. – P, C, L, K; “aedificiis... monastica” – all; “aedificiis religio monastica illic propagaretur” – R.

¹⁰⁵ “Christicolis” – Φ, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; “Christi.colis” – C.

¹⁰⁶ “derelicta” – Φ, C, K (=“dèlicta”), Ach., AASS, NLA; “delicta” – L, R. (probably missing stroke over “l”)

¹⁰⁷ “inducenda” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “introducenda” – L.

¹⁰⁸ “usque” – Φ, T, C, Ach., NLA; “hucusque” – L (probably from misreading “t̄cusq;” as in J); “usque tunc” – R, K, AASS; unreadable – N.

¹⁰⁹ “benignissimi” – Φ, T, C, L, Ach., NLA; om. – K; “ex tunc” – R, AASS.

¹¹⁰ “nostri” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “nostri abundaret” – L.

¹¹¹ N adds before the next lectio, “Secundum Lucem: Dixit Jesus discipulis suis nemo accendit lucernam et in abscondito ponit neque sub modio sed super candelabrum qui ingrediuntur ut qui ingrediuntur, lumen videant. Etc.” (Luke 11:33)

¹¹² “agnoscens” – Φ, Ach., NLA; “agnoscentes” plus “demonēs” written above line – C (influenced by R?); “agnoscentes” – R, K, AASS; “cognoscens turba” – L; “cognoscens” – N.

¹¹³ Bottom of column missing in N.

¹¹⁴ “in” – Φ, T, L, K, Ach.; “&” – C; “ac in” – R, AASS, NLA.

¹¹⁵ comma – Φ, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; full stop, next capital – C.

¹¹⁶ “nusquam” – Φ, L, K, Ach.; “Nusquam” – C; (the N looks like H); unreadable but different – R; “quoniam nusquam” – AASS.

¹¹⁷ “saevissime” – J, H, G, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; “saevissimus” – P; “sanctissimus” – Ach. (looks like a bad correction by d’Achery).

¹¹⁸ “nichil te offendimus” – J, H, G, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; “nihil tui juris” – P, Ach.

¹¹⁹ N resumes.

¹²⁰ “quid tibi...nostra” – Φ, T, C, L, NLA, Ach.; om. – R, K, AASS.

¹²¹ “totus orbis” – Φ, T, C, K, N, Ach., AASS; “tota urbs” – R, AASS note of “Mss nostra”. i.e. R and K, but actually not correct.

¹²² “ab” – Φ, C, R, K, N, Ach., AASS, NLA; om. – L.

¹²³ “constanter” – Φ, C, L, R, K, N, AASS; om. – Ach. (editorial omission?).

¹²⁴ “inanem” – Φ, C, R, K, N, Ach., AASS; “iam nunc” – L.

interdicit illis regionem sibi divinitus concessam. Expulsis ergo scandalorum satellitibus, in Christi cruce¹²⁶ praefigitur signum caelestis potentatus, et construitur aula divini incolatus.¹²⁷ Brevi necdum¹²⁸ elapso tempore, ad instar monasteriorum ubi conversatus fuerat in partibus Galliae, coeptum opus perfecit, cooperante sibi in omnibus divina pietate.¹²⁹

IX. Congregat¹³⁰ deinde,¹³¹ ut bonus pastor, in septo caelesti oves Christi, easque per salutifera pascua ducendo¹³², docet evitare discrimina inferi¹³³, et properare¹³⁴ ad gaudia¹³⁵ in aeternum florentis¹³⁶ paradisi. Instat operarius fortissimus in¹³⁷ vinea Christi fideliter excolenda, laborans utique die ac nocte incessanter, ad quaeque inutiliter succrescentia falce caeli resecanda,¹³⁸ et studiosius emundanda¹³⁹ commissa vitae, ut de eius uberiori fructu aeterna exsultaret iocunditate.¹⁴⁰ Apostolicam enim doctrinam et sanctorum patrum instituta assidua in se observans diligentia, subjectos in haec hortatur et¹⁴¹ docet exempla, ne reprobaretur a sua devius doctrina. Quod transmarinis partibus didicerat de monachorum districtiori vita et regulari consuetudine, memoriter repetendo,¹⁴² cotidianis inculcationibus subditos¹⁴³ consuescit solita¹⁴⁴ mansuetudine. Ubi vero res petebat,¹⁴⁵ pastoralis invitavit et cogit auctoritate, pius videlicet secundum apostolum in subditis, asperior¹⁴⁶ in laxioribus et negligentibus, praecepta salutis.¹⁴⁷ Secundum beati patris Benedicti documentum, vetera novis nova veteribus miscens, nunc antiquorum instituta, nunc per se intellecta discipulos edocuit, et in omnem veritatis et sanctitatis viam instituit.

X. Diligebatur¹⁴⁸ ab omnibus, tam ab his qui eum noscere poterant transmarinis, quam a patriae¹⁴⁹ suae nativis incolis¹⁵⁰, quia quod ore personabat et dictis,¹⁵¹ operum piis probaverat exemplis¹⁵². In

¹²⁵ “signo crucis” – N.

¹²⁶ “cruce christi” – N.

¹²⁷ Rest of chapter omitted – R, K. Placed in [] in AASS, with note that it’s not in R or K, but DP thinks it is genuine.

¹²⁸ “necdum” – Φ, C, R, K, N, Ach.; “interdum” – L.

¹²⁹ “pietate”; “trinitate”(?) – N.

¹³⁰ N gradually ceases to be legible from here.

¹³¹ “deinde” – J, H, T, G (=“de inde”), C, L, R, K, AASS; “in deinde” – P; “inde inde” – Ach. (probably typo for reading of P).

¹³² “pascua ducendo” – Φ, C, R, K, N, Ach., AASS; “ducendo pascua” – L. (reversal of words is a characteristic of the short version).

¹³³ “discrimina inferi” – Φ, C, Ach.; “inferni discrimina” – L; “inferni” – R, K, N, AASS.

¹³⁴ “properare” – Φ, C, L, R, K, Ach., NLA; “praeparare” – AASS.

¹³⁵ “gaudia” – Φ, C, L, R, K, Ach., NLA, AASS; “gaudium” – T (probably unique scribal error).

¹³⁶ Last clear word in N.

¹³⁷ “in” – J, H, G, C, L, R, K, AASS; “in ea” – Ach., P.

¹³⁸ “resecanda” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “resecando” – L.

¹³⁹ “emundanda” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “emundando” – L.

¹⁴⁰ “[corpus exponere non formidabat]” – Added to the end of the sentence by the Bollandists as required for the sense, but unnecessarily.

¹⁴¹ “&” – Φ, T, C, L, AASS, NLA; “et” – R, K; om. – Ach. (another editorial omission?).

¹⁴² “repetendo” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “recolendo” – L.

¹⁴³ “subditos” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “subiectos instruere” – L.

¹⁴⁴ “[docere]” – AASS, “ad sensum”.

¹⁴⁵ “petebat” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “poscebat” – L.

¹⁴⁶ “asperior” – Φ, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; om. – C (accidental omission).

¹⁴⁷ “negligentibus praecepta salutis” – Φ, C, L, R, K, AASS; Ach. ends the sentence with “negligentibus”, and transfers “praecepta salutis” to the start of the next sentence.

¹⁴⁸ “diligebatur” – Φ, L, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “diligebatur tam” – C.

nullo arrogans, in nullo tumidum quid¹⁵³ vel improbum demonstrans: sed in omnibus mitis et humilis, dulcis enituit et affabilis.¹⁵⁴ Relatum est saepius ab his qui eius instituti sunt disciplina, quique eius dum viveret usi sunt praesentia, quantis miraculorum signis ex¹⁵⁵ Dei gratia effulserit, quanto prophetiae spiritu veridicus vates claruerit, ut interdum futura acsi iam praeterita a Deo edoctus¹⁵⁶ enuntiaverit, quanta etiam corporis infirmitate pressus, in gratiarum tamen actione cum beato Job patientissimus perstiterit. Semper de profectu animarum habebat colloquium, semper de gaudio aeternae felicitatis in eius ore consonabat eulogium¹⁵⁷, nequando his vacans¹⁵⁸ linguae videretur neglexisse organum. Talibus ergo vitae argumentis et¹⁵⁹ institutionibus hoc¹⁶⁰ exegit aevum, talibusque¹⁶¹ ad condignum pater angelicus pervenit senium.

XI.¹⁶² Appropinquante autem vitae suae termino, graviorique invalescente morbo, pia tamen non defecit intentio, sed caros quos Christo divinis dogmatibus genuerat filios verbo commonet propitio, et¹⁶³ de observandis regulis monasteriorum quae peregrinus petierat, loqui et saepius repetere dulce ac delectabile¹⁶⁴ ducebat.¹⁶⁵ Sic¹⁶⁶ longis virtutum studiis adornatus miles Christi indefessus, longa etiam inter fratres invalidudine¹⁶⁷ commoratus senex gloriosus, tandem evocante Deo eum, de carnis ergastulo exutus est, homine terreno, discipulis circumstantibus, et¹⁶⁸ egressum eius caelestibus¹⁶⁹ exsequiis et dulcibus lamentis prosequentibus. Quorum gemitibus et lacrimosis suspiriis comitatus, post longos labores saeculi hujus caelo infertur coronandus, ut illam Domini sui vocem laetabundam audire mereretur in aethereis sedibus. “Euge, serve bone et fidelis,¹⁷⁰ supra¹⁷¹ multa te constituam, intra in gaudium Domini tui.”¹⁷² Sepultus est igitur a discipulis suis in eodem quod construxerat

¹⁴⁹ “patriae” – Φ, L, K, Ach.; “patre” – C; (typo, copying from e with squiggle under?); “scotis patriae” – R, AASS, Brev. Sch.

¹⁵⁰ “suae nativis incolis” – Φ, T, C, L, K, Ach.; “suae vicinis” – R, AASS.

¹⁵¹ “dictis” – Φ, T, C, Ach.; “dictis &” – L; om. – R, AASS.

¹⁵² “& dictis operum piis probaverat exemplis” – Φ, C, Ach.; “& dictis & operum piis probaverat exemplis” – L; “exemplis etiam ostendebat” – K; “exemplis ostendebat” – R, AASS.

¹⁵³ “[probum]” – AASS, perhaps from reading “vel” as “or,” instead of “even.”

¹⁵⁴ “affabilis” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “ineffabilis” – L.

¹⁵⁵ “ex” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; om. – L.

¹⁵⁶ “edoctus” – J, H, G, C; “doctus” – P, L, Ach., NLA. “a deo edoctus” om. – R, K, AASS.

¹⁵⁷ “eulogium” – Φ, T, L, Ach., AASS, NLA; “elogium” – C, R, K.

¹⁵⁸ “vacans” – Φ, T, L, R, K, Ach., AASS; “vacuans” – C.

¹⁵⁹ “&” – Φ, T, R, K, Ach., AASS; om. – C.

¹⁶⁰ “hoc” – Φ, T, C, L, Ach., NLA; “homo dei” – R, K, AASS.

¹⁶¹ “talibusque” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “talibusque meritis” – L.

¹⁶² This chapter is part of chapter 10 in Ach. The extra chapter was added in the AASS.

¹⁶³ “&” – Φ, T, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; om. – Ach.

¹⁶⁴ “delectabile” – J, H, G, T, C, L, R, K, AASS, NLA; “delectabiliter” – P, Ach.

¹⁶⁵ “ducebat” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; om. – L.

¹⁶⁶ “Sic” – J, H, G, T, C, L, NLA; “Sed” – Ach., AASS, P (=“S;”), R (=“S;”), K.

¹⁶⁷ “invalidudine” – Φ, T, C, R, K, Ach., AASS, NLA; “valitudine” – L.

¹⁶⁸ “&” – Φ, C, L, R, K, AASS; om. – Ach.

¹⁶⁹ “caelestibus” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; “celestibus celestibus” – L.

¹⁷⁰ “quia super pauca fuisti fidelis” – P, T, G, L, R, K, Ach., AASS. A gloss. om. – J, H, C.

¹⁷¹ “supra” – J (= sup with a above, but top open), H, P, G (a above), C, R (written in full), K (written in full), AASS; “sup=” – L; “super” – Ach., wrongly. The abbreviation in J is an “a”, sup^a, which looks like = on its end, and this may be the cause of the confusion.

¹⁷² “intra...tui” – Φ, C, R, K, Ach., AASS; om. – L.

monasterio quinto decimo kalendas Julii, ubi eodem interveniente multa gloriosa fiunt miracula, ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei qui vivit et regnat per omnia¹⁷³ saecula saeculorum. Amen.

¹⁷³ “omnipotentis Dei qui vivit et regnat per omnia” – all; “omnipotentis Dei qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus in” – K; “domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Deo patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus trinus et unus, per infinita” – R, AASS.

BHL 1429 – Epitome by John of Tynemouth (= NLA)

Introduction

Between 1350 and 1363 John of Tynemouth composed his *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae*; a volume full of abbreviated lives of the saints, arranged in liturgical order, following the calendar of saints' days. This included an abbreviated version of Folcard's *Life* of St Botolph. Only one copy of this *Sanctilogium* survives, the damaged 14th century British Library MS Cotton Tiberius E 1.

A revised edition was made, with the same lives rearranged into alphabetical order of saint name. Each copy seems to have a different number of lives. This survives in a number of manuscripts.

The following manuscripts were used, with one exception:¹⁷⁴

B = London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius E.1 / 2 (14th c.), fols.14v-15v. The manuscript was damaged in the Cotton fire, and today is divided into two volumes, the second containing St Botolph.

O = Oxford Bodleian MS 240 (1377), p.843-4. From Bury St Edmunds.¹⁷⁵

X = Oxford Bodleian MS Tanner 15 (15th c.), fols. 72^v-73^r. Written in Rouen in 1499 on commission for Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁷⁶

Y = York Minster Library MS. xvi. G. 23 (15th c.). Unfortunately inaccessible.¹⁷⁷

The alphabetical text was printed in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde in his *Nova Legenda Angliae* (= **NLA**).

A very abbreviated translation into English, the *Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*, was printed by Richard Pynson in 1516.¹⁷⁸

Finally the text of the NLA was reprinted in 2 volumes in 1901 by Carl Horstmann.¹⁷⁹ He chose to collate the NLA text with the British Library MS, and print a revised text. He also added additional material at the end of each saint's life, taken from other sources.

John of Tynemouth's work has often been attributed to John Capgrave ever since the 16th century. But it has been shown conclusively that Capgrave had no involvement in the text whatever.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ Listed in Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, q.v. Most likely others exist.

¹⁷⁵ Bodleian online catalogue "A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges," https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1294, accessed 17 Nov. 2025.

¹⁷⁶ Bodleian online catalogue "A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges," https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_8971, accessed 17 Nov. 2025.

¹⁷⁷ Peter J. Lucas, "John Capgrave and the *Nova legenda Anglie*: A Survey," in: *The Library*, 5th series, vol.25 (1970), pp.1-10.

¹⁷⁸ "Here begyneth the kalendre of the newe legende of Englande." In the digital collection *Early English Books Online*. <https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A17943.0001.001>. University of Michigan Library Digital Collections. Accessed November 14, 2025.

¹⁷⁹ C. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie: As collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and others, and first printed, with New Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde a.d. mdxui; now re-edited with fresh material from MS. and printed sources*, Oxford (1901), vol. 1, pp.130-133.

The text given here is that by Carl Horstmann, but with a collation in the footnotes of the Latin text of all the manuscripts, plus the 1516 edition, and the 1901 edition.

It is difficult to know how best to present the orthography of this text, which seems originally to have been written with medieval spellings. Modern readers will be misled by spellings like “sancte” when expecting “sanctae”, etc. The purpose of creating this Latin text is to make something readable, so some of the more obvious features of the text have been normalised, but otherwise it has been left as Horstmann gave it.

English translation

The chapter numbers have been added to cross-reference to the full “Life” and the *Translatio* (prefaced by T).

2. Before the Christian religion had spread widely in Britain, Botolph and Adolph, fathers of venerable life, born of noble blood, and bound together by brotherly kinship and affection, were already inspired by¹⁸¹ the studies of heavenly matters. For they were born of the Saxon race, which had conquered Britain by martial prowess, and had learned the faith of the Christian religion through various teachers, but, still unlearned, had not attained the perfection of heavenly instruction and the higher life. So all the nobles sent their offspring to Saxony, the ancient homeland of their race, in order to learn the glory of the holy faith and the discipline of holy communal living.¹⁸² For this reason, therefore, the aforesaid fathers, crossing the sea, sought out the monasteries of the saints, requested meetings, and obtained instruction.¹⁸³ There, therefore, soaked in the monastic rules and trained in the disciplines of the stricter holy life, they put on the monastic habit¹⁸⁴ and, by the grace of God, they acquired the ability among more perfect men, not only to be taught, but to teach.

3. So the king, who had heard of his fame, elevated St. Adolph to the rank of bishop of the church of Utrecht. For he was vigilant over the commandments of the Lord, keeping watch with unceasing care over his flock, in case the lurking wolf by some harmful means should offer insult to the flock committed to his care.¹⁸⁵ He devoted himself to works of mercy, feeding the poor, clothing the needy, correcting the erring, and comforting the sorrowful, so that he might obtain from the Lord the same reward of piety, as promised in the Gospel, “Blessed,” He says, “are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.” He devoted himself to vigils, fasts, and prayers. He prefixed his teaching with works, leading a holy life in all things.

4. But the blessed father Botolph, trained in holy customs, was preparing to return to England. Now in the same monastery where he was staying there were two sisters of Ethelmund, king of the southern English, sent there for the purpose of monastic discipline. They, understanding that the blessed man wished to return home, entrusted him with instructions to be carried to their brother the king. So after he had crossed the sea, Botolph was honourably received by the king.

¹⁸⁰ Peter J. Lucas, “John Capgrave and the *Nova legenda Anglie*: A Survey,” in: *The Library*, 5th series, vol.25 (1970), pp.1-10.

¹⁸¹ Folcard has “initiated into”, and Pynson “instructed in.” The text here is perhaps a copying mistake by John of Tynemouth for “initiantur.”

¹⁸² “conversatio.”

¹⁸³ “documenta”.

¹⁸⁴ “habitum”.

¹⁸⁵ I do not recognise the construction here. “gregi” must be dative, yet it is clearly the object of “insultaret.”

5. And after the God-pleasing petitions of his sisters was heard, namely that he should grant some land to him for building a monastery out of love for a divine reward, he gave his kind assent. For the holy man simply asked, that no-one should be deprived of their hereditary right for his sake by royal violence, but rather that he should grant him only something out of his own uncultivated lands, or those lacking an owner, to build a church to God and in it be able to gather brothers to serve there under divine laws, whose God-pleasing way of communal living and devout intercessions would strengthen his kingdom in this world, and eternally would repay him in heaven with everlasting rewards. The king assented to his pious petition, (6.) and the venerable father chose a certain uncultivated place, deserted by men, called Ykanho. Now that wilderness, just as it was forsaken by men, so it was occupied by demons, whose baseless apparition was, on the arrival of the holy man, from that point banished and the pious way of life of the faithful introduced, so that, where the deceit of the devil had hitherto always abounded, the grace of our most gracious Originator would henceforth abound even more.

7. At the entrance of the blessed teacher Botolph, therefore, the foulest-smelling smoke billowed forth, and recognizing that its exile was at hand, with horrendous shrieks the enemy screamed, saying, “We have inhabited this place for a long time, we thought we would inhabit it forever; why, O Botolph, most savage visitor, do you drive us out of these dwellings? We have offended you in nothing, we have disturbed nothing belonging to you. What do you seek through our expulsion? What do you intend to prepare for yourself in this land of ours, and are you driving us wretched ones out, banished from every corner of the world, from even this wilderness?”

8. But the blessed Botolph, making the sign of the cross, put all his enemies to flight, and by the mighty power of his words he barred them from the land which had been divinely granted to him.

9. Then, after he had built a monastery, like a good shepherd he gathered his sheep, he taught them to avoid divisions, and by the example of his most holy life he instructed them to hasten to joys that will last forever. For observing with constant diligence the apostolic doctrine and the institutions of the holy fathers in himself, he exhorted and taught his disciples by example. What he had learned in lands beyond the seas about the stricter life and regular practice of the monks, he accustomed his disciples to, through daily instruction, with his usual gentleness.

10. He was valued by all, never arrogant, never puffed-up, even when pointing out what was wrong, but in everything he was notably gentle and humble, pleasant and approachable. With many signs of miracles he became conspicuous during his life, and by the spirit of prophecy he shone forth as a truthful seer, and sometimes, instructed by God, he even revealed future things as if already past. Oppressed by weakness of body, he persisted most patiently in giving thanks, just like the blessed Job. He was always holding a discussion about the progress of souls; always there was a eulogy resounding in his mouth about the joy of eternal happiness. In such teaching he passed his days, and in such a way did the angelic father reach a worthy old age.

11. But as the end of his life drew near, and his illness grew more serious, his pious resolve did not fail, but his dear sons, whom he had begotten for Christ through divine teaching, he admonished with a kindly word, and he found it pleasant and delightful to frequently repeat [instructions] about observing the rules of the monastery, which he, as a pilgrim, had sought out.

So this unwearied soldier of Christ, distinguished by his long pursuit of the virtues, this glorious old man, troubled even in long illness among the brothers, at last, by God's summons, was released from his prison of flesh, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July [June 17th], and he is buried in the same monastery that he had built.

12. [T1 / AASS1] For in the time of King Edgar, St. Ethelwold, the restorer of monasteries, petitioned the king and obtained permission to transfer the bodies of the saints, from the places and the monasteries destroyed by the pagans to monasteries constructed in his time. For the monastery at Ykanho had been deprived of the communal life of the monks and obliterated by the persecutors of the blessed King Edmund, but it had not in any way been obliterated from all the devotion of the faithful. For the place was known to the local people and was diligently maintained, but for the divine offices it was served only by a single priest.

13. [T2] Now when a certain monk, Ulfkitel by name, came with many others to the tomb of St. Botolph, by the command of St. Ethelwold, and had taken up his precious bones, which were hidden in a shroud, and lifted them up on their shoulders, when they were trying to carry them away they were so immobilized by the weight that by no effort could they move a step. Moreover, the altar cloisters resounded with a great crash, and they noticed¹⁸⁶ a certain movement as if of unfinished work. Astonished, therefore, they were stupified for rather a long time. But at length, by the grace of God instructing him, the aforesaid monk remembered from something he had heard, that blessed Adolph the bishop was buried in the same place with his brother. And after they had raised his body from the earth, they joyfully carried it with them to St. Ethelwold.¹⁸⁷

14. [T3] He¹⁸⁸ granted the head of holy Botolph to the monastery of Ely, and received for himself and his court, in the reliquary¹⁸⁹ of the royal relics, half of the rest of the body, and relinquished what was left to the church of Thorney along with the body of blessed Adolph.

[AASS2] In a book of the church of St. Botolph near Aldersgate, London, it is stated that a part of the body of St. Botolph was given by King Edward of good memory to the church of blessed Peter of Westminster.

15. [T4] At the same time also, as I have found written in certain places by the same monk, by the command of bishop Ethelwold, the bones of Benedict Biscop, the venerable abbot of Wearmouth, the foster-father of the presbyter Bede, were transferred to the monastery of Thorney.¹⁹⁰ Now not far from the monastery of Thorney Saint Ethelwold built, in the place where the blessed virgin of Christ Tova had been enclosed, a small stone church, vaulted with delicate lattice-work, and a double open space dedicated to three very modest altars, surrounded on all sides up to its walls with trees of different kinds. For himself he selected the habitation of a hermit there, if God had permitted it.

¹⁸⁶ "intendunt": cf. Niermeyer 1.

¹⁸⁷ Horstmann adds here "and here to the king." But this seems to be conjecture.

¹⁸⁸ King Edgar.

¹⁸⁹ "scrinium." – Blaise, 3, quoting Folcard.

¹⁹⁰ ** The AASS transcription of the NLA ends here, and continues with a long editorial note in Italics.

Latin text

Sigla

- O = Oxford Bodleian MS 240
- X = Oxford Bodleian MS Tanner 15
- B = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E.1 (damaged)
- W = Wynkyn de Worde, 1516 edition.
- Horst. = Horstmann, 1901 edition.
- Pynson = Richard Pynson, *Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*, 1516.
- AASS = Acta Sanctorum, p.405.

DE SANCTO BOTULPHO ABBATE ET CONFESSORE.

The text is not divided in the manuscripts or editions. The chapter numbers below correspond to those in the full “Life” and are continued into the “translatio”, where the chapter numbers are continued, but the T1 etc numbers correspond to the full text of the “Translatio”.

II. Antequam in Britannia christiana religio dilataretur, venerabilis vitae patres Botulphus et Adulphus,¹⁹¹ nobilibus¹⁹² orti natalibus, germana nativitate et caritate¹⁹³ devincti, studiis mox inciantur¹⁹⁴ celestibus. Nati sunt enim¹⁹⁵ de saxonica gente, quae Britanniam bellica adquisierat virtute et fidem christianae religionis per diversos doctores didicerat,¹⁹⁶ sed adhuc rudis,¹⁹⁷ perfectionem celestium documentorum et altioris vitae non attigerat.¹⁹⁸ Soboles ergo suas quique nobiles ad antiquam stirpis suae patriam dirigunt Saxoniam, ut sanctae fidei gloriam conversationisque sanctae disciplinam addiscerent.¹⁹⁹ Ob hoc itaque patres praedicti²⁰⁰ mare transeuntes²⁰¹ sanctorum cenobia requirunt, expetunt colloquia, percipiunt documenta. Ibi ergo monasterialibus imbuti regulis, et arcioris²⁰² vitae informati disciplinis, habitum²⁰³ induunt monachalem, et non solum doceri, sed ex²⁰⁴ gratia Dei inter perfectiores potestatem adepti sunt docendi.

III.²⁰⁵ Sanctum igitur Adulphum, audita eius fama, ad traiectensem ecclesiam in episcopum rex sublimavit. Vigilavit enim²⁰⁶ in praeceptis domini, assidua sollicitudine excubias celebrans ovilis sui,

¹⁹¹ The two names are spelled exactly so – O, X, W, Horst.; only “Adulphus” is readable in B.

¹⁹² “nobilibus” – B, O, W, Horst.; om. – X.

¹⁹³ “caritate” – B, O; “charitate” – W, Horst.

¹⁹⁴ “inciantur” – B, O, X, W; “initiantur” – Folcard; “instructed” – Pynson.

¹⁹⁵ “sunt enim” – B, O, W, Horst.; “enim sunt” – X.

¹⁹⁶ “didicerat” – B, O, X, Horst.; “didicerāt” – W.

¹⁹⁷ “rudis” – B, O, X, Horst.; “rudes” – W.

¹⁹⁸ “attigerat” – B, X, Horst.; “attigerant” – O, W.

¹⁹⁹ “addiscerent” – B, X, W, Horst.; “addiscere passent.” – O.

²⁰⁰ “patres predicti” – B, X, W, Horst.; “predicti patres” – O.

²⁰¹ “transeuntes” – B, X, W, Horst.; “transeunt” – O.

²⁰² Again a “c” where Folcard wrote “t”.

²⁰³ “habitum” – B, X, Horst.; W; “habitum tandem” – O.

²⁰⁴ “ex” – X, W, Horst.; “etiam” – O.

²⁰⁵ O inserts “unde et priorem fratrum” (?), showing knowledge of the full text.

²⁰⁶ O continues: “.u. ut vir sapiens”, again from the full text.

ne insidians lupus, detrimento aliquo commisso, sibi gregi insultaret.²⁰⁷ Instat operibus misericordiae in pascendis pauperibus, vestiendis nudis, corrigendis errantibus, consolandis²⁰⁸ maerentibus, ut eandem pietatis vicem consequeretur a domino sicut promittit in evangelio: “Beati, inquit, misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam²⁰⁹ consequentur.”²¹⁰ Vigiliis, ieiuniis, et orationibus intendebat. Actum praevenit doctrinam, in omnibus sanctam agens vitam.

IV. Beatus vero pater Botulphus ad Angliam, moribus sanctis exercitatus,²¹¹ redire disponebat. Erant autem, in eodem monasterio quo morabatur, duae sorores Ethelmundi regis australium²¹² anglorum, monasticae disciplinae causa illuc missae: quae beatum virum repatriare volentem²¹³ intelligentes, mandata ei²¹⁴ imponunt fratri regi perferenda. Transito ergo²¹⁵ mari, a rege honorifice Botulphus suscipitur;

(**V.**) et auditis sororum suarum petitionibus Deo²¹⁶ acceptis,²¹⁷ ut scilicet fundum aliquem ad monasterium construendum illi ob²¹⁸ amorem divinae mercedis concederet, benignum praebeuit assensum. Petit enim vir sanctus simpliciter, non ut aliquem regia violentia de suo²¹⁹ hereditario jure causa sui depellat,²²⁰ sed potius ut de incultis terris suis sive²²¹ possessore carentibus,²²² sibi tantum concedat ut ecclesiam Deo construere et in ea divinis legibus servientes possit fratres adunare, quorum Deo placita conversatione et devoto interventu regnum eius temporaliter firmari, et aeternaliter in caelis posset praemiis perhennibus²²³ remunerari. Annuente²²⁴ piaie eius petitioni rege, venerabilis pater (**VI.**) locum quendam incultum et ab hominibus desertum, Ykanho vocatum, elegit. Erat autem²²⁵ heremus illa,²²⁶ sicut ab hominibus derelicta, sic a demonibus possessa, quorum fantastica²²⁷ illusio per sancti adventum viri²²⁸ erat inde fuganda, et pia fidelium conversatio inducenda; ut ubi²²⁹ superabundaverat usque tunc diaboli fallacia, superabundaret benignissimi conditoris nostri gratia.²³⁰

²⁰⁷ “commisso sibi gregi insultaret” – B, X, W, Horst.; “insultaret sibi commisso gregi” – O.

²⁰⁸ “nudis corrigendis errantibus consolandis” – B, X, W, Horst.; “indigentibus consolantibus” – O.

²⁰⁹ “misericordiam” – B, W, Horst.; “misericordes” – O.

²¹⁰ “Beati...consequentur” om. X.

²¹¹ “moribus sanctis exercitatus” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²¹² “australiu” – B, O, W, Horst.; “au” + blank – X.

²¹³ “volentem” – B, O, X, W, Horst. who adds note “r. velle” (read?).

²¹⁴ “ei” – B, X, W, Horst.; “Dei” – O.

²¹⁵ “ergo” – O, X, W, Horst.; “igitur” – B.

²¹⁶ “deo” – B, Horst.; “de” – X, W; om. – O.

²¹⁷ “acceptis” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. O.

²¹⁸ “ob” – B, O, W, Horst.; “ab” – X.

²¹⁹ “suo” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²²⁰ “depellat” – B, X, W, Horst.; “expellat” – O.

²²¹ “sive” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²²² “carentibus” – O, W, Horst.; “cadentibus” – X.

²²³ “praemiis perhennibus” – B, X, W, Horst.; “perhennibus praemiis” – O.

²²⁴ “Annuente”; X has a blank space.

²²⁵ O adds: “eadem”.

²²⁶ “illa” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²²⁷ “fantastica” – O, W, Horst.; “phantastica” – B, X.

²²⁸ “adventum viri” – B, X, W, Horst.; “viri adventum” – O.

²²⁹ “ubi” – B, O, W, Horst.; “ibi” – X.

²³⁰ An initial follows in O.

VII. Ad ingressum ergo²³¹ beati Botulphi, fumus exalat teterrimus: et agnoscens fugam suam imminere inimicus, horridis personat clamoribus, dicens: “Locum hunc longo incoluimus²³² tempore,²³³ in sempiternum putavimus incolere;²³⁴ cur, Botulphe, saevissime hospes, his nos violenter sedibus depellis?²³⁵ Nihil te offendimus, nihil tui juris inquietavimus.²³⁶ Quid petis in expulsione²³⁷ nostra? quid tibi parare vis in hac regione nostra, et ab omni profligatos²³⁸ orbe ab hac etiam miseros exturbas solitudine?”

VIII. Beatus vero Botulphus, edito crucis signo, inimicos omnes vertit in fugam, et potenti verborum virtute sibi divinitus concessam interdicit illis regionem.

IX. Constructo autem monasterio, ut bonus pastor oves congregat, evitare discrimina docet, et ad gaudia in aeternum mansura²³⁹ properare suae sanctissimae vitae instruxit exemplo. Apostolicam enim doctrinam et sanctorum patrum instituta assidua in se observans diligentia, subditos hortatur et docet exempla. Quod transmarinis partibus didicerat de monachorum districtiori vita et regulari consuetudine, cotidianis inculcationibus²⁴⁰ solita mansuetudine²⁴¹ subditos consuescit.

X. Diligebatur ab omnibus, in nullo arrogans, in nullo tumidum quid vel improbum demonstrans, sed in omnibus mitis et humilis, dulcis et affabilis enituit.²⁴² Multis enim miraculorum signis in vita sua²⁴³ effulsit, prophetiaeque spiritu veridicus vates claruit, interdum etiam futura acsi iam²⁴⁴ praeterita, a Deo doctus, enunciavit.²⁴⁵ Infirmate corporis pressus,²⁴⁶ gratiarum actione cum beato Job perstitit patientissimus. Semper de profectu animarum habebat colloquium; semper de gaudio aeternae felicitatis in eius ore²⁴⁷ sonabat eulogium. Talibus institutionibus hoc exegit aevum, talibus ad condignum pater angelicus pervenit senium.

XI. Appropinquante autem vitae suae termino, graviorique invalescente morbo, pia²⁴⁸ non defecit intentio, sed caros²⁴⁹ quos Christo divinis dogmatibus genuerat filios, verbo commonet²⁵⁰ propicio, et de observandis monasterii regulis quae peregrinus petierat, saepius repetere dulce et delectabile

²³¹ “ergo” – B, X, W, Horst.; “autem” – O.

²³² “incoluimus” – B, W, Horst.; “coluimus” – O; “incolimus” – X.

²³³ “[ac]” – Horst.; “et” – O; om. B, X, W.

²³⁴ “incolere” – X, W, Horst.; “colere nusquam alium habemus” – O; (clearly from Folcard)

²³⁵ “his nos violenter sedibus depellis” – B (w/ “hiis”), X, W, Horst.; “nos hiis depellis sedibus” – O.

²³⁶ “inquietavimus” – B, O, W, Horst.; “inquietamus” – X.

²³⁷ “expulsione” – B, O, W, Horst.; “expulsatione” – X.

²³⁸ “profligatos” – B, O, X, W, Horst.; Horst. notes that the full life has “profugatos”.

²³⁹ “manusura” – B, O, W, Horst.; “mensura” – X.

²⁴⁰ “inculcationibus” – O, X, W, Horst.; “conculcationibus” – B; (probably just misreading of “in...”)

²⁴¹ “solita mansuetudine” – B, X, W, Horst.; “cotidiana sollicitudine” – O.

²⁴² “mitis et humilis, dulcis et affabilis enituit.” – B, X, W, Horst.; “dulcis & humilis vitis(?) enituit et affabilis.” – O.

²⁴³ “in vita sua” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²⁴⁴ “iam” – B, X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²⁴⁵ B unreadable from here until “eulogium.”

²⁴⁶ “[in]” – Horst.; om. – O, X, W.

²⁴⁷ “in eius ore” – O, W, Horst.; “in ore eius” – X.

²⁴⁸ “pia” – B, X, W, Horst.; “pia tum” – O.

²⁴⁹ “caros” – B, O; “caros quoque” – X; “charos” – W, Horst.

²⁵⁰ “commonet” – O, Horst.; “commouet” – X, W; (possible confusion between u and n?). B unclear.

ducebat. Sic longis virtutum studiis adornatus miles Christi indefessus, longa etiam inter fratres invalidudine vexatus senex gloriosus, tandem evocante Deo, de ergastulo carnis exutus est, quintodecimo kal. Julii,²⁵¹ et in eodem quod construxerat monasterio sepelitur.

XII. [T1] Tempore enim regis Edgari, sanctus Ethelwoldus, monasteriorum reparator, petiit a rege et obtinuit ut de locis et²⁵² monasteriis a paganis destructis corpora sanctorum ad monasteria suo tempore constructa transferre posset. Monasterium enim Ykanho a persecutoribus beati Edmundi regis destitutum fuerat monachorum conversatione et destructum, sed nequaquam ab omni fidelium devotione. Locus enim ab incolis notus²⁵³ sedulo colebatur; sed in divinis officiis a solo presbitero serviebatur.²⁵⁴

XIII. [T2] Cum autem monachus quidam, Ulfkitelus nomine, cum multis aliis ex mandato sancti Ethelwoldi ad tumbam sancti Botulphi²⁵⁵ venisset, et preciosa eius ossa in sindone recondita suscepisset, et in humeris levata asportare conarentur, tanto figuntur pondere, ut nullo annisu gressum possent movere. Praeterea magno crepitu personant claustra altaris, motumque intendunt quendam quasi operis imperfecti.²⁵⁶ Attonitis²⁵⁷ ergo stupent sensibus diutius:²⁵⁸ sed tandem edocente Dei gratia praedictus monachus recolit ex auditis in eodem loco, beatum Adulphum²⁵⁹ praesulem consepultum fratri suo: eiusque de terra levato corpore secum²⁶⁰ ad sanctum²⁶¹ Ethelwoldum gaudentes detulerunt,²⁶² [hic autem regi].²⁶³

XIV. [T3] Qui caput sancti Botulphi Heliensi annuit²⁶⁴ cenobio, sibi suaeque curiae medietatem reliqui corporis regalium reliquiarum recepit scrinio, et quod residuum fuit Thornensi ecclesiae cum corpore beati Adulphi concessit.²⁶⁵

[AASS 2] In libro ecclesie Sancti Botulphi iuxta Aldersgate London habetur quod pars corporis sancti Botulphi per bonae memoriae regem Edwardum ecclesiae beati Petri Westmonasterii est collata.²⁶⁶

XV. [T4] Eodem²⁶⁷ etiam tempore, ut in quibusdam locis scriptum inveni,²⁶⁸ per eundem²⁶⁹ monachum, iubente episcopo Ethelwoldo, translata sunt apud²⁷⁰ Thornense monasterium ossa

²⁵¹ "iulii" – B, O, Horst.; "iunii" – X, W.

²⁵² "et" – O, W, Horst.; om. – X.

²⁵³ "notus" – B (just readable: "not9 se|dulo"), X, W, Horst.; "noscebatur et" – O.

²⁵⁴ "serviebatur"; "serviebitur" – B.

²⁵⁵ "Bothulphi" – W; "Botulphi" – O, Horst.; "Butulphi" – X; B unreadable.

²⁵⁶ "operis imperfecti" – B, X, W, Horst.; "imperfecti operis" – O.

²⁵⁷ "attonitis" – B, O, X, Horst.; "attonitus" – W.

²⁵⁸ "diutius" – Horst.; "diutinis" – B, O, X, W.

²⁵⁹ "Adulphum" – B, X, W, Horst.; "Botulphum" – O.

²⁶⁰ "secum" – X, W, Horst.; "secum prospere" – O.

²⁶¹ "sanctum" – B, X, W, Horst.; "sanctum detulerunt" – O.

²⁶² "gaudentes detulerunt" – X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

²⁶³ "[hic autem regi]" – Horst.

²⁶⁴ End of folio 188r/15r in B. The top of the verso is badly damaged. 3 lines are unreadable, line 4 has "per eundem" and line 5 has "translata", line 6 "benedicti biscop".

²⁶⁵ "cum corpore beati Adulphi concessit" – X, W, Horst.; "cum beato adulpho fratre suo concessit." – O.

²⁶⁶ "In libro... collata." – W, Horst.; om. – B, O, X; (This extra passage indicates W cannot derive from O or X)

²⁶⁷ "Eodem" – O, W, Horst.; om. – X.

²⁶⁸ "ut in quibusdam locis scriptum inveni" – X, W, Horst.; om. – O.

Benedicti Biscop abbatis venerabilis Wermuthensis,²⁷¹ nutritoris Bede presbiteri.²⁷² Construxit autem sanctus Ethelwoldus non longe a monasterio Thornensi, in loco ubi beata virgo Christi Tova inclusa fuerat, lapideam ecclesiolam delicatissimis cameratam cancellulis, et duplici area, tribus dedicatam altaribus permodicis, undique²⁷³ usque ad eius muros vallatam arboribus diversi generis: sedem ibi heremiticam, si permisisset deus, sibi delegit.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ The first readable words in B fol. 188v/15v, indicating that the inserted passage in W cannot have been present in B.

²⁷⁰ “apud” – B (reads “apd”), O (reads “ap”+“d” above), W, Horst.; “ad” – X (perhaps from an “ap”). These sorts of changes suggest the scribe of X was rapidly copying an unimportant text and not worrying about exact word or word order.

²⁷¹ “Wermutensis” – X; O adds, “cenobii”.

²⁷² AASS copy ends here.

²⁷³ “undique” om. – O.

²⁷⁴ “delegit” – B, O, W, Horst.; “elegit” – X.

Introduction to the Breviaries

A considerable number of medieval breviary manuscripts and early modern printed editions contain material from the Life of St Botolph. The material is divided into readings as part of the sanctoral office. John Toy in his 2009 monograph counted 42 examples in Scandinavia alone.²⁷⁵ These he divided into two groups, where the texts were based either on the full Life ("A"), or on the abbreviated Life printed by the Bollandists from the Schleswig Breviary ("B"). He used the opening words of all of the sentences in each text as a way to establish parentage. The older breviaries drew upon the full Life; the later on the Schleswig Breviary text. He hypothesised that the breviary text was based on an older Life, itself used by Folcard.²⁷⁶ But the presence of the word "Scotis", found only in manuscript R of Folcard, but present in the Schleswig Breviary, shows that the breviary derives from R, rather than any long-lost text.

It is outside the scope of this project to locate and edit all the medieval breviaries that contain a version of the Life of St Botolph. As well as the Scandinavian texts, breviaries from York and Hereford contain this, and probably others. However the AASS edition included the Schleswig breviary text, and so it is included here. A few others that came to hand have been included also. The BHL only refers to the Schleswig Breviary, which it designates as BHL 1430.

This is essentially a random collection of breviary texts that was accessible online. It is not, and does not pretend to be, comprehensive or systematic.

The Latin texts have been given as printed, apart from the text found in the Schleswig and Uppsala breviaries, which has been normalised.

The readings are often, but not always, preceded by some version of the medieval collect for St Botolph's day.²⁷⁷ This has been given where found.

BHL 1430 – The Schleswig and Uppsala Breviaries (1496/1512)

Introduction

The Schleswig Breviary text is the same as that found in the Uppsala Breviary, and the two have been edited together.²⁷⁸

BS: The Schleswig Breviary (*Breviarium Slesvicense*) is a service book printed in Paris in 1512 at the order of Gotteschalk von Ahlefeldt, the last Roman Catholic bishop of Schleswig. Two copies are held in the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen; LN 33 8° copy 1, folios 347r-348r; and LN 33 8° copy 2, folios 344r-346r. This text was reprinted in the *Acta Sanctorum*, with notes by D. Papebroch. These notes are reproduced below as endnotes to each section. The division into readings (lectiones) below is that of the BS and AASS.

²⁷⁵ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches*. Woodbridge: Boydell (for the Henry Bradshaw Society, *Subsidia*, 6), (2009).

²⁷⁶ John Toy, "St Botolph: an English saint in Scandinavia", in M.O.H.Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, York (2003), pp.565-570.

²⁷⁷ Cf. *Corpus Orationum* 1291 (vol. 2, p.201).

²⁷⁸ The details given below for each breviary are reproduced from the entries in the *Usuarium* database.

BU: The Uppsala Breviary (*Breviarium Upsalense*), printed in 1496 by Joannes Fabri. A copy is in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, shelfmark OEXV 822 RES, pages unnumbered but pp. 558-560 of the PDF at the Gallica website. This contains essentially the same text, omitting a number of words and phrases, and is collated below. The division into readings is slightly different to that in the BS.

English translation

Collect: O God, the governor and ruler of all kingdoms, who grants to your servants to celebrate the annual feast of blessed Botolph, we beseech you, erase the scars of our wounds, and restore us with the eternal gifts of the heavenly homeland.²⁷⁹

1. After the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ became well-known throughout the world, there was a man worthy in God, named Botolph, descended from the noble lineage of the kings of Scotland, who, when he was pressed to accept the throne after the death of his father,ⁱ for the love of God not only relinquished the throne, but also his homeland, and journeyed to England. There, he was received with reverence by Edmund, King of England, and not long after, by the command of the same king,ⁱⁱ he was raised to holy orders.

2. But when he had stayed with the same king for seven years, he petitioned him to grant him a place where he might more freely serve the Lord.ⁱⁱⁱ The king assigned him a most beautiful place, surrounded on all sides by the streams of a certain river. There he built a church to the honour of God, and began through divine grace to become well-known for many miracles. Now while the man of God was staying there with his disciple, one day a poor man²⁸⁰ knocked at the door, begging for alms in the name of God.

3. When the holy Father ordered the disciple to give him something, he replied that he had nothing for all their²⁸¹ food, except a single loaf of bread: which he ordered to be divided into four parts, and one of them²⁸² to be given to the poor man. Then what? When three other poor men came, he distributed the three remaining pieces. When the disciple therefore murmured about this, the holy man said, “Do not be troubled, my son, for God is able to give it all back to us again.” Hardly had he finished his words, and behold: four little boats loaded with food and drink were being drawn along the aforementioned river, which Almighty God, through His faithful ones, provided for the holy man.

4. But one day, when he was visited by the aforementioned king, he petitioned for another place to live, because in the first site he was exceedingly pestered by unclean spirits. The king, granting his request, gave him a more suitable place on the River Thames;^{iv} in which place the man of God built a church in honour of St. Martin. Then, staying in the same place, he began to raise hens, which an eagle from a nearby forest used to come and carry off. But one day, when it had carried off a

²⁷⁹ Found in the Schleswig Breviary (BS) but omitted in the Uppsala Breviary (BU).

²⁸⁰ BS; “a certain poor man” – BU.

²⁸¹ BS and BU actually have “eorum”; but strangely the AASS copy has “corporis,” which would make this “he had nothing for all the food of the body.”

²⁸² BS; “one part” – BU.

cockereel, the man of God rebuked²⁸³ it, and it immediately came and placed the cockereel alive at his feet, and then fell down dead.

5. After thirteen years had passed in that place, the ancient enemy²⁸⁴ came in the form of a snake and inflicted a nasty bite on the man of God.²⁸⁵ Because of this, he again approached the king to give him another place; who led him far from the sea, into a vast wilderness. There, as he proceeded through thorny places, he came to a certain valley, which had a small stream of water; and the man of God said, "This is the place."^v And so in that place given to him by the king, he built two churches, in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul. When these were completed, he went abroad^{vi} to Rome for the purpose of prayer, to visit the shrines²⁸⁶ of those same most blessed apostles.

6. Returning from there and bringing with him many relics of the saints, before entering his own cell, he restored sight to a blind girl through his prayers. King Edmund, hearing of the return of the holy man, met him with great joy, and stayed with him for three days. After these things, Botolph, the man of God,²⁸⁷ passed over to the Lord. His disciples honorably committed his body for burial. Many miracles happen at his tomb, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. To whom be honour and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Latin text.

This is the text as given in the *Acta Sanctorum* (AASS), except where noted, but with capitalisation regularised. The AASS "coepit" and "aedificata" is retained, where BS and BU have "cepit" and "edificata". The notes to the AASS text by D. Papebroch are included as endnotes, prefixed by a, b, c, etc, as in the AASS.

Deus, omnium regnorum gubernator et rector, qui famulis tuis annum²⁸⁸ beati Botulphi largiris festum,²⁸⁹ nostrorum, quaesumus, dele cicatrices vulnerorum, caelestisque patriae donis refice sempiternis.²⁹⁰

I. Postquam fides Domini Nostri Jesu Christi ubique terrarum claresceret; fuit vir Deo dignus, Botulphus²⁹¹ nomine, ex illustri prosapia regum²⁹² Scotorum oriundus. Qui dum post obitum patris^{vii 293} regnum suscipere cogeretur; ipse propter²⁹⁴ Dei amorem, non solum regnum sed et

²⁸³ Cf. Mark 4:39.

²⁸⁴ Satan.

²⁸⁵ BU: "on the foot of the man of God."

²⁸⁶ "limina", lit. "thresholds", but indicating the tombs and basilicas – cf. Niemeyer, "Mediae Latinitas Lexicon Minus."

²⁸⁷ BU inserts: "having lived for many years, full of days."

²⁸⁸ "annuam ... festivitatem" – BS; "annuum... festum" – BA.

²⁸⁹ "celebrare festivitatem" – BS; "festum" – BA.

²⁹⁰ The collect is found in BS, but omitted in BU.

²⁹¹ "Botolphus" – BS, BU; "Bothulphus" – AASS; "Botolphus" – AASS footnotes (by DP). This suggests that the Bollandists did not have the BS before them, but were reliant on a careless copy.

²⁹² "regum" – BS; om. – BU.

²⁹³ "patris post obitum dum" – BU.

²⁹⁴ "propter" – BS; om. – BU.

patriam derelinquens, in Angliam est profectus. Ubi a rege Angliae Edmundo²⁹⁵ devote susceptus, non multo post, iubente eodem^{viii} rege,²⁹⁶ ad sacros ordines est promotus.

II. Cum autem septem annis²⁹⁷ cum eodem²⁹⁸ rege commoratus fuisset, supplicavit ei ut sibi locum tribueret, ubi liberius Domino deserviret.^{ix} Qui locum pulcherrimum ei assignavit, rivulis cuiusdam fluminis undique circumseptum. Ubi ad honorem Dei aedificata ecclesia,²⁹⁹ coepit per divinam³⁰⁰ gratiam multis clarescere signis.³⁰¹ Viro autem Dei ibidem cum discipulo suo commorante; quadam die pauper homo³⁰² ianuam pulsans petebat eleemosynam propter Deum.

III. Iubente sancto Patre ut discipulus ei aliquid daret, respondit ille se nihil habere pro toto victu eorum³⁰³, nisi unicum panem: quem ille³⁰⁴ iussit in quatuor partes dividi, et unam earum³⁰⁵ pauperi dari. Quid plura? Venientibus tribus aliis pauperibus reliquas tres particulas³⁰⁶ erogavit.³⁰⁷ Cum igitur de hoc discipulus³⁰⁸ murmuraret; ait vir sanctus, “Noli, fili, turbari. Potens est enim Deus³⁰⁹ totum restituere³¹⁰ nobis.” Vix verba compleverat, et ecce quatuor naviculae onustae cibo et potu, per praedictum fluvium trahebantur, quas³¹¹ omnipotens Deus per suos fideles viro sancto ministrabat.³¹²

IV. Quadam vero die, a praedicto rege visitatus, petivit alium locum ad inhabitandum: eo quod in priori loco nimis ab immundis spiritibus infestabatur. Cuius precibus, rex annuens, super fluvium Tamisiam^x³¹³ ei aptiorem locum dedit. In quo loco³¹⁴ vir Dei aedificavit ecclesiam in honorem Sancti Martini.³¹⁵ Manens autem in eodem loco, gallinas enutrire³¹⁶ coepit: quas aquila de vicina silva veniens rapere solebat. Sed cum quadam die gallum rapuisset, vir Dei comminatus est ei. Quae statim veniens gallum vivum ante pedes eius posuit, sicque cadens expiravit.³¹⁷

²⁹⁵ “rege Anglie Edmundo” – BS; “quodam rege Edhundo” – BU.

²⁹⁶ “iubente eodem rege” – BS; om. – BU.

²⁹⁷ “annis” – BS; “annos” – BU.

²⁹⁸ “eodem” – BS; “predicto” – BU.

²⁹⁹ “ecclesia” – BS; “basilica” – BU.

³⁰⁰ “divinam” – BS; “dei” – BU.

³⁰¹ BU starts lect. 3 here.

³⁰² “homo” – BS; “quidam” – BU.

³⁰³ “eorum” – BS, BU; “corporis” – AASS.

³⁰⁴ “ille” – BS; om. – BU.

³⁰⁵ “earum” – BS; “partem” – BU.

³⁰⁶ “peticulas” – BS; “partes” – BU; “particulas” – AASS.

³⁰⁷ BU starts new lection.

³⁰⁸ “de hoc discipulus” – BS; “discipulus de hoc” – BU.

³⁰⁹ “enim deus” – BS; “dominus” – BU.

³¹⁰ “totum restituere” – BS; “tribuere totum” – BU.

³¹¹ “quas” – BS; “quae” – BU.

³¹² BS and BU start new lection.

³¹³ “tamisiam” – BS; “thamisam” – BU.

³¹⁴ “loco” – BS; om. – BU.

³¹⁵ BU starts new lection.

³¹⁶ “enutrire” – BU, BS; “nutrire” – AASS.

³¹⁷ BS and BU start new lection.

V. Evolutis autem annis decem tribus³¹⁸ in eodem loco, venit hostis antiquus in specie colubri, viroque Dei gravem³¹⁹ morsum infixit. Ob quod iterum regi institit, ut alium locum sibi daret. Qui duxit eum longe a mari, in vastam solitudinem. Ubi cum per spinosa loca procederet, pervenit ad quandam vallem, quae rivulum aquae habebat; et ait vir Dei, “Hic est sedes.”^{xii} ³²⁰ In illo itaque loco dato sibi³²¹ a rege, duas ecclesias³²² in honorem apostolorum³²³ Petri et Pauli construxit.³²⁴ Quibus consummatis transivit^{xiii} Romam orationis gratia, ut limina eorundem³²⁵ beatissimorum apostolorum visitaret.

VI. Inde³²⁶ rediens, et multas sanctorum³²⁷ reliquias secum ferens, antequam cellam propriam intraret, puellam caecam suis orationibus illuminavit.³²⁸ Audiens rex Edmundus reditum viri sancti, cum magno gaudio ei occurrit, atque per triduum secum mansit. Post haec vir Dei Botulphus³²⁹ ³³⁰ transivit ad Dominum. Cuius corpus discipuli honorifice tradiderunt sepulturae. Ad cuius tumbam³³¹ multa miracula fiunt, praestante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.³³² Cui est honor et gloria in saecula³³³ saeculorum. Amen.

ⁱ [a] It seems that this was Eugenius IV, who died in the year 620; nor was the kingdom offered immediately to Botulph, but only after the princes and people were no longer able to tolerate the crimes of his successor Ferquard: so great that it was decided to throw him into prison, in which he later died, say around the year 624. But when Botulph fled, the administration passed to another of the brothers, Donald, who then reigned after Ferquard's death until the year 646. [See Wikipedia article on [Legendary Kings of Scotland](#) – RP]

ⁱⁱ [b] Or rather, the Christian mother of the still pagan king, who took him as her chaplain, and as an instructor in the pious education of her daughters.

ⁱⁱⁱ [c] In order to obtain this more conveniently, I believe he had first persuaded the Queen to send her daughters to one of the Frankish monasteries.

^{iv} [d]. This confirms what I have said, that Edmund ruled in Surrey on the right bank of the Thames, and that it was a part of Southern England. Perhaps also the saint was moved to leave the court because he saw that he was wasting his time in trying to lead the king to faith.

^v [e] Thus far, that is, up to around the year 644, Botulph had lived as a hermit, when it seemed divinely inspired to him to cross over into Gaul, there to be trained in monastic discipline (though this is here omitted) and to visit various monasteries, especially staying at the one where his spiritual daughters, the sisters of the King, resided, who had taken monastic vows. And so he will first have returned around the year 654, advanced

³¹⁸ “decem tribus” – BS; “tredecim” – BU; “decem et tribus” – AASS.

³¹⁹ “gravem” – BS; “in pede gravem” – BU.

³²⁰ BU starts new lection.

³²¹ “sibi” – BS; om. – BU.

³²² “ecclesias” – BS; om. – BU.

³²³ “honorem apostolorum” – BS; “honore apostolorum” – BU; “honorem apostolorem” – AASS.

³²⁴ “construxit” – BS; “ecclesias construxit” – BU.

³²⁵ “eorundem” – BS; om. – BU.

³²⁶ “inde” – BS; “Ante autem” – BU.

³²⁷ “sanctorum” – BU, BS; “sanctorem” – AASS.

³²⁸ BU starts new lection.

³²⁹ See earlier note on “Botolphus.”

³³⁰ “botulphus” – BS; “botulphus multis vivens annis plenus dierum” – BU.

³³¹ “tumbam” – BS; “tumulam” – BU.

³³² A phrase from the [Pontificale Romanum](#). BU ends here.

³³³ “saecula” – BS; om. – AASS.

in age and now fitted to establish and promote monastic discipline among the South Angles; and from this point begins that opening part of the earlier “Life,” which alone we approve, as written by a near-contemporary.

^{vi} [f] I would think that this happened after the year 660, supposing that the saint returned while Edmund was still alive; who (unless the South Angles had different kings from the East Saxons, for which there is no evidence) received as his successor about that year Edelwalch, baptized in 661 (as Alford believes). At that time St. Vitalianus was the Pope of the Roman Church. [This refers to [Fr. Michael Alford S.J.](#) (1587-1652), *Fides Regia Britannica, sive Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae*, Liege (1663). – RP]

^{vii} a. Videtur hic fuisse Eugenius 4, mortuus anno 620; neque statim oblatum Botulpho regnum, sed postquam Principes & populi non amplius videbantur tolerare posse Ferquardi successoris scelera, adeo grandia, ut de ipso in vincula conjiciendo, in quibus postea obiit, cogitaretur, puta circa annum 624. Fugiente autem Botulpho, administratio cesserit alteri fratrum Donevaldo, qui deinde post mortem Ferquardi regnavit usque ad an. 646.

^{viii} b Aut potius, Regis adhuc Pagani matre Christiana; quae ipsum sibi in Capellanum assumpserit, & filiarum pie educandarum instructorem.

^{ix} c Hoc quo commodius obtineret, credo eum prius persuasisse Reginae, ut filias suas dirigeret ad aliquod monasteriorum Francicorum.

^x d Hinc confirmatur quod dixi, in Surreia, ad dextram Tamisiae ripam imperitasse Edmundum, eamque fuisse Australis Angliae portionem. Forte etiam ad deserendam aulam motus fuit Sanctus, quod in Rege ad fidem adducendo operam se perdere videret.

^{xi} e Hactenus, idest ad annum circiter 644, eremitam Botulphus egerat, quando videtur ei divinitis inspiratum, ut transfretaret in Galliam, monasticis institutionibus informandus (quid tamen hic praetermittitur) variaque obeunda monasteria, illud praecipue frequentando, in quo spirituales suae filiae Regis sorores commorabantur, Monachatum professae; atque ita primum redierit circa an. 654, aetate proventus, & monastica disciplinae inter Australes-Anglos ordinandae ac promovendae idoneus: atque hinc initium sumit pars illa prioris Vitae, quam solam laudamus, ut a suppari scriptam.

^{xii} f Hoc factum crediderim post annum 660: siquidem rediit Sanctus vivente adhuc Edmundo; qui (nisi Australes Angli diversos ab Orientalibus Saxonibus Reges habuerint, quod nullo indicio probatur) isto circiter anno successorem accepit Edelwalchum, anno 661 (ut Alfordo videtur) baptizatum. Tunc autem Romanae Ecclesiae Pontifex praesidebat S. Vitalianus.

The Linköping Breviary / Breviarium Lincopense (1493)

“Breuiarius horaru[m] cano=nicarum s[ecundu]m vera[m] rubrica[m] episcopatus Lincop[en]sis ecclesie ordinatus.” Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs (16 April 1493), for Henrik Tidemansson, bishop of Linköping. Reprinted: “Breviarium Lincopense. Utgivet av Knut Peters. (Post mortem editoris curantibus Bengt Strömberg, Inge Peters, Karl-Erik Wallin)”, Lund: H. Ohlssons Boktryckeri (1950-58), printed in many fascicles.

English translation.

1. The blessed Botolph, born of an illustrious Scottish family, when after his father's death he was compelled to accept the kingdom, he set out for England, relinquishing not only the kingdom but also his homeland for the love of God. There he was devoutly received by a certain king named Othmund. Not long after, he was promoted to holy orders.

2. Now when he had stayed with the same king for seven years, he obtained from him a pleasant place, surrounded by waters, where he built a basilica in honour of God, in which, serving God, he began to be famous for many miracles. For on a certain occasion, when a certain poor man asked him for alms, he told his disciple to give him something. He replied that he had only one loaf of bread.

3. This the holy father divided into four parts, and gave one part to the poor man; when three others came, he distributed the remaining parts. Then he said to the murmuring disciple, “Do not be troubled, my son, for with God all things are possible.” After this, four ships arrived, fully loaded with food and drink, which God provided for his saint through his faithful.

4. After this he was visited by the aforementioned king, from whom he obtained another place near the river Cam, where he built a church in honour of St. Martin. There he began to raise hens, which an eagle was often accustomed to snatch. But when on one occasion it had seized a rooster, he rebuked it; which, immediately returning and bringing back the rooster alive, fell down dead.

5. Then, after thirteen years had passed in that place, the devil in the form of a serpent severely bit the man of God. On account of this, again with the king's permission, he sought out another dwelling place, in which he built two churches, in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul; after these were completed, he went to Rome, and visited the shrines of Saints Peter and Paul.

6. But returning from there, he carried with him many relics of the saints, and before he entered his own cell, he gave sight to a certain blind girl through his prayers. Then the king, hearing of the return of the holy man, meeting him with joy, stayed with him for three days. After this, the holy man lived for many years and full of days, he passed away to the Lord.

Latin text

Text as given in the Peters' edition.

Collecta. DEus omnium regnorum gubernator et rector qui famulis tuis annua beati botulphi abbatis largiris solenniter celebrare festa : nostrorum quesumus dele clementius peccaminum vulnera : vt a te mereamur percipere gaudia repromissa. Per.

Lectio j.

BEatus botulphus ex illustri prosapia scotorum oriundus: dum post obitum patris regnum suscipere cogeretur : ipse propter dei amorem non solum regnum sed et patriam relinquens in angliam profectus est. vbi a quodam rege othmundo nomine deuote susceptus est. Non multo post ad sacros ordines est promotus.

Leoctio ij.

Cum autem cum eodem rege septem annis moratus fuisset: impetrauit ab eo locum amenum et aquis circumdatum : vbi basilicam ad honorem dei edificauit, in qua deo seruiens multis cepit clarere miraculis. Nam quodam tempore cum pauper quidam ab eo elemosynam petijsset : dixit discipulo suo : vt ei aliquid daret. Respondit ille se nisi vnicum panem habere.

Lectio iij.

Quem pater sanctus in quatuor partes diuisit. et vnam partem pauperi tribuit : venientibus alijs tribus reliquas partes erogauit Murmuranti igitur discipulo ait. Noli turbari fili, quoniam deo omnia sunt possibilis. Post hoc venerunt quatuor onuste naues plene cibo et potu quas deus per suos fideles sancto suo ministrabat.

Lectio iiij.

POst hoc a predicto rege visitatur : a quo alium locum circa flumen camisij impetrauit : vbi ecclesiam in honore sancti martini fabricauit. Cum hoc cepit gallinas enutrire : quas aquila sepe rapere solebat, sed cum gallum quadam vice cepisset comminatus est ei. Que statim rediens et gallum vinum reducens cadens mortua est.

Lectio v.

Euolutis autem, xij. annis in illo loco dyabolus in specie colubri virum dei grauiter momordit. ob quod iterum ex regis licentia alium locum inhabitationis exquisiuit : in quo duas ecclesias in honore apostolorum petri et pauli construxit : quibus consummatis romam petijt : et limina sanctorum petri et pauli visitauit.

Lectio vj.

Inde vero rediens multas sanctorum reliquias secum ferebat. et antequam cellam propriam intraret puellam quandam cecam orationibus illuminauit. Audiens autem rex reditum viri sancti : cum gaudio ei occurrens : per triduum secum mansit. Post hoc vir sanctus multis viuens annis : plenus dierum migravit ad dominum.

MS Uppsalensis C446 (1493)

Introduction

This is a 15th century manuscript breviary, shelfmark C 446, written in 1493, and held in the Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala.³³⁴ According to the catalogue this also came from the cathedral at Linköping. The Life of Botolph is on fol. 14r-v.³³⁵

English translation.

1. Blessed Botolph was born of the Saxon nation that through martial prowess had acquired Britain, where he was brought up as a boy of good character. When he had grown up, he went to the ancient nursery of his family in Saxony, which had been strengthened in the faith of the Christian religion by various teachers.

³³⁴ M. Andersson-Schmitt &c, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala : Katalog über die C-Sammlung : Bd 5, Handschriften C 401-550*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell (1992), pp.125-7. Online [here](#).

³³⁵ M. Andersson-Schmitt &c, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala : Katalog über die C-Sammlung : Bd 5, Handschriften C 401-550*, Stockholm (1992), p.125. [Online here](#).

2. There he would truly learn more fully both the mysteries of the holy faith and the discipline of a holy way of living in apostolic institutions. Finally, after he had tonsured the hair of his head, he put off the habit of the world and put on the armour of God and ascended the steps of holy orders.

3. Therefore the blessed father Botolph was supported by divine goodness so that he might be useful to his native country by his learning and holy communal living. But after he had made progress by the grace of God and through his long fervour for holy religion, he now resolved to return to England with a pious zeal for charity.

4. Now in the same monastery where he was staying there were two sisters of King Ethelmund, who was then ruling over the southern English. They valued Father Botholph especially as a teacher of holiness and chastity, and especially for his zeal for his people.

5. For this (purpose), in fact, the very young sisters mentioned had been sent beyond the sea to learn the discipline of heavenly wisdom, namely in the monastic gymnasium. Hearing that their blessed and beloved teacher wished to return home, they, sorrowing, entrusted him with instructions.

6. At length, blessed Botolph returned to his native land and brought the rule of a regular life to those who were hitherto ignorant of it. For he left his relatives, friends, and country with fervent faith through the love of God, and despised earthly things in order to acquire heavenly things.

Latin text.³³⁶

This is exactly as given in the manuscript. Abbreviations have been expanded. Letters in square brackets [] are supplied where the copyist forgot to add the abbreviation mark or simply missed a letter.

Collecta

Deus, omnium regnorum gubernator et rector qui famulis tuis annua beati Botholphi abbatis largiris sollemniter celebrare festa nostrorum dele clementius peccaminum vulnera ut a te mereamur percipere gaudia repromissa. Per dom.³³⁷

Lectio.

Beatus botolphus natus est de saxoniae gente que Brytaneam bellica acquisierat virtute ubi puer bone indolis nutrebat. Qui cum adoleuisset ad antiquam stirpis sue alitricem transsiuit saxoniae per diversos doctores in fide christiane religionis roboratam. Tu autem.

Lectio secunda

Vere ibi [p]lenius adisceret³³⁸ & sanctae fidei gratias & sanctae conversationis in apostolicis institutionibus disciplinam. Tandem attonsus coma[m] capitis exuit habitum mundi & induit armaturam dei et grados ascendit sacri ordinis. Tu autem...

³³⁶ This was transcribed from the manuscript by a kind colleague, to whom many thanks.

³³⁷ This is the same text of the collect as it appears in the *Corpus Orationum* but without «quaesumus».

³³⁸ Written with a superscript r, i.e. addisceret.

Lectio tertia.

Beatus igitur pater Botolphus divina est fretus pietate ut nativae patriae suae prodesset doctrina & sancta conversatione. Postquam vero dei gratia & diutino proficeret sanctae fervore religionis disposuit iam ad angliam pio caritatis studio repedare. Tu autem...

Lectio quarta.

Erant autem in eodem monasterio quo morabatur sorores duae Ethelmundi regis qui tunc australibus praerat anglis. Diligebant praecipue patrem Botholphum sicut doctorem sanctitatis & castimoniae & plurimum ob studium gentis suae. Tu autem...

Lectio V^a

Ad hunc siquidem sorores dictae tenellulae fuerant missae ultra mare ad discendam scilicet in monasteriali gymnasio disciplinam caelestis sophyae. Audientes beatum³³⁹ & dilectum doctorem velle repatriare maerentes mandata imponunt.

Lectio VI^a.

Reversus tandem beatus Botholphus in natiuam patriam suam imperitis eatenus vitae regularis attulit normam. Nam cognatorum³⁴⁰ amicos & patriam ferventi fide per amore[m] dei dereliquid³⁴¹ terrena contempsit ut caelestia acquireret. Tu autem...

The York Breviary / Breviarium Eboracensis (1493)

“Ordo breviarii secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesiae Eboracensis Anglicanae,” Venice: Johannes Hamann (1493). Reprinted by S. Lawley (ed.), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, vol. 2. Surtees Society 75 (1883). Section 320 (pp.182-3 of the PDF).³⁴²

English translation.

1. When the blessed confessor of Christ, Botolph, had truly learned the grace of faith and the discipline of holy communal living, he tonsured the hair of his head, put off the habit of the world, put on the armour of God, and ascended the step of holy orders. He most efficaciously instructed those whom he found less learned, and taught the law of God in songs.

2. And when he had obtained the favour of King Ethelmund, he obtained a suitable place to build a monastery. But in the same way as that place was long abandoned by all, so also it was possessed by demons. Therefore Saint Botolph, after a preminary prayer, and making the sign of the cross, put the empty mob of demons to an indecent flight, and there he built a house of divine dwelling. Then, after gathering brothers together into the service of the Saviour, he taught them to

³³⁹ lit. btm = beatum.

³⁴⁰ This seems a scribal error for “cognatos”.

³⁴¹ i.e. dereliquit, final t/d confusion common in Germanic countries.

³⁴² Online at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?vid=NYPL:33433075871834>.

have continual charity; and he diligently admonished them to observe the fear of the Lord and equally perpetual love.

3. But when he had laboured still longer in the service of Christ, he reached an honourable and holy old age. As the end of his life approached and his illness became more serious, his pious intention was not lacking. So, adorned with a long study of virtue, the untiring soldier of Christ, at the call of the Lord, was stripped of his earthly humanity, and he was buried in the same monastery which he had built; to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The rest from the common of a confessor who is not a pope.

Latin text.

L.j

Cum beatus Christi confessor Botulphus vere fidei gratiam: et sancte conversationis disciplinam didicerat : attonsus comam capitis: habitum mundi exiit : armaturam dei induit : et sacri ordinis gradum conscendit : minus doctos quos invenit efficacissime instruxit : et legem dei canctos docuit.

Lectio ij.

Cumque athelmundi regis gratiam obtinisset : locum idoneum ad construendum monasterium adeptus est. Sed sicut ille locus diutius ab omnibus derelictus est : sic a demonibus erat possessus. Sanctus itaque botulphus oratione prelibata signo crucis edito : inanem demonum turbam in obscenam vertit fugam : ac ibidem divini incolatus domum construxit. Congregatis deinde fratribus in obsequium salvatoris : charitatem continuam eos habere docuit : timorem domini et amorem pariter illos observare perpetuum diligenter premonuit.

Lectio iij.

Cum vero in Christi famulatibus diutius laborasset : ad honestum et sanctum pervenit senium. Appropinquante vite sue termino graviorique invalescente morbo : pia tamen non defuit intentio. Longis itaque virtutum studiis adornatus miles Christi indefessus evocante domino : homine terreno exutus : in eodem quod construxerat monasterio est sepultus : ad laudem domini nostri Jesu Christi.

The Aarhus Breviary / Breviarium Arhusziense (1519)

“Breviarium iuxta lecturam ordinariam chori Arhusziense.... Per Melchiorum Blumme...”, Aarhus (1519). Copy used: KB København (Royal Library Copenhagen) LN 25 4°, f.271r (PDF copy in “Early European Books” ProQuest (2009)p. 548).

English translation.

1. After the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ shone forth throughout the entire world, there was a certain most reverend and God-worthy abbot named Botulph, born of the Scottish nation. When he was forced to assume the royal authority by his relatives³⁴³ after the death of his father, not only did he relinquish royal authority, but also his homeland, and set out for foreign parts.

³⁴³ Lit. “parents”, but his father is dead, so “relatives” of the generation above.

2. So, with God aiding him in all things, he came to England to a certain king named Eadmund. He was kindly received by him, and not long afterwards, by the command of the same king, he was promoted into ecclesiastical orders.

3. Therefore after seven years had passed at the king's court, he humbly petitioned the aforementioned king that a place might be given to him to build a church, so that could pray more freely to the Lord for himself³⁴⁴ and his people. Then the king gave assent to his petition, and gave them a place. For the place mentioned is surrounded on all sides by the rivulets of a tidal³⁴⁵ river.³⁴⁶ There, when the church had been built, the Lord began to make him famous through many miracles; it is also said that he was accustomed to feed many birds and fishes with his own hand.

5. One day he was visited by King Edmund, and he asked him to provide him with a different place to live in. The king complied with his request and gave him a more suitable place on the river which is called the Thames, where he built a church in honour of the most holy bishop Martin.

6. Then he began to raise chickens in that place, but an eagle from a nearby forest was in the habit of stealing them away. But one day, seeing that it had stolen a rooster, he rebuked it. Then the eagle immediately brought the rooster, unharmed, back to his feet and expired on the spot.

Latin text.

Abbreviations have been expanded but otherwise as printed.

De sancto botulpho. Coll. Deus omnium regnorum gubernator et rector qui famulis tuis annum beati botulphi largiris festum nostrorum quas dele cicatrices vulnerorum celestisque patrie donis refice sempiternis Per.

Lectio I.

Postquam fides domini nostri iesu cristi per vniuersum orbem effulsit fuit quidam reuerendissimus ac deo dignus abbas nomine bothulphus ex stociorum natione oriundus qui cum post decessum patris a parentibus regnum cogeret suscipere non solum regnum sed & patriam relinquens peregrinas aggressus ex partes.

L. ii.

Qui itaque ei in omnibus deo auxiliante peruenit in angliam ad regem quaedam Eadmundum nomine a quo benigne susceptus non post multum temporis iubente eodem rege ad gradus ecclesiasticos est prouectus.

L. iii.

Egit septem annis in aula regis expletis predictum regem humili postulatione expetiit vt sibi locus struende ecclesie daretur vt liberius dominum pro se suisque exorare potuisset. Rex vero petitioni illius assensus prebuit eis que locum dedit.

³⁴⁴ I.e. the king.

³⁴⁵ Lit. "alternating", rising and falling.

³⁴⁶ Reading this as meaning that the location was an island or peninsula, protected not by a single large river, but by a network of small tidal creeks and streams that filled and emptied with the tide.

L. iii.

Est enim locus memoratus vndique riulis alterni fluminis circumdatus vbi edificata ecclesia cepit eum dominus per plura clarificare miracula fertur eciam quod volucres ac pisces plurimos manu propria pascere consueuisset.

L. v.

Quadam vero die ab eadmundo rege visitatus rogauit vt sibi ad habitaculum alium provideret locum cuius precibus rex obtemperans super flumen quod camisia dicit dedit ei aptiorem locum in quo edificauit ecclesiam in sanctissimi martini episcopi honore.

L. vi.

Denique illic enutrire gallinas cepit sed eas aquila de vicina silua rapere solebat. Quadam vero die cernens eam gallum rapuisse comminatus est ei. Aquila vero ante pedes eius statim gallum sanum retulit atque illico expirauit.

The Nidaros (Trondheim) Breviary / Breviarium Nidrosiense (1519)

“Breviaria ad vsum ritumque sacrosanctae Nidrosiensis ecclesiae”, Paris (1519), on the initiative of Archbishop Erik Valkendorf. Copy used: KB København (Royal Library Copenhagen) Hielmst. 1157 8° (LN 28 8° copy 2), f.mm.iiii. (PDF copy in “Early European Books” ProQuest (2009)p. 669-70).

English translation.

1. Blessed Botolph had become a monk in lands beyond the seas, and while he was considering returning home to spread the faith³⁴⁷, presented a petitionary request to King Ethelmund, from his two sisters who were living in religion beyond the seas, for an ancient religious place, suitable for granting to him.

2. Now King Achelerus and Athelwold, kinsmen of King Ethelmund, both advocated for and obtained this petition, along with with St. Botolph. Therefore, although a free choice was given to the holy prior concerning the place requested, not wishing to remove anyone from their ancestral estates, he chose a certain wilderness, abandoned by the Christians and possessed by demons.

3. Therefore, when the holy man entered the wilderness, before his face a most foul smoke billowed forth, and with horrendous shrieks a crowd of demons screamed. “O Botolph, we have inhabited this place for a long time, and we thought we would inhabit it forever. Why do you drive us out of these dwellings, having no other? You are behaving inhumanly, you are driving us wretched ones out from this wilderness.”

4. But the blessed Botolph firmly restrained the empty mob, and making the sign of the cross, he put them to flight. There he built a hall for divine habitation. There he gathered religious men, and, like a strong labourer, he pressed on in cultivating the vineyard of the Lord.

5. It has often been related by those who were his disciples, who enjoyed his presence while he lived, with how many signs of miracles, with how great a spirit of prophecy he shone forth as a

³⁴⁷ I.e. the new way of monastic living.

truthful seer; how sometimes, taught by God, he foretold future events as if they were already past events; and also, when afflicted by so great an infirmity, he persisted most patiently in giving thanks, like the blessed Job.

6. Then as the end of his life drew near, the glorious old man, long detained by ill-health, was released from the prison of the flesh, his disciples following his departure with heavenly rites and worthy lamentations. He was buried, therefore, in the same monastery which he had built, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July;³⁴⁸ to the praise and glory of Almighty God, who lives for ever and ever. Amen.

Latin text.

This is given in the printed text but with abbreviations expanded.

Beati botulphi abbatis et confessor.

Deus omnium gubernator regnorum qui famulis tuis annuam beati botulphi abbatis festivitatem celebrare largiris: nostrorum quos dele cicatrices vulnerum patrieque celestis donis refice sempiternis.

Cetera in communi unius confessoris non pontificis bb v. lectio. i

Beatus botulphus in transmarinis partibus monachus factus: dum ad fidem ampliandam repatriare deliberat: regi ethelmundo a duabus sororibus eius transmare in religione commorantibus: pro antiquo loco religiosi apto sibi donando mandatum defert precatorium.

Lectio ii.

Hanc autem petitionem cum sancto botulpho rex achelerus & athelwoldus regis ethelmundi propinqui: et prosequantur et obtinent. Dum igitur sancto priori de loco postulato libera datur electio: nullum de prediis volens amouere paternis: quendam heremum a christicolis derelicta & a demonibus possessa eligit.

Lectio iii.

Cum igitur vir sanctus heremum ingreditur ante faciem eius fumus exalat teterrimus: & turba demonum horridis personat clamoribus. Locum hunc botulphe longo incoluimus tempore: & in semipiternum putavimus incolere. Cur nos alium non habentes his depellis sedibus? Inhumane agis: qui nos miseros ab hac perturbas solitudine.

Lectio quarta.

Beatus vero botulphus constanter inanem compescit turbam: edito crucis signo in fugam compulsit. Ibidem aulam diuini incolatus construens. Congregat ibidem viros religiosos: et in vinea domini excolenda fortis instat operarius.

Lectio quinta.

³⁴⁸ I.e. 17th June, his feast day.

Relatum est sepius ab his qui eius instituti sunt discipuli, qui eius dum viueret vsi sunt presentia: quantis miraculorum signis: quanto prophetie spiritu veridicus vates claruit: ut interdum futura: ac si tam preterita a deo edoctus enunciauerit: quanta etiam infirmitate pressus, in gratiarum actione cum beato iob patientissimus perstiterit.

Lectio sexta.

Appropinquante autem vite sue termino: longa detentus valitudine senex: gloriosus carnis solutus est ergastulo: discipulis eius egressum celestibus exequiis: et dignis lamentis prosequentibus. Sepultus est igitur in eodem quod construxerat monasterio: quintodecimo kalendas iulii: ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei: qui viuuit in secula seculorum amen.

Concerning Saints Thancred, Torhtred and Tova.³⁴⁹

Introduction

In British Library MS Harley 3097 (12th c.), fol. 64v-65v, the *Life* of St Botolph by Folcard is followed immediately by a text headed “De Sanctis Thancredo et Torhtredo” – “Concerning Sts. Thancred and Torhtred” and ending with “Explicit De Sanctis Thancredo et Torhtredo et eorum sorore Christi Virgine Sancta Tova”, mentioning their “sister in Christ the virgin St Tova.”

This in turn is followed in the same manuscript by “Concerning the Translation of the Saints that rest at Thorney Abbey,” BHL 1431, elsewhere in this file.

This text appears in no other manuscript, and is not listed in the BHL. It was printed in 1892, somewhat carelessly.

The *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* records under “Tancred, Torthred, and Tova” that they were hermits of Thorney Abbey, who were killed by the Danes in 870 AD. Nothing is known of their lives. They were venerated at Thorney Abbey and appear in the *List of Saints’ Resting Places* 27, along with Sts Botolph, Adolph, and others.³⁵⁰ This list was completed in 1030. They were among the many saints translated by Ethelwold. Their feast day was on 30 September at Thorney and Deeping.

The text is not divided in the manuscript. I have added section numbers for convenience.

English translation

1. The saints and elect of God, rejecting the world in its fragility through inward contemplation of the soul, with single intent fixed the gaze of their hearts upon earning that joy of future blessedness. But if anything contrary to this holy purpose appeared, they cast it aside with firm deliberation, and with the clearer sight of the mind they freely conceded renunciations, lest the ancient enemy should imagine that he could triumph over them with his usual trickery.

2. Hence it happened, by the blessing of God, that the holy confessors of the Lord, Thancred and Torhtred, who are venerated in today’s celebration, after despising the world, after they were divinely raised to such a height of virtue, were strengthened in godly contemplation, that in the wilderness of Thorney they sought out the enemy of the human race in single combat, and at the same time, while supported by the grace of God, that they triumphed with a wonderful cry (of victory) over the one shamelessly deceiving. Yet no history, no page of ancient narrative commends to us the birth of these saints or the manner of their daily life.³⁵¹ But seeing the almighty grace of God, justifying those who fear him in every nation, we will not allow the little which we have learned about them to remain hidden from our descendants. They lived in the aforementioned wilderness in dwellings not far separate from each other, brother from brother, likewise priest from priest, having a remote cell in which they spent their entire bodily life in meditation on the heavenly commandments. Who can measure, who can relate their labours in such a great solitude, their vigils,

³⁴⁹ This text is not listed in the BHL.

³⁵⁰ D. W. Rollason, “List of Saints’ Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England,” in: *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp.61-93: 91.

³⁵¹ “conversatio”, i.e. the particular form of monastic living that they practiced. This word occurs throughout the *Vita Botulfi* and this text, and is clearly the concern of the author.

fastings, patience of soul, discomfort of body, the glorious tears and pious longings of a soul sighing constantly for God?

3. Among these holy praises of the two holy brothers, the pearl of the radiant splendour of God cannot lie hidden, namely their sister and glorious partner in Christ, the virgin Tova. She, as the blessed bishop of Christ, both the first builder of the same place, and its most holy abbot, Ethelwold, attests in his writings, was not only the sister of so many saints by blood, but also by diligent imitation of their virtues. And so she had chosen for herself with a manly spirit a solitary cottage in the woods, further away and about a mile more distant, in order to obtain divine aid more closely, after she had left earthly comfort and society far away. Triumphant over the tyrant of the world in that struggle, she, now become a member of Christ, deserved to have Christ as her head, to whom she was united in the framework of the body of the Church, that is, in that heavenly communion of the saints.

4. Fittingly do we proclaim the saints, in their contempt for the world yet exalted in the world, and nothing prevents us from proclaiming those who, despising such things for the love of God, sought the peace of solitude, in order to pour out all their attention in the single-minded pursuit of divine things. For, exiled from the doings of this world, they stood as if in a constant line of battle against the assault of the devil, and they won the right to be honoured by the Lord, not with the martyrdom of a single day, month, or even a long year, but rather with the triumph of their whole lives.

5. Nor did their temporal gladiator lack a crown, because the same piratical plague, which is said to have depopulated England in the time of the blessed Edmund, king and martyr, troubling many locations in many places, also came to the same wilderness, and there it made the blessed bishop of Christ Thancred into a martyr, after it had found him in his cell, and after some time it adorned the struggle of a longer wrestling-match with a glorious end. But his holy brother Torhtred, equally a bishop of the Lord, as the aforementioned pontiff of God Ethelwold teaches in his writings, conquering the foe and the world in the glory of confession,³⁵² passed away to Christ in his sleep, and was buried in the same wilderness with his brother the martyr and his sister the virgin.

6. There, to this day, resting in their tombs, to the honour of the Holy Trinity, they are venerated by faithful Christians, who, with the support of their assistance, are freed from the burden of oppressive sins, and as the strength of their faith grows, they rejoice, to the honour and praise of the same God and our almighty Lord, who lives and reigns for ever and ever, Amen.

Latin text

Sigla:

- **H** = British Library MS Harley 3097.
- **Birch** = Walter de Grey Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, London (1892), pp.284-6 (= Appendix F)

³⁵² I.e. he was a "confessor"; presumably captured by the Danes and tortured, but not killed.

De sanctis Thancredo et Torhtredo.

I. Sancti et electi Dei, interna animi consideratione, saeculum respuentes huius fragilitatis, simplici intentione ad illud futurae beatitudinis gaudium promerendum aciem fixerunt cordis. Si qua vero huic sancto proposito accessere contraria, deliberatione strenua postponentes, meliori mentis oculo libera concessere repudia, ne antiquus hostis de eis triumphare se posse solita putaret fallacia.

II. Unde accidit, propitio Deo annuente, sanctos confessores Domini, Thancredum atque Torhtredum, quos hodierna venerantur celebritate, post mundi contemptum, tanto virtutis culmine divinitus erectos, in theorica solidari contemplatione, ut in Thornensi heremo humani generis hostem singulari certamine expeterent, et eadem Dei gratia favente turpiter fallentem pulchra acclamatione triumpharent. Horum siquidem sanctorum genus sive continuam vitae conversationem nobis nulla commendat historia, nulla veterum relationis reserat pagina. Intuentes tamen Dei omnipotentem gratiam, in omni gente se timentes justificantem, quae de eis pauca comperimus, latere non patimur nostram posteritatem. Incoluere divisim ab invicem non longe habitaculis heremum praedictam, frater a fratre, sacerdos idem a sacerdote, remotam habentes cellam, in qua meditatione caelestium praeceptorum omnem exegerunt corporis vitam. Quis aestimare, quis referre valeat eorum in tanta solitudine labores, vigiliis, inedia, animi patientiam, corporis incommoda, animae Deum assidue suspirantis decoras lacrimas et pia desideria?

III. Inter haec duorum sanctorum fratrum sancta praeconia, nequit latere perlucidi³⁵³ splendoris Dei margarita, eorum scilicet soror et socia gloriosa Christi virgo Tova. Quae, sicut beatus Christi praesul et eiusdem loci primus constructor et abbas sanctissimus Aethelwoldus³⁵⁴ in suis testatur scriptis, non solum erat tantorum sanctorum soror carnali propinquitate, sed etiam virtutum sedula imitatione. Haec itaque longius et quasi miliario uno remotius in silva virili pectore sibi singulare delegerat tugurium, ut, scilicet terrena consolatione et societate eminus deserta, divinum familiaris optineret amminiculum. Triumphato mundi tyranno in tali agone, membrum Christi facta, caput meruit Christum habere, cui unita est in compage corporis ecclesiae, in illa videlicet caelesti sanctorum communione.

IV. Praedicamus digne sanctos, in saeculo contemptu tamen saeculi sublimes, praedicare quoque nihil prohibet eos, qui talia pro Dei amore contempnentes solitudinis petiere quietem, ut in sola divinatorum executione omnem sui infunderent intentionem. Exulati enim ab actibus huius mundi, quasi in continua astiterunt acie contra inpugnationem diaboli, nec unius diei vel mensis sive prolixioris anni martyrio, sed potius totius vitae suae triumpho meruerunt honorari a Domino.

V. Nec temporalis sane gladiator eorum defuit coronis, quia eadem pestis pyratice, quae legitur Angliam depopulasse tempore beati Eadmundi regis et martiris, diversa passim loca inquietans, ad eandem etiam heremum pervenit, ibique in cella sua repertum beatum Christi antistitem Thancredum martyrem fecit, longiorisque luctae pugnam tandem glorioso fine decoravit. Frater vero eius³⁵⁵ Torhtredus, aequae antistes Domini, ut praedictus Dei pontifex Aethelwoldus eadem scriptis suis edocet, in confessionis gloria inimicum et mundum devincens, ad Christum in pace obdormiens migravit, et in eadem heremo cum fratre martyre et sorore virgine sepulturam optinuit.

³⁵³ "perlucidi" – H; "perlucidum" – Birch.

³⁵⁴ "Aethelwoldus" – H; "Aethelwoldus" – Birch.

³⁵⁵ "eius sanctus" – H; "eius" – Birch.

Concerning Saints Thancred, Torhtred and Tova.

VI. Ubi etiam, usque in hodiernum diem, ad honorem sancte Trinitatis in suis requiescentes loculis, adorantur a fidelibus Christicolis, eorumque adiuti patrociniis exonerantur a peccatorum deprimentium sarcinis, et, virtute fidei accrescente, exultant, ad honorem et laudem eiusdem Dei et Domini nostri omnipotentis, qui vivit et regnat per omnia per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

Explicit de sanctis Thancredo et Torhtredo. Et eorum sorore Christi virgine sancta Tova.

BHL 1431 – The Translation of the Saints Who Rest at Thorney Abbey

English translation

1. The monastery of Thorney, built by the blessed bishop Ethelwold through personal care and attention, was also adorned by him, with no less care, with the most precious relics of the saints, both martyrs and confessors. This [activity] likewise, just as we have been able to learn it from those who were either present themselves or learned it from them by faithful report, we intend to recommend to the memory of those who succeed us, not out of rash audacity, but rather out of love for the saints.

2. After he had completed the church itself, which still remains, and the monastic dwellings, which were suitably arranged for his purpose, he earnestly petitioned King Edgar, whose favour he enjoyed as a close friend, that he would permit the bodies of the saints—which were without veneration, in places that had been destroyed and neglected, at that time; but which once had been noble churches and loftily built—to be transferred to those monasteries which he had built in his time, so that they could be venerated through the devotion of his faithful people as was fitting. These [relics] were granted to him by royal favour, so he entrusted the undertaking to a certain monk named Ulfkitel.³⁵⁶

3. After the latter was faithfully instructed by the blessed prelate, he proceeded wisely and with higher guidance³⁵⁷ concerning the transfer of the blessed Abbot Botolph. He had read his “Life”, and he had learned more accurately how the monastery of Ykanho which he had built was destroyed by the persecutors of the blessed king Edmund. It had indeed been deprived of a monastic community, but by no means of any devotion by the faithful. For after [the saint] was buried in a specific place, it [the grave] was both known to the local people and especially venerated; but for the divine offices it was only served by a single priest. So he went to the place with a few men and, after looking at everything as a careful observer, he realised that they alone were not enough to carry out the command of the blessed pontiff.

4. Now there was in the Isle of Ely a certain rich and religious man named Wina, and he had previously been connected with him by a close friendship. To this man, in confidential conversation, he revealed the command of the blessed bishop Ethelwold, and the desire of his own heart in transferring so great a treasure of holy relics, and he received him as a partner and colleague in the work to be done. They prepared the necessary expenses and very many companions for the journey, and the first monk, who was previously the scout of these things, was sent ahead with a few others to the designated place. He therefore asked the priest of the church for permission to spend the night in the same place, and, after he had obtained the keys for this purpose, he did enough to fulfil his pledge.

5. Now as darkness was falling, the aforementioned companion [Wina] arrived with his men, and entering the church together they discovered the urn of the most holy abbot Botolph, wrapped in a

³⁵⁶ The name of an important Anglosaxon leader at the start of the 11th century. The manuscripts give it as “Ulfcytel” or “Ulfkytel.” I have followed the Oxford Reference site spelling.

³⁵⁷ “altiori consilio” – a phrase from the rule of St Benedict c.63, perhaps here indicating divine inspiration.

shroud of precious and splendid workmanship; having prepared boxes, they raised it up and put it inside. But when, after lifting it on their shoulders, they were attempting to carry it away, it was immobilised by so great a weight that by no effort could they move a step. Furthermore the altar cloisters rang with a great crash, and they perceived a certain movement as if of unfinished work.

Astonished, therefore, they were stupified for rather a long time, when, by the grace of God instructing him, the aforementioned monk recalled, from something he had heard, that blessed Adolph the bishop was buried in the same place with his brother; and his companion [Wina] said that he [Adolph] wished to migrate as well, and that they ought to be transferred and laid to rest [together] in a single vault of the mausoleum. They rejoiced exceedingly with a double joy, and after they had lifted up the blessed bishop of Christ, Adolph, they placed him in the travelling bags with his brother, and giving thanks to God, the most gracious fulfiller of their desires, without hesitation they began the return journey at an accelerated pace.

6. But the neighbouring people were roused by the barking of dogs and the noise of the horses, and, realising the situation too late (although, by God's doing, they grieved over the abduction of the saints), they pursued in vain those who were now far away and had been received into safety with the treasure of the holy relics. Therefore they reported to the beloved bishop of God how the translation of the saints had been carried out, and he did not keep it a secret from King Edgar. Who, directing his attention quite devoutly to the merits of the blessed Botolph, decided that it [the body] should be divided into three parts, lest a single reliquary should contain one of whom he certainly understood that it was necessary to bring help to many people through his exceptional merits. He granted the head to the monastery of Ely; for himself and his court he placed half of the rest of the body in the reliquary of the royal relics; what was left he granted to be venerated at the church of Thorney, along with his brother the blessed bishop Adolph.

In modern times too, when, as the course of [building] work required, the urn of the saints was being uncovered, and their bodies were being laid out more fittingly for burial, as was proper, from the consecrated relics of their members such a fragrance of the sweetest odour permeated the entire island, that it was evident that any at all of the faithful who were blown upon by such sweetness understood that their [the saints'] souls, filled with the fragrance and love of Christ, were glorified in heavenly rest. This delightful odour, lasting not just for an hour or a day on the aforesaid island, but rather for fifteen days and more, not only did those who were staying there prefer the fragrant aroma to their refreshment, but also those who came from afar.

7. In the same way the aforementioned pontiff, recalling of his especial teacher Bede, how he described the life of the blessed Benedict, abbot of the monastery of Wearmouth,³⁵⁸ and with what great labour and industry he [Benedict] built that same place with most excellent work, and how, during the above-mentioned plague of the Danes, in which the most blessed Eadmund was crowned, it was burned, together with all the enclosed monks who served God there and were cremated together, and, after that noble place was therefore reduced to solitude, and so great a man rested there without veneration or worship, he instructed and sent the same monk [Ulfkitel] to translate him. And he, not slow to carry out his responsibility, arrived at the designated place, and, after he

³⁵⁸ Benedict Biscop.

had raised the most blessed father Benedict from the ground, wrapped him in the most precious cloths, and transferred him to the monastery of Thorney.

8. Then, not long after, he [Ethelwold] was informed about the merits of the blessed Herefrid, bishop of Lincoln, who was resting in the principal village, called Louth, of that same church. Him also, with a more cautious plan, when everyone dwelling there was asleep, the faithful servant raised from the earth, and wrapped in a noble shroud, and rejoicing with all his companions, he brought him to the monastery of Thorney and laid him to rest. At the same time he also transferred Enicius, a martyr in the aforementioned storm [the Viking attacks], and permitted him to be venerated reverently by the Thorney community in the same church.

9. With such great affection had he [Æthelwold] commended to himself the love of the place of Thorney, which he endowed with such great cleverness with nobility beyond the other monasteries which he had founded.

At times, moreover, this same bishop, most beloved of God, would visit his beloved hermitage, after he had obtained permission and time, namely when he could be released from the royal affairs which he especially and necessarily presided over constantly. This leisure he took seriously. This festivity he celebrated for his soul as exceedingly joyful and delightful, namely, when once or twice a year he could steal some time to visit the places of the saints, and most of all the monastery of Thorney, so beloved by him.

He also built not far from the same monastery, namely in the place where the blessed virgin of Christ Tova had been enclosed, a small stone church in the shape of a pyramid, vaulted with the most delicate lattice-work, and with a double open space dedicated to three very modest altars, surrounded on all sides right up to its very walls with trees of **different** kinds, namely a hermitage for himself, if the grace of the supreme Ruler had permitted, He who rather retained so great a light upon the episcopal candlestick, for the illumination of the whole English world.

Here, as often as he could enter the Isle of Thorney, he would turn aside; here he held prayers and holy vigils; here, after addressing the brothers and the arrangement of necessary business for the place, the friend of God immediately withdrew, in intense devotion.

Latin text

Sigla

- **H** = London, British Library Harley 3097.
- **Birch** = Walter de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, London (1892), appendix F, pp. 284-6 and 286-290.

I. Cenobium Thornense, a beato Aethelwoldo pontifice familiari studio et intentione constructum, non minori quoque cura ab eo glorificatum est, pigneribus pretiosissimis sanctorum tam martyrum quam confessorum. Hoc quoque sicut ab his qui vel interfuerunt, vel ab eis fidei relatione didicerunt addiscere potuimus, memoriae succedentium non temerario ausu, sed potius sanctorum caritate commendare intendimus.

II. Postquam ipsum quod adhuc superest templum, et monasticas mansiones competenter pro re sua ordinatas perfecerat, ab Eadgaro rege cuius gratia familiariter utebatur plurimum postulat, ut

sanctorum corpora quae in destructis et neglectis tunc locis, quondam vero nobilibus et alto opere edificatis ecclesiis, absque veneratione erant, ad ea quae suo tempore construxerat monasteria transferri permetteret, ut in eius fidelium devotione ut decebat possent venerari. Quod regio favore illi concessum, cuidam monacho Ulfkytelo nomine commendabat agendum.

III. At ille, fideliter edoctus a beato praesule, sapienter et altiori consilio tractat de transferendo beato Botolfo abbate. Legerat vitam eius, et qualiter monasterium Ykanho quod construxerat, a persecutoribus beati Eadmundi regis destructum fuerit, cognoverat certius. Destitutum quidem erat monachorum conversatione, sed nequaquam ab omni fidelium devotione. Tumulatus siquidem in loco certo, ab incolis et noscebatur et potissimum colebatur; sed in divinis officiis non nisi a solo presbitero serviebatur. Adiit ergo locum cum paucis et, intentus contemplator omnibus circumspectis, vidit se solum non posse sufficere ad effectum iussionis beati pontificis.

IV. Erat autem in Elyensi insula vir quidam dives et religiosus Wina nomine, et ante id illi familiari sociatus dilectione. Huic aperit, secretis affatibus, preceptum beati Ethelwoldi praesulis, et in tanto thesauro sanctarum reliquiarum transferendo desiderium sui cordis, et assumit sibi socium et collegam agendi operis. Parant sumptus necessarios et quamplures socios itineris, priorque monachus iam pridem circumspector earum rerum cum paucis praemittitur ad designatum locum. Postulat ergo a presbitero ecclesiae permitti sibi pernoctari in eodem loco, et ad id clavibus impetratis, satis agit voto suo.

V. Iam incumbentibus tenebris adest praedictus socius cum suis, ingressique pariter ecclesiam detegunt urnam sanctissimi Botulfi abbatis, involutumque in syndone pretiosi et nitidi operis; apparatis suscipiunt et recondunt marsupiis.³⁵⁹ Cumque levatum humeris conarentur asportare, tanto figitur pondere ut nullo annisu gressum possent movere. Praeterea magno crepitu personant claustra altaris, motumque intendunt quendam quasi imperfecti operis.

Attonitis ergo stupent sensibus diutius, cum, edocente Dei gratia, praedictus monachus recolit ex auditis, in eodem loco beatum Adulfum praesulem consepultum fratri suo, atque socius eundem velle commigrare, et in una debere transferi et recondi mausolei testudine. Laetificantur quamplurimum duplici gaudio, levatumque beatum Christi praesulem Adulfum, manticis inducunt cum fratre suo, Deoque gratias agentes, desideriorum suorum prosperatori gratissimo, reditum invadunt non segniter cursu accelerato.

VI. Excitis autem vicinis latratu canum et strepitu equorum, et tardius re cognita, deo autem agente maerent de ablatione sanctorum, insequuntur frustra iam longe remotos et in tuto receptos cum thesauro sanctorum pignerum. Referunt ergo dilecto dei episcopo qualiter actum sit in sanctorum translatione, isque non clam habuit Edgardo rege. Qui, devotius intendens in meritis beati Botulfi, trifariam censuit dividendum, ne unus contineret locus, cuius utique praecipuis meritis pluribus intellexit succurrendum.³⁶⁰ Caput annuit Elyensi cenobio, sibi suaeque curiae medietatem reliqui corporis regalium reliquiarum recipit scrinio, quod residuum fuit Thornensi ecclesiae venerandum concessit cum beato praesule Adulfo fratre suo.

³⁵⁹ Note the structure – the ablative absolute with the main clause between. A lot of this in Botolph.

³⁶⁰ “succerendum” in the MS., and understanding as “succurrendum [esse]”.

Moderno quoque tempore cum, poscente operis serie, sanctorum urna detegeretur, et eorum corpora decentius, ut par erat, recondi disponderentur, de sacrosanctis membrorum reliquiis tanta suavissimi odoris fragrantia omnem insulam perflavit, ut evidentur intelligerent quivis fideles tanta aspirati dulcedine, illorum animas Christi odore et caritate afflatas, in celesti glorificatas requie. Qui odor delectabilis non ad horam sive diem in predictam perdurans insulam, sed potius quindecim diebus et eo amplius, non modo ibidem commorantibus sed etiam advenientibus de longe suam ad refectionem pretulit fragrantium.

VII. Item supradictus pontifex, recolens Bedae³⁶¹ praecipui doctoris qualiter descripserit vitam beati Benedicti abbatis Wermuthensis cenobii, et quantis laboribus et industria eundem locum construxerit opere excellentiori, et quemadmodum, per supra memoratam Danorum pestem, qua beatissimus Eadmundus coronatus est, combustus sit, inclusis cunctis ibidem Deo famulantibus monachis et concrematis, et, taliter in solitudinem redacto nobili loco illo, ibidem absque veneratione et cultu tantus vir requieverit, eundem monachum ad eum transferendum edocet et mittat. At ille, non segni cura, ad designatum pervenit locum, et humo eductum beatissimae mentionis patrem Benedictum pannis pretiosioribus involutum, ad Thornense transtulit monasterium.

VIII. Evoluto autem non multo tempore, edocetur de meritis beati Herefridi praesulis Linconiae, requiscentis in lutha vico primario eiusdem ecclesiae. Hunc quoque cautioro consilio, soporatis cunctis ibidem manentibus, fidelis vernaculus de terra suscipit, syndone nobili involuit, cunctisque comitibus adeo gavisus Thornensi monasterio inducit et recondit. Enicium quoque supradicta tempestate martyrem eodem tempore transtulit, et in eadem ecclesia Thornensibus venerabiliter adorandum concessit.

IX. Tanto affectu dilectionem Thornensis loci sibi commendaverat, quem tanta sollertia, ultra caetera monasteria quae condiderat, nobilitate disposuerat.

Interdum quoque idem Dei amicissimus pontifex dilectam visitabat heremum, adepta licentia et tempore, cum scilicet absolui posset a regalibus negotiis, quibus ipse potissimum necessario preerat assidue. Hoc otium ducebat solempne. Hoc tripudium agitabat animae suae festivum nimis et delectabile, cum scilicet semel vel bis in anno aliquod tempus furari posset visitandi loca sanctorum, et maxime sibi dilectum Thornense monasterium.

Construxit etiam, non longe ab eodem monasterio, in eo scilicet loco ubi beata virgo Christi Tova inclusa fuerat, lapideam ecclesiolam in modum pyramidis, delicatissimis cameratam cancellulis, et duplici area tribus dedicatam altaribus permodicis, undique usque ad ipsos eius muros vallatam arboribus diversi generis, sedem scilicet heremiticam sibi, si permississet gratia supremi rectoris, qui magis tantam lucernam retinebat in candelabro pontificali, ad illuminationem totius orbis Anglici.

Huc, quotiens Thornensem insulam ingredi posset, divertebat, hic orationes et sanctas agebat excubias, huc post allocutionem fratrum et institutionem rerum necessariorum loco, mox intenta caritate se Dei amicus recipiebat.

³⁶¹ “Bede” – J; “Bedae” – H, Birch. Possible correction by scribe of H.

Appendix 1 – The Manuscripts and Editions

The full text of the Life of Botolph by Folcard (BHL 1428) has reached us in a number of manuscripts.

The dates of each manuscript are taken from the Bollandist database hosted at the *Légendiers latins* website,³⁶² except where noted.

Manuscripts of the full text

J = Cambridge, St Johns College, H.6 (formerly 209 in the M. R. James catalogue), ff.171r-182v.³⁶³ 12th century, from Ramsay Abbey.³⁶⁴ It includes the prologue, the Life, and the translatio.

H = London, British Library Harley 3097. ff.61v-64v. The Legendiers Latins site gives a date of 1075-1125 AD, Clark assigns it as early 12th century, from Peterborough.³⁶⁵ It includes the prologue, the Life, and the translatio. But placed between the Life and the translatio is another yet text, about three obscure hermits of Thorney, SS. Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova.

T = London, British Library Cotton Tiberius D. iii, ff.223v-225v. 13th century. Badly damaged by fire. I was not permitted to photograph this, only the microfilm which is much less readable, which left only selected readings visible. The MS includes the prologue and the Life. Where the reading of T was unreadable, it is silently omitted from the collation.

P = Paris BNF lat. 13092, ff.110r-113v. 12th century, from St Evroul in Normandy (= S. Ebrulfi Uticensis). Neither prologus nor translatio, but does contain prayers interspersed between blocks of text of the Life. These prayers seem to be from the sanctoral office of St Botolph.³⁶⁶ Unfortunately the microfilm is too low resolution to allow these to be read. This manuscript was the sole source for the d’Achery edition.

G = London, Grays Inn 3, ff.136r-137. 1100-1150 AD. Life only.

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker 161, ff.61v-63v. 12th century. Life only. Prefixed with 8 capitula, unlike the other mss. Often slightly different, and has three striking omissions.

N = Bergen University Library, MS 1549, 1, a-d, “Botulph Breviary Fragments”, late 13th century. English. Fragment “a” contains the end of chapter 5, chapters 6-8 in full, and the beginning of chapter 9.³⁶⁷ The text is that of the full version.

Editions of the Full Text

The full text has been printed only twice. Neither edition included the prologue or the translatio.

Ach. = Luc d’Achery, & Jean Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 3: *Saeculum III: quod est ab anno Christi DCC ad DCCC*, Paris (1672), pp. 3-7. This is a copy of P, plus emendations, none of

³⁶² <https://legendiers-latins.irht.cnrs.fr/>

³⁶³ The manuscript was used by permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

³⁶⁴ C. Clark, “Notes on a Life of Three Thorney Saints, Thancred, Torhtred and Tova,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 69 (1980), pp. 45-52, note 10. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1073097>

³⁶⁵ Clark, note 9.

³⁶⁶ Toni Schmid, "Problemata", *Fornvännan: Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research* 58 (1963), pp. 174-190. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fornvannen/html/1963_174

³⁶⁷ Online with unpublished catalogue description <https://marcus.uib.no/instance/fragment/ubb-ms-1549-01-a.html>. Accessed 17 Nov. 2025.

which seem to be necessary. This *edition* is what the notes in the AASS refer to as the “Codex Uticensis”. But the AASS had no access to P.

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. vol. 3, 402 (1701), pp.398-406. The editor used Ach., which he referred to as the “codex Uticensis”, plus copies of R and K. Unfortunately R and K represent a much changed text, and they corrupt the edition wherever they are used.

The prologue was printed separately:

Har. = T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, Part 1, London (1862) pp.373-4. This prints only the prologus.

The translatio, and the lives of Thancred, Torhtred and the virgin Tova, were printed in:

Birch = Walter de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, London (1892), appendix F, pp. 284-6 and 286-290.

Manuscripts and Editions of Derivative Texts

Folcard’s Life passed into the medieval hagiographic sausage-making machine, which omitted sections, abbreviated it, rewrote sections, abbreviated it again and introduced changes, all in order to fit the material into liturgical use. This process has given us a number of texts, mostly extant in a single copy.

The longest of the revised texts is the Lincoln MS, which is very close to the full text.

L = Lincoln Cathedral Library 7. ff.82r-83r. 1151-1200 AD. This omits the first three chapters, and starts with the opening words of chapter 4, “beatus pater botolfus”. Various small changes are visible throughout, and documented in the apparatus. None of the alterations appear to have value, and are presumably the work of the scribe.

The editors of the AASS edition tell us that they obtained copies of two manuscripts, one from Köln/Cologne, the other from Rooklooster/Rougecloître/Rubea Vallis (“Red Valley”), near Brussels. The account given is vague, but both can be identified.

The first is a single page epitome, now in Berlin:

K = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 706, ff.100r-100v, written in 1460. It contains a very short Life of Botolph.³⁶⁸ This is the autograph manuscript of the legendary composed by Hermann Greven, a Carthusian of Cologne. The manuscript was known to the Bollandist H. Rosweyd, who supplied a copy of K to the AASS editor.³⁶⁹ The incipit is “Beatus pater Bothulfus divina reseruatus pietate”, which shows that it comes from a different recension to any other. The recension is identified in the BHL as BHL 1429b.

The other is now in Vienna, and is the ancestor of the breviary “Lives.”

R = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, SN12814 (olim Rooklooster), ff.960r-961r. 1451-1487 AD, a volume of the huge *Sanctilogium* of Johannes Gillemanus (Jean Gielemans). This omits

³⁶⁸ P.J. Becker & T. Brandis, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Folio der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (1985), Teil 2: Ms. theol. lat. fol. 598-737; p.248.

³⁶⁹ Baudouin De Gaiffier, “Le martyrologe et le légendier d’Hermann Greven”, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936), p. 316-358; p.329; and AASS p.400C.

Appendix 1 – The Manuscripts and Editions

chapters 1-3, and begins with the opening words of chapter 4, “*beatus pater botolfus*”, as L does, but contains none of L’s unique variants. This recension is notable for introducing a reference to “*Scotis*”, “the Scots” as neighbours of Botolph. Many of the Rookloster manuscripts were purchased personally by the Austrian emperor, and are found today in the Austrian national library.

Appendix 2 – Analysis of the Manuscript Tradition

There are four “fingerprints” that help us analyse the manuscript tradition of Folcard’s “Life of St Botolph” (BHL 1428). These took place one at a time:

1. The “Life” was not originally a standalone composition. Rosalind Love has shown that it was just one item in a collection of four texts sent to Wakelin, Bishop of Winchester.³⁷⁰ The other items were the “Vita Thancredi &c”, on the three hermits of Thorney Abbey; and the “Translatio” of the relics of the saints of Thorney. This collection he prefixed with his letter to Wakelin. The presence or absence of parts of the collection is a guide to transmission. Over time, more parts were omitted.
2. Over time, Folcard’s biography of St Botolph was fed into the medieval liturgical sausage-making machine. It ended up as a set of *lectiones* for the sanctoral office. So the presence of liturgical elements will always suggest modification of the text; and presence of the non-liturgical prologue will always suggest a less modified text.
3. Later manuscripts introduce a gloss in chapter 11. This is not found in either J or H.
4. There is a common omission (the “CPL omission”) in chapter 6, where C, P and L all omit “ut...monastica,” so must all descend from a common ancestor. Neither J nor H omit this phrase.

We can show that this process of change took place step by step, because we have at least one manuscript which displays each stage of the process but no more. Therefore each change took place separately. We cannot suppose that a single scribe decided to omit the prologue and translatio, and introduce both the chapter 11 gloss and the CPL omission all in one copy.

The stemma below represents an attempt to make sense of this, assuming that each change was made only once.

The first two “fingerprints” help us with the two oldest manuscripts, which are closely related, but neither derives from the other.

- **H.** Only one manuscript contains the full collection. This is the Harley manuscript, H. Therefore this manuscript cannot be derived from any other extant manuscript. But H contains five unique readings, not found in any other manuscript. Therefore no other manuscript is derived from it.
- **J.** The St John’s manuscript J does not contain the “Vita Thancredi”, but does contain the prologue and Translatio. The five obvious copyist errors of H are not found in J. Therefore J cannot be derived from H. No other extant manuscript is old enough to be the ancestor of J.

One other manuscript contains the prologue, which is later than J and H.

- **T.** The British Library manuscript T contains the prologue, but not the translatio. The microfilm prints accessible to me show only clearly one difference from both H and J, the unique reading, “depositione”. It contains the chapter 11 gloss; but not the CPL omission.

J, H and T contain the liturgically useless prologue, so are probably less altered by the liturgical revision process.

³⁷⁰ Rosalind Love, “The Anglo-Saxon Saints of Thorney Abbey and their Hagiographer”, q.v.

All the other manuscripts lack both the prologus and translatio, so are most likely derived from a single copy in which this omission first took place.

- **G.** The Gray's Inn manuscript is the only manuscript which omits the prologus and translatio, but does not contain the CPL omission. It does contain the chapter 11 gloss, which points to a later date. The text differs only once from the consensus of J and H. In two other places it employs thorn ("þ"), and the "æ" ligature in Anglosaxon names, unlike any other manuscript. It is possible that it derives from J, omitting the prologue and translatio; but this would mean that these elements were discarded independently by two different copyists. It seems reasonable to infer that G derives from an early manuscript, a cousin of J and H. No manuscript shows the thorn ("þ"), and the "æ" ligatures, so no manuscript derives from it.

The consensus of J, H, T and G is therefore very likely the original text.

All the remaining manuscripts show the CPL omission.

C. The Cambridge manuscript C does not contain the chapter 11 gloss, which makes it earlier in the transmission of the text. It also has various unique readings and three unique omissions, none found in any other manuscript. It cannot be the parent of any other manuscript.

All the other manuscripts include the chapter 11 gloss.

P. The Paris manuscript P differs from J in 16 places, from H in 13 places, and from C in 30 places. P has many unique differences. It also includes liturgical prayers, and it frequently omits the "&" symbol. No other manuscript contains these changes, but it is the parent of the d'Achery edition.

Later manuscripts

The liturgical process has affected all of the later manuscripts. The irrelevant chapters 1-3, mainly about St Adolph, are dropped. This leaves ch 4 as the start.

L. The Lincoln manuscript L has the CPL omission, and it does include the gloss, so this is a late manuscript. But it also omits chapters 1-3, as the very late manuscripts do. There are various unique readings, so no other manuscript is derived from it.

K. The Cologne manuscript K is revised and abbreviated, contains the gloss but not the CPL omission, and omits chapters 1-3. It has unique readings of its own. It cannot be derived from R, nor can R be derived from K.

R. The Rooklooster manuscript R is considerably revised and abbreviated. It contains the gloss, but not the CPL omission, and it omits chapters 1-3. It is more revised than K. It cannot be derived from K, however, because K has readings not found in R. Its most notable variant is "Scotis".

The "Scotis" reading appears in the breviaries such as the Schleswig Breviary **SB**, which must therefore derive from R. But all the breviary texts are abbreviated and rewritten.

NLA. Finally there are the manuscripts of the epitome by John of Tynemouth (BHL 1429), including the NLA edition. Because it contains the Translatio, the text here must derive from J or H. But it contains none of the unique readings of H. So John of Tynemouth must therefore have used J in creating his text.

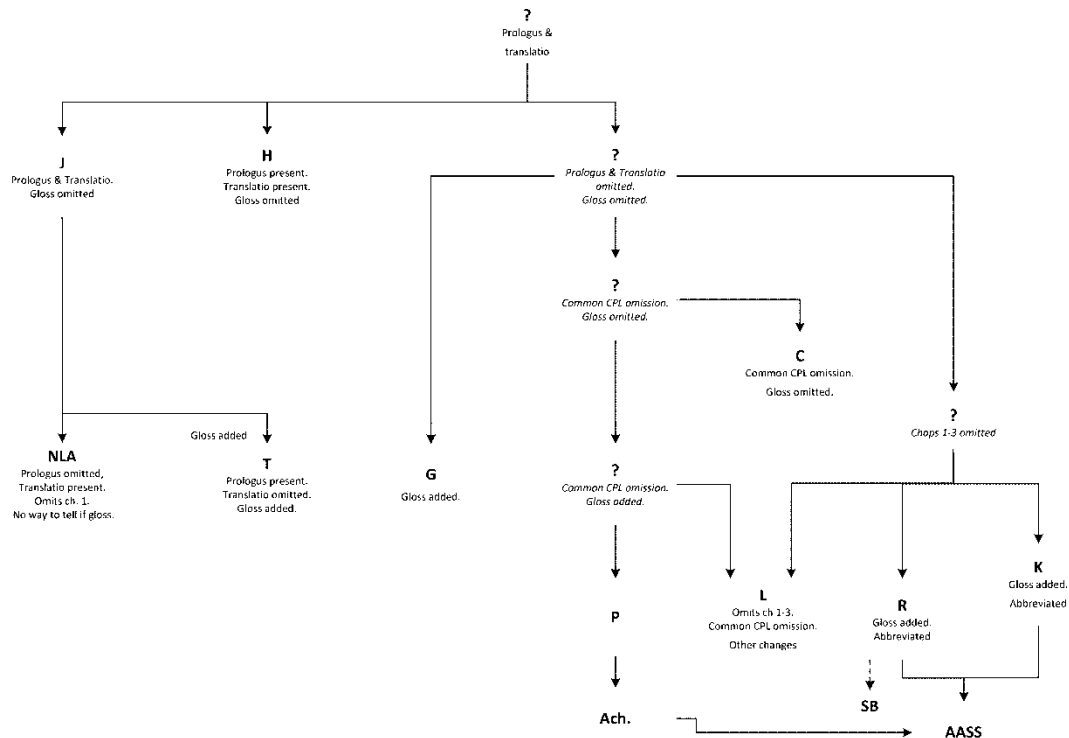
Table of Manuscript Differentiators

Siglum	Prologus present	Translatio present	Ch. 11 gloss present	CPL omission present	Chapters 1-3 omitted
J	Y	Y	-	-	-
H	Y	Y	-	-	-
T	Y	-	Y	-	-
C	-	-	-	Y	-
G	-	-	Y	-	-
P	-	-	Y	Y	-
L	-	-	Y	Y	Y
R	-	-	Y	-	Y
NLA	-	Y	n/a	n/a	ch. 1 omitted.

Table 1 - Manuscript Differentiators

Stemma

This analysis leaves us with a stemma very like the following.



No attempt has been made to analyse the transmission of the breviaries beyond **SB**. An attempt to classify the Scandinavian breviaries was made by John Toy in his 2009 monograph, as mentioned earlier, who detected that the early ones all derive from a breviary based on the full text (which he called “A”), while the later ones reused material from **SB** (which he called “B”). His belief that **SB** reflected an earlier text used by Folcard cannot be correct, as the presence of “Scotis” in **SB** shows.